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**A Social Profile of Seven Communities in
Custer and Lemhi Counties, Idaho**

AER 93-13

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This study was conducted under Cooperative Agreement ID-040-A-2-0006 with the Commissioners of Custer and Lemhi Counties, the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management-Salmon District, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture-Salmon National Forest.

* Assistant Professor and Extension Rural Sociologist
** Data/Graphics Production Technician

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	4
List of Tables	8
1. Preface: Cultural Continuity & Social Change	9
2. The Task	10
3. Methodology	11
4. A Social Profile of Custer and Lemhi Counties	13
4.1. Custer County	13
4.1.1. Population Change	13
4.1.1.1. Natality	14
4.1.1.2. Migration	14
4.1.1.3. Marriage/Divorce	14
4.1.2. Age/households/families	15
4.1.3. Income, Earnings & Employment	15
4.1.3.1. Income & Earnings	15
4.1.3.2. Employment	16
4.2. Lemhi County	28
4.2.1. Population Change	28
4.2.1.1. Natality	28
4.2.1.2. Migration	29
4.2.1.3. Marriage/Divorce	29
4.2.2. Age/households/families	29
4.2.3. Income, Earnings & Employment	30
4.2.3.1. Income & Earnings	30
4.2.3.2. Employment	30
4.3. Agriculture in Custer and Lemhi Counties	43
5. Relationship of Social Profile to the Economic Base	46
5.1. Communities and Narratives	47
5.2. Communities and Functional Economic Areas	51
5.3. Challis area	53
5.3.1. Population Estimate	53
5.3.2. Families and Households	54
5.3.3. Education	54
5.3.4. Poverty	55
5.3.5. Local Community and the Economic Base	56
5.4. Big Lost area	68
5.4.1. Population Estimate	68
5.4.2. Families and Households	68
5.4.3. Education	69
5.4.4. Poverty	69
5.4.5. Local Community and the Economic Base	69
5.5. Stanley area	79
5.5.1. Population Estimate	79
5.5.2. Families and Households	80
5.5.3. Education	80
5.5.4. Poverty	80

5.5.5. Local Community and the Economic Base.....	81
5.6. Pahsimeroi area.....	88
5.6.1. Population Estimate.....	88
5.6.2. Families and Households.....	89
5.6.3. Education.....	89
5.6.4. Poverty.....	89
5.6.5. Local Community and the Economic Base.....	90
5.7. Tendoy/Leadore area.....	98
5.7.1. Population Estimate.....	98
5.7.2. Families and Households.....	98
5.7.3. Education.....	99
5.7.4. Poverty.....	99
5.7.5. Local Community and the Economic Base.....	99
5.8. North Fork/Gibbonsville area.....	108
5.8.1. Population Estimate.....	108
5.8.2. Families and Households.....	108
5.8.3. Education.....	109
5.8.4. Poverty.....	109
5.8.5. Local Community and the Economic Base.....	109
5.9. Salmon area.....	117
5.9.1. Population Estimate.....	117
5.9.2. Families and Households.....	117
5.9.3. Education.....	118
5.9.4. Poverty.....	118
5.9.5. Local Community and the Economic Base.....	118
7. Appendix A: Tables.....	135
8. Appendix B: Definitions.....	145
9. Appendix C: Cover Letters and Instruments.....	149

List of Figures

Figure 1: Historic Population Custer County	18
Figure 2: Custer County Population and Per Capita Income, 1969-1991.....	18
Figure 3: Custer County Natality, 1970-1991.....	19
Figure 4: Custer County Annual Rate of Population Change, 1969-1991	19
Figure 5: Custer County Net Migration, 1971-1991.....	20
Figure 6: Custer County Marriage & Divorce Rates, 1971-1991	20
Figure 7: Custer County: Population, Households, and Families in 1990.....	21
Figure 8: Custer County, Marital Status of Households w/ Children <18.....	21
Figure 9: Custer County, Number of Households with Children <18	22
Figure 10: Custer County Total Population, Male vs. Female	22
Figure 11: Custer County Percent of Population Age 65+	23
Figure 12: Adjusted Net Farm, Nonfarm & Total Income, Custer County, 1969-1991 ..	23
Figure 13: Components of Adjusted Personal Income, Custer County, 1969-1991	24
Figure 14: Adjusted Government Transfer Payments, Custer County, 1969-1991	24
Figure 15: Components of Adjusted Earnings, Custer County, 1969-1991	25
Figure 16: Employment in Resource Industries, Custer County, 1969-1991	25
Figure 17: Employment in Other Basic Industries, Custer County, 1969-1991	26
Figure 18: Employment in Trade Industries, Custer County, 1969-1991.....	26
Figure 19: Adjusted Unemployment Custer County, 1970-1991	27
Figure 20: Historic Population Lemhi County.....	32
Figure 21: Lemhi County Population and Per Capita Income, 1969-1991.....	34
Figure 22: Lemhi County Annual Rate of Population Change, 1969-1991.....	34
Figure 23: Lemhi County Natality, 1970-1991.....	35
Figure 24: Lemhi County Net Migration, 1971-1991.....	35
Figure 25: Lemhi County Marriage & Divorce Rates, 1970-1991	36
Figure 26: Lemhi County: Population, Households, and Families in 1990.....	36
Figure 27: Lemhi County, Marital Status of Households with Children <18.....	37
Figure 28: Lemhi County, Number of Households with Children <18	37
Figure 29: Lemhi County Total Population, Males vs. Females	38
Figure 30: Adjusted Net Farm, Nonfarm & Total Income Lemhi County, 1969-1991 ..	38
Figure 31: Components of Adjusted Personal Income, Lemhi County, 1969-1991	39
Figure 32: Components of Adjusted Earnings, Lemhi County, 1969-1991	39
Figure 33: Adjusted Government Transfer Payments, Lemhi County, 1969-1991	40
Figure 34: Employment in Resource Industries, Lemhi County, 1969-1991	40
Figure 35: Employment in Other Basic Industries, Lemhi County, 1969-1991	41
Figure 36: Employment in Trade Industries, Lemhi County, 1969-1991	41
Figure 37: Adjusted Unemployment Lemhi County, 1970-1991	42
Figure 38: Agricultural Property Lemhi County, 1992.....	44
Figure 39: Custer County Farming as a Primary Occupation	45
Figure 40: Lemhi County Farming as a Primary Occupation	45
Figure 41: Economic and Community Study Areas for Custer and Lemhi Counties.....	52
Figure 42: Population of Challis and Clayton, 1940- 1990	61
Figure 43: Total Population by Age, Challis Area	62
Figure 44: Residency Status 1985-1990, Challis Area	62

Figure 45: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Challis Area	63
Figure 46: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Challis Area	63
Figure 47: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Challis Area	64
Figure 48: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Challis Area, 1989	64
Figure 49: Total School Enrollment, Challis School District #181, 1978-1991	65
Figure 50: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Challis Area, 1989	65
Figure 51: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Challis Area	66
Figure 52: Sources of Household Income, Challis Area, 1989	66
Figure 53: Challis Economic Base	67
Figure 54: Population of Mackay and Lost River, 1950- 1991	73
Figure 55: Total Population by Age, Big Lost Area	73
Figure 56: Residency Status 1985-1990, Big Lost Area	74
Figure 57: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Big Lost Area	74
Figure 58: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Big Lost Area	75
Figure 59: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Big Lost Area	75
Figure 60: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Big Lost Area, 1989	76
Figure 61: Big Lost School District Enrollment, 1970-1991	76
Figure 62: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Big Lost Area, 1989	77
Figure 63: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Big Lost Area	77
Figure 64: Sources of Household Income, Big Lost Area, 1989	78
Figure 65: Big Lost Economic Base	78
Figure 66: Population of Stanley 1940-1990	83
Figure 67: Total Population by Age, Stanley Area	83
Figure 68: Residency Status 1985-1990, Stanley Area	84
Figure 69: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Stanley Area	84
Figure 70: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Stanley Area	85
Figure 71: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Stanley Area	85
Figure 72: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Stanley Area, 1989	86
Figure 73: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Stanley Area, 1989	86
Figure 74: Sources of Household Income, Stanley Area, 1989	87
Figure 75: Stanley Economic Base	87
Figure 76: Population of Patterson 1940-1990	92
Figure 77: Total Population By Age, Pahsimeroi Area	92
Figure 78: Residency Status 1985-1990, Pahsimeroi Area	93
Figure 79: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Pahsimeroi Area	93
Figure 80: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Pahsimeroi Area	94
Figure 81: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Pahsimeroi Area	94
Figure 82: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Pahsimeroi Area, 1989	95
Figure 83: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Pahsimeroi Area, 1989	95
Figure 84: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Pahsimeroi Area	96
Figure 85: Sources of Household Income, Pahsimeroi Area, 1989	96

Figure 86: Pahsimeroi Economic Base	97
Figure 87: Population of Leadore 1940-1990	102
Figure 88: Total Population by Age, Tendoy/Leadore Area.....	102
Figure 89: Residency Status 1985-1990, Tendoy/Leadore Area	103
Figure 90: Structure of Families w/ Own Children <18, Tendoy/Leadore Area	103
Figure 91: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Tendoy/Leadore Area	104
Figure 92: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Tendoy/Leadore Area	104
Figure 93: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Tendoy/Leadore Area, 1989	105
Figure 94: South Lemhi School District #292 Enrollment, 1970-1991.....	105
Figure 95: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Tendoy/Leadore Area, 1989	106
Figure 96: Sources of Household Income, Tendoy/Leadore Area, 1989.....	106
Figure 97: Tendoy Leadore Economic Base	107
Figure 98: Total Population by Age, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area	112
Figure 99: Residency Status 1985-1990, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area.....	112
Figure 100: Structure of Families w/ Own Children <18, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area	113
Figure 101: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area.....	113
Figure 102: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area...	114
Figure 103: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area, 1989.....	114
Figure 104: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area, 1989.....	115
Figure 105: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area.....	115
Figure 106: Source of Household Income, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area, 1989.....	116
Figure 107: North Fork/ Gibbonsville Economic Base	116
Figure 108: Population of Salmon 1940-1990.....	128
Figure 109: Total Population by Age, Salmon Area.....	128
Figure 110: Residency Status 1985-1990, Salmon Area	129
Figure 111: Structure of Families w/ Own Children <18, Salmon Area	129
Figure 112: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Salmon Area	130
Figure 113: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Salmon Area	130
Figure 114: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Salmon Area, 1989.....	131
Figure 115: Salmon School District #291 Enrollment, 1970-1991	131
Figure 116: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Salmon Area, 1989	132
Figure 117: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Salmon Area	132
Figure 118: Sources of Household Income, Salmon Area, 1989.....	133
Figure 119: Salmon Economic Base.....	133

List of Tables

Table A1: Earnings in Service Industries in Lemhi County, 1980-1991, in thousands..	136
Table A2: Economic Base of Challis in 1991.....	137
Table A3: Custer County Occupancy	138
Table A4: Economic Base of Big Lost in 1991	139
Table A5: Economic Base of Stanley in 1991	140
Table A6: Economic Base of Pahsimeroi in 1991	141
Table A7 Economic Base of Tendoy-Leadore in 1991.....	142
Table A8: Economic Base of North Fork/Gibbonsville in 1991	143
Table A9: Economic Base of Salmon in 1991.....	144
Table B1: Lemhi County Census Areas, Geographic Identifiers.....	147
Table B2: Custer County Census Areas, Geographic Identifiers.....	148

1. Preface: Cultural Continuity & Social Change

"For somehow, against probability, some sort of indigenous, recognizable culture has been growing on Western ranches and in Western towns and even in Western cities. It is the product not of the boomers but the stickers, not of those who pillage and run but of those who settle, and love the life they have made and the place they have made it in."

Wallace Stegner
*Where the Bluebird Sings to the
Lemonade Springs*

People living in the communities of Custer and Lemhi counties are Stegner's class of "stickers." Most people who served as respondents for this study had what could be described as an "indigenous, recognizable" relationship to the place that they lived, reasons for living there that were simple. It is from this common ground as "stickers" that contradictions and conflicts arise, and this common ground is where the larger social forces affecting communities in these counties play out their complex interactions.

Apart from the usual set of concerns so often voiced about the future of rural communities, the people in this study spoke of cultural continuity, keeping the vestiges of that "indigenous, recognizable culture" alive while change comes. What is crucial to our understanding, however, is that the respondents all have something different in mind, their own perspective that they share within the networks in their community. Continuity comes from sharing and reproducing a common narrative about what it means to live in a community. However, no matter what social and cultural perspective respondents brought to this narrative of their community, everyone voiced concern that the task ahead boiled down to keeping the "flavor" or "feel" of their community alive for their children and grandchildren.

Though sharing a goal, the various community narratives have fractured roots. The continuity of no single cultural narrative must be maintained, but the continuity of many smaller narratives, sharing dimensions with other narratives, overlapping, often conflicting,

but always coexisting. Each has its own understanding about what the community is and what continuity means. These fractured roots form the foundation for both community cooperation and community conflict. The social fabric examined in this report is viewed from this perspective.

2. The Task

These stickers of Stegner's West live in Salmon, the Pahsimeroi Valley, Mackay, Challis, Leadore and Tendoy, North Fork, and Stanley. Their reasons for sticking are bound up in those many small narratives that differentiate them. What are the dimensions of those narratives? How do they fit into the local society? How are they bound up in local economies? With these questions in mind social data or economic models can come to life.

Many forces have an impact on rural communities. In rural Idaho, recent changes at many levels of society have induced social impacts. Custer and Lemhi Counties are not exceptions. For example, changes in world mineral prices have adversely affected the mining industry, contributing to the indefinite closure of the Thompson Creek Mine in Custer County. In addition, changes in federal policy toward public lands have altered traditional economic relationships regarding natural resources in Idaho. Grazing, mining, and timber are no longer assured primacy in the use of the public domain. Moreover, public policies such as the Endangered Species and Wild and Scenic Rivers Acts affect the economic relationships between communities and the public lands as well as the social understanding of resource use on those lands.

For the most part, these changes have social and political foundations, but their impacts affect all levels of society throughout the study area. This social assessment segment of the Custer/Lemhi Study is a discussion of the social fabric of seven rural communities in this area. One thing must be kept in mind: this discussion is not an accounting of social impacts. Rather, it elucidates what may be at stake as the economies in these communities change, and should be read as a context for potential social impacts and not as a discussion of any particular impacts.

3. Methodology

Two separate approaches were used in this study. First, a profile of each area was built using secondary, published data. This presented a problem because much of the pertinent economic data is available only at the county level. This makes it difficult to examine important data for smaller areas without an economic model. The Custer/Lemhi Economic Model accomplishes this task and is extensively used later in this report.

Second, a profile of each community was built using personal interviews. For this, a non-statistical sample was drawn by the following guidelines:

- A sample was constructed using the snowball technique. This involves having an initial respondent, frequently a public figure, identify other potential respondents. Each successive respondent is asked to suggest others that may agree to an interview. Hence, the sample "snowballs" as interviews progress.
- To fully appreciate the diversity of opinion that characterizes any community, each respondent identified people in the study area known to hold views divergent from theirs. This approach insured that some of the limits of public opinion were examined.

An unstructured interview methodology was applied. This approach does not use a set of fixed questions. Rather, each interview uses a set of general questions as a guideline.

These were as follows:

- The interview opened by establishing the tenure of the respondent in the area. This included questions about ancestry, migration to the area, and what drew the individual or their predecessors to the study area.
- The occupation of the respondent and its place in the community were discussed.
- The community with which the respondent most identified and the reasons why were discussed.

- What attributes that community had that the respondent liked or disliked were discussed along with facets of the community that were of interest to the respondent.
- What changes the respondent had seen in their time in the area and changes the respondent saw for the future were discussed.
- What the respondent wanted the community to be for the next generation was the final area of discussion.

In a personal interview setting, it is very costly and difficult to sample a population statistically. With this in mind, 163 completed interviews were conducted in Custer and Lemhi Counties. The content of these interviews remains strictly confidential.

Finally, using a survey instrument, a nonsample survey of businesses in the study area was conducted. This instrument with cover letters is reproduced in Appendix B. In each county, community volunteers administered the survey to businesses. In Lemhi County, volunteers from the following organizations canvassed businesses with the survey instrument:

- Salmon Gem Community Program
- Idaho Conservation League
- Grass Roots for Multiple Use
- Lemhi County Horse and Cattle Growers Association
- Idaho Outfitters and Guides Association, Salmon Chapter
- Salmon Chamber of Commerce

In Lemhi County, 126 usable surveys were returned. Though this information remains confidential, it provided useful information about the local economy.

In Custer County, volunteers from the following organizations assisted in surveying county businesses:

- Idaho Conservation League
- Grass Roots for Multiple Use
- Idaho Outfitters and Guides Association, Challis Chapter

In Custer County, 38 usable surveys were returned. Though few, these surveys provided valuable information on how the local economy functions.

4. A Social Profile of Custer and Lemhi Counties

Lemhi and Custer Counties constitute the study area. Each county is discussed as a separate study unit. This provides a background for the more spatially differentiated community data presented in later sections. For ease of interpretation, the majority of the data is presented in the form of figures. Figures are located at the end of the section to which they refer.

4.1. Custer County

4.1.1. Population Change

In Idaho, the development of mining was a primary force in early population patterns of many counties. In Custer County, trappers gave way to miners by the early 1860's. During periods of mine activity, whole towns functioned where only remains can now be seen. The majority of the population is now clustered in three general areas: Challis, Mackay, and Stanley.

Since 1980, Custer County population has fluctuated greatly due to the construction and development of a large mine on Thompson Creek. The historic population figures for Custer County are displayed in Figure 1, and population estimates for the county from 1969 to 1991 are given in Figure 2. The population boom of the early 1980's is obvious. Few counties in Idaho have experienced population fluctuations of this magnitude, and it had not subsided totally by the 1990 Census. Such changes in the total population of a county are affected by many forces. The sources of Custer County's population change are examined below.

4.1.1.1. Natality

The number of live births, birth and fertility rates for Custer County are presented in Figure 3. Birth rates have remained relatively constant from 1971 to 1991. The construction phase of the Thompson Creek mine caused a rapid influx of families, as indicated by a rapid increase in live births and fertility rates in the early to mid 1980's. This indicates an influx of women of child-bearing age. This raised the fertility rate, as this measure is based on the number of live births per 1000 women, ages 15-44.¹

4.1.1.2. Migration

The rapid in-migration in the 1980's is reflected in Figures 4 and 5. Looking at Figure 4, from 1981 to 1982 the county population increased by almost 30%. This is an enormous increase, by any standards. This rise was followed by a rapid decline in the rate of population change, as the construction phase of the mine gave way to its daily operation. A similar story can be seen in Figure 5. Net migration increased over 30% from 1981 to 1982. This indicates that almost all the population growth taking place then is attributable to in-migration. From 1984 until 1990, net migration has been mostly negative, as economic opportunities thinned out. However, the late 1980's are characterized by a steady out-migration. In the last few years, up through 1991, population change due to migration was almost nil.

4.1.1.3. Marriage/Divorce

Marriage and divorce rates are presented in Figure 6. These are an indicator of patterns in population growth. The marriage rate peaked in 1981 at about 20 marriages per 1000 people. This is due partly to the population influx. This rate declined in the early 1980's, as out-migration occurred, but has increased in the last five years. Overall, the divorce rate has remained fairly constant. This weak relationship between marriage and divorce rates could be due to the out-migrants of the mid 1980's receiving divorces after they had departed Custer County.

¹All definitions are in Appendix A.

4.1.2. Age/households/families

The composition of Custer County population is presented in Figures 7, 8, and 9. In Figure 7, the official 1990 population was 4133, and there were 1561 households and 1136 families. As displayed in Figure 8, of the families with children, almost 89% were married couples. As seen in Figure 9, 79% of the households in the county have children and 33% of those households have children in the 6 to 11 year range. Figure 10 provides a population pyramid for Custer County. Custer County has a solid population base in the family years, with much of the population being in their 30's and 40's. Figure 11 provides the percentage of the population over the age of 65. This indicates a likely population for a significant retirement community.

4.1.3. Income, Earnings & Employment

4.1.3.1. Income & Earnings

Figures 12 to 15 depict various trends in employment and earnings for Custer County from 1969 to 1991.² Figure 12 displays plainly the upsurge in personal income that accompanied the mining boom of the early 1980's. In adjusted dollars, nonfarm personal income has essentially doubled, while net farm income as slowly declined. The components of adjusted personal income are presented in Figure 13. Because net earnings are derived from personal income, it is not surprising to see them follow a similar pattern as total personal income, again reflecting rapid growth in the early 1980's. Dividends, interest and rents display slow but steady growth, as do transfer payments.

Transfer payments come in a variety of forms. Three basic categories used here are presented in Figure 14. These are all payments to individuals, and are part of personal income. What is striking about Figure 14 is the fourfold growth in government retirement payments. Without greater detail in the data it is difficult to assess where this growth comes from. It might be from Forest Service employees, or from other federal retirees from I.N.E.L.

² All earnings and income figures are adjusted using the consumer price index, with 1982-1984=100.

The small increase and subsequent decrease in unemployment insurance are another after-effect of the mining boom. Income maintenance payments are a small part of transfers, and have remained steady.

The component parts of adjusted earnings are presented in Figure 15. Again, the influence of the early 1980's can be seen by the overwhelming increase in wage and salary income since 1980. Nonfarm proprietors' and other labor income fluctuated since 1969, but contribute a mostly static proportion to total earnings.

4.1.3.2. Employment

Employment numbers for Custer County have some peculiarities due to the influence of the mining sector. With this in mind, employment information is presented in Figures 16 to 18. Figure 16 indicates employment in resource industries in Custer County, and displays a familiar pattern. Farm, agriculture, forestry, and fishery related employment has fluctuated slightly since 1969, with agriculture, forestry, and fishery related employment beginning to rise by 1991. The mining sector appears to vanish in 1986 due to the withholding of data to avoid disclosing confidential information. In reality, employment in mining was still in the area of 300 jobs in 1991. The temporary shut down of Thompson Creek last year will lower employment in Custer County. The net employment effect of a new gold mine on Grouse Creek is yet to be determined.

Employment in other basic industries of the Custer County economy is presented in Figure 17. Again, the familiar increase and decrease from mining can be seen in construction employment. By 1991, transportation and public utility employment provided more jobs than either construction or manufacturing.

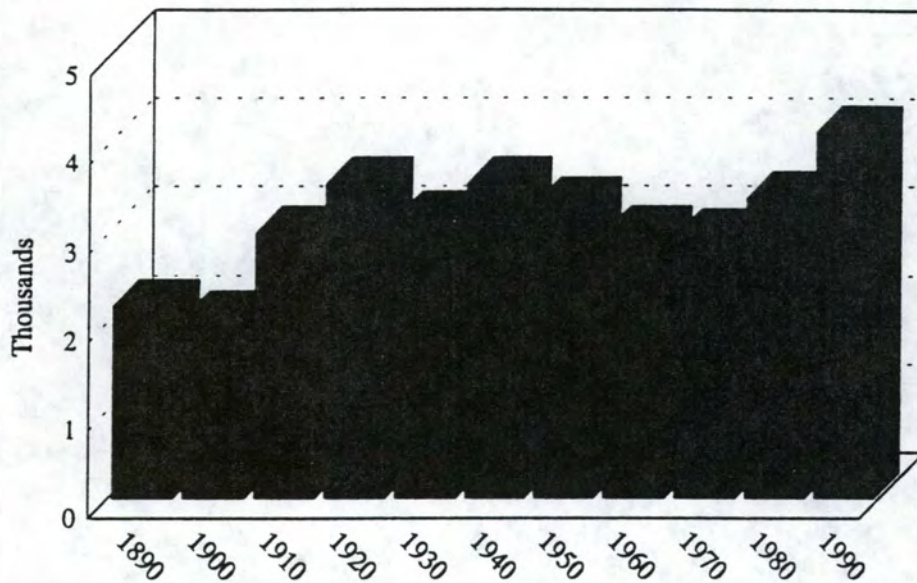
Employment in the trade sectors is depicted in Figure 18. These industries show a lagged upswing from the mine expansion. This is due to their serving the people that stayed after the initial construction boom. What is noticeable here is the upswing in retail employment at the end of the 1980's and into the 1990's. Increasing recreation traffic was one cause offered by some respondents to explain this upswing.

Finally, seasonally adjusted unemployment for Custer County is present in Figure 19. During the 1970's, unemployment regularly fluctuated as high as 8-10 percent. Even as the mine opened, unemployment remained in the 6-8 percent range until the late 1980's. Through 1991, unemployment remained quite low.

Overall, it is obvious that the population of Custer County has expanded and declined in the last thirteen years. Respondents living in Challis as well as the county as a whole, indicated that they had mixed feelings about the boom of the early 1980's. Many merchants and real estate owners derived direct benefit from the in-migrants. On the whole, however, this economic impact was seen as temporary. Many respondents indicated that the layoff at the mine in early 1992 would bring back the quiet time before the mine opened. No one missed the time during the construction boom, and none would discount the contributions that the miners and their families make to Challis. Nonetheless, many voiced an appreciation and nostalgia for the "time before Cyprus" when Challis was "just another cow town."

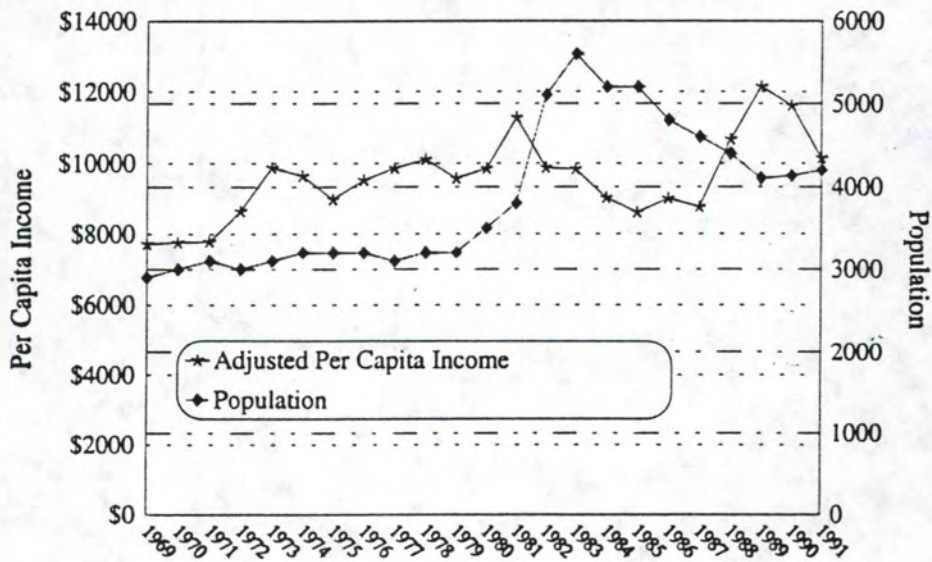
There was also a consensus among respondents that many people who grew up in Custer County had the opportunity to either remain or return due to employment opportunities in the mine. The ability to stay in (or at least come back to) the area was very important to many respondents. As mining remained one of the few high-wage employment opportunities in Custer County, these families comprise much of the social fabric in Challis and the surrounding area. In addition, families that stayed on to work in the mine were seen as stable members of the community. Fertility rates remained fairly high throughout the mid 1980's and this is likely due to these families. The last numbers used are for 1991, but the temporary shut down at the Thompson Creek mine in late 1992 makes future populations more uncertain.

Figure 1: Historic Population Custer County



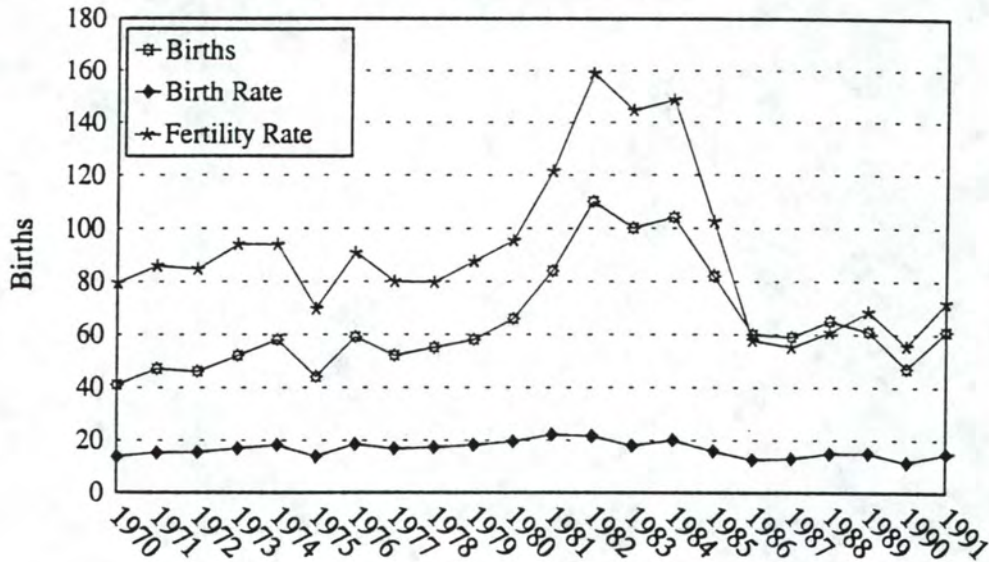
Source: Census of Population and Housing, Various Years: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 2: Custer County Population and Per Capita Income, 1969-1991



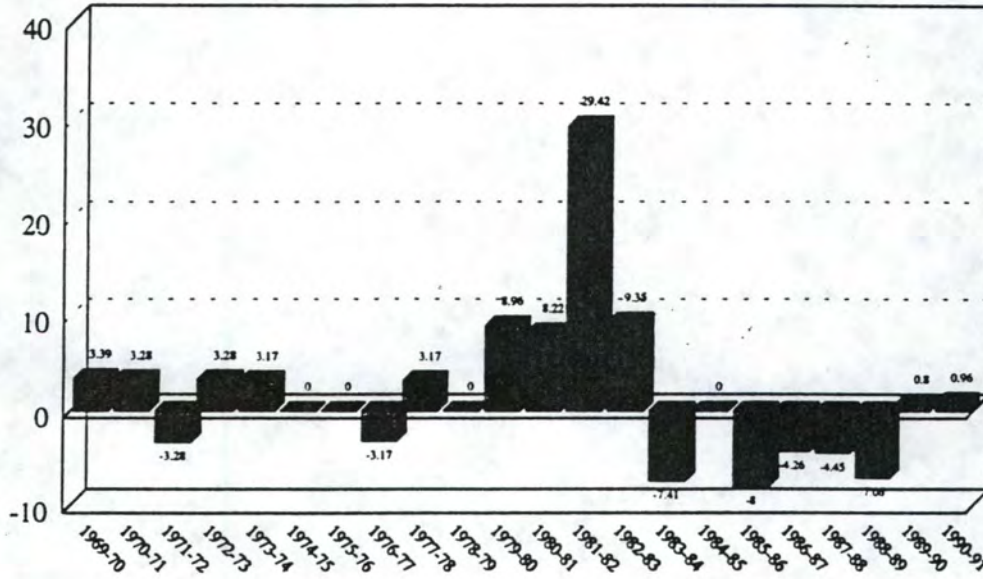
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 3: Custer County Natality, 1970-1991



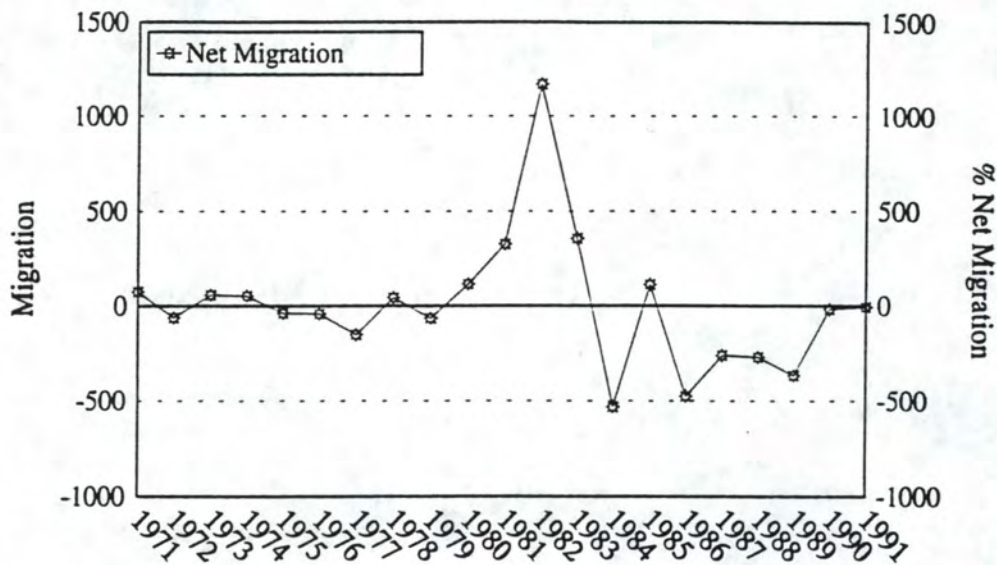
Source: Idaho Department of Health & Welfare

Figure 4: Custer County Annual Rate of Population Change, 1969-1991



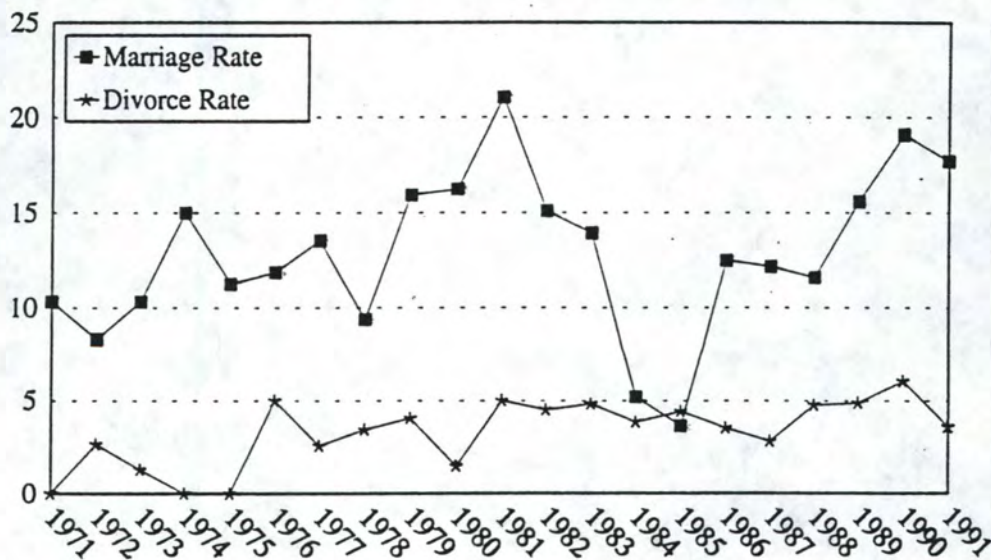
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 5: Custer County Net Migration



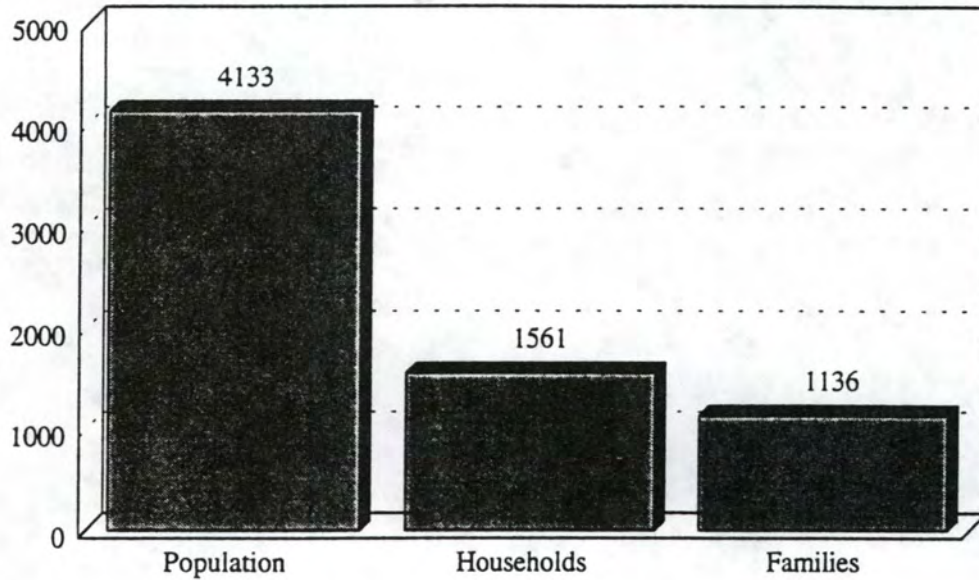
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993 & ID Dept. of Health & Welfare

Figure 6: Custer County Marriage & Divorce Rates, 1971-1991



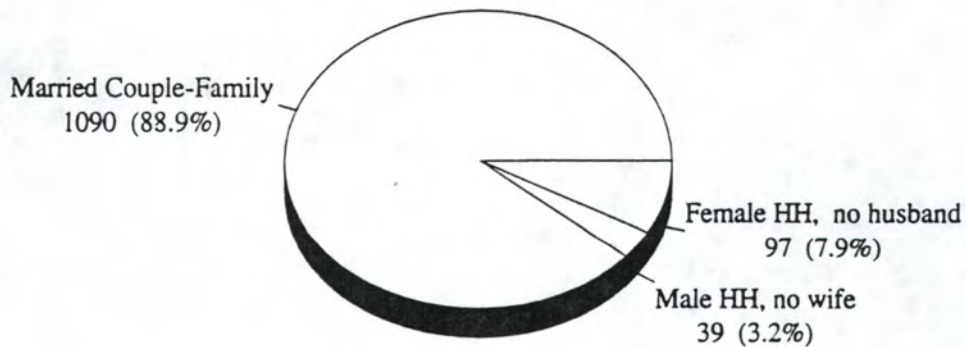
Source: ID Dept. of Health & Welfare

Figure 7: Custer County: Population, Households, and Families in 1990



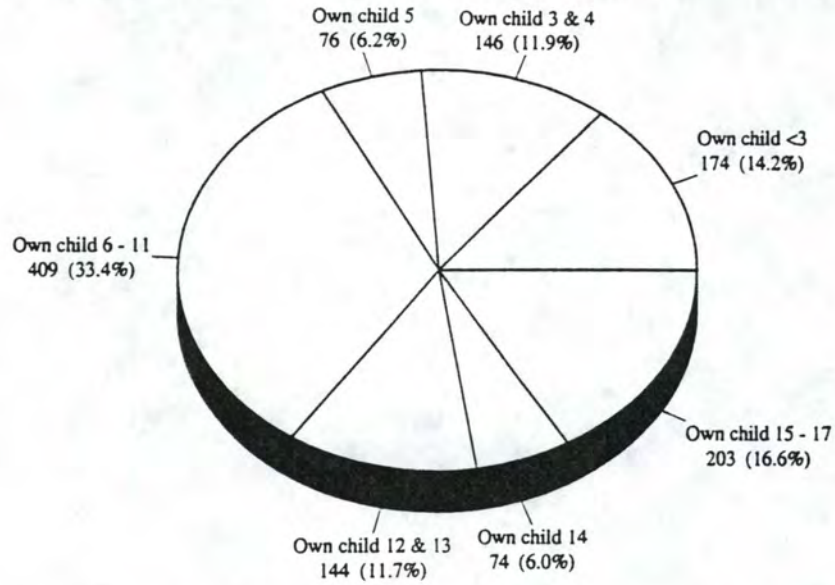
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 8: Custer County, Marital Status of Households w/ Children <18



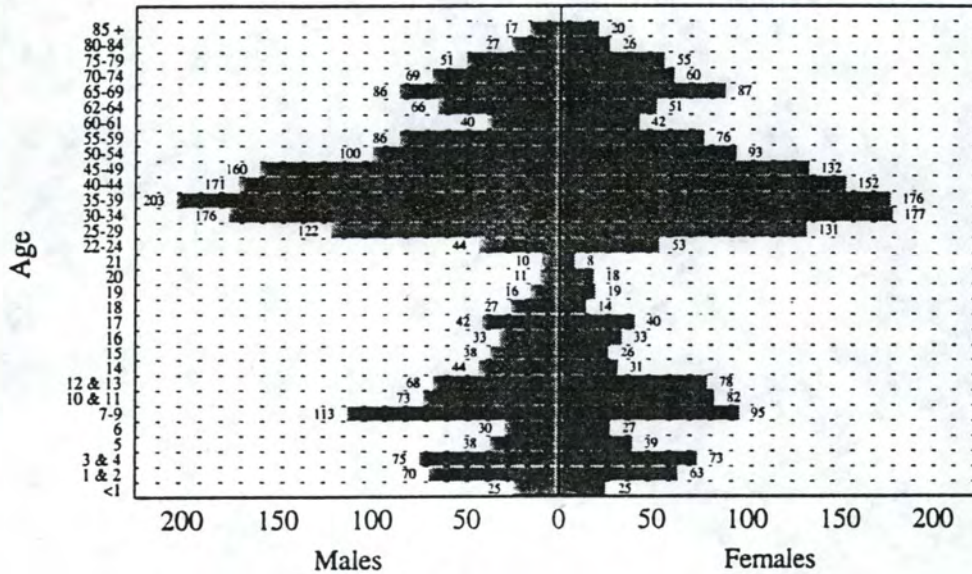
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 9: Custer County, Number of Households with Children <18



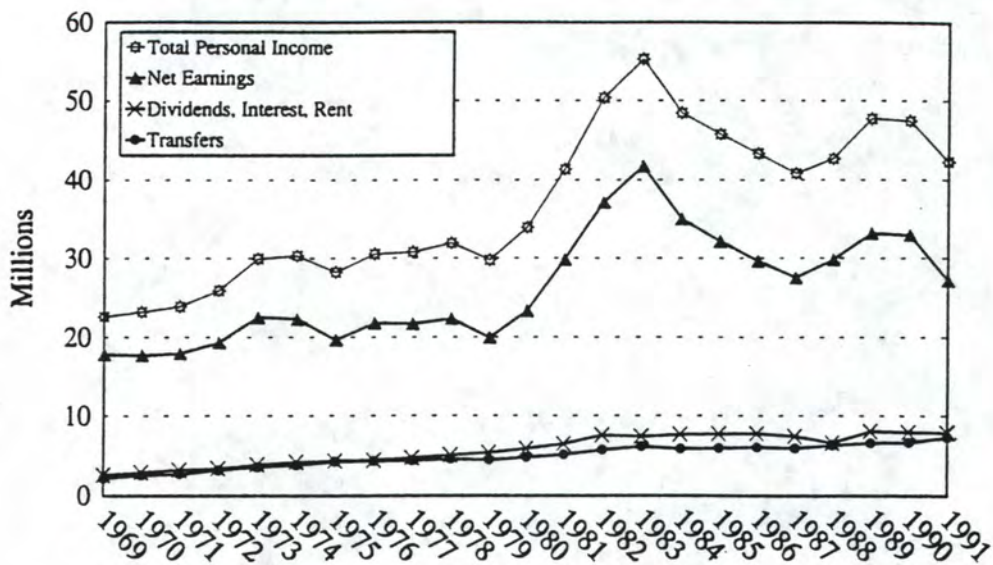
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 10: Custer County Total Population, Male vs. Female



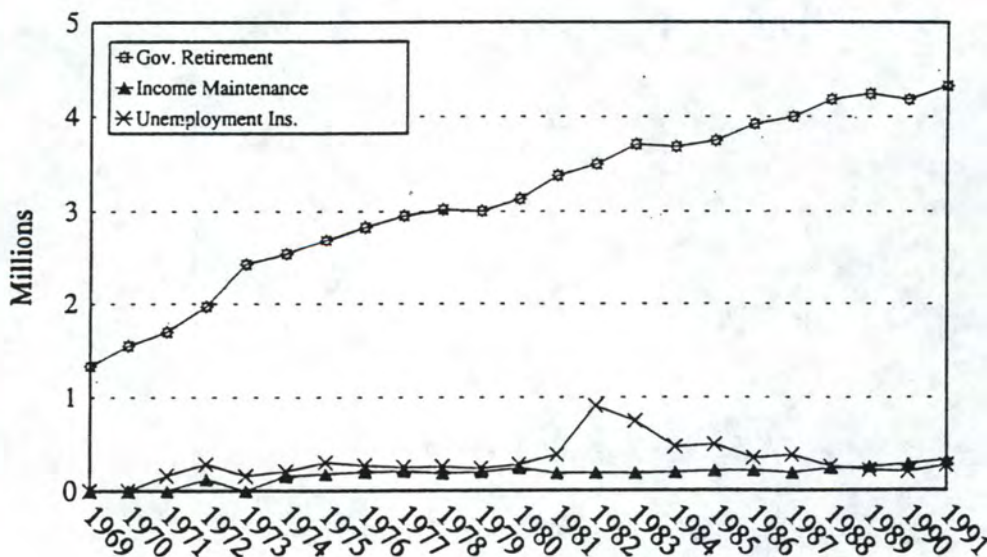
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 13: Components of Adjusted Personal Income, Custer County, 1969-1991



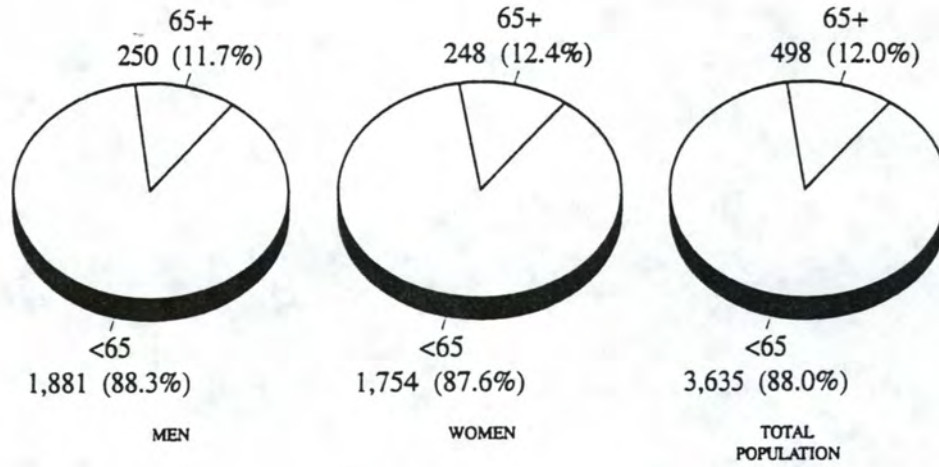
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 14: Adjusted Government Transfer Payments, Custer County, 1969-1991



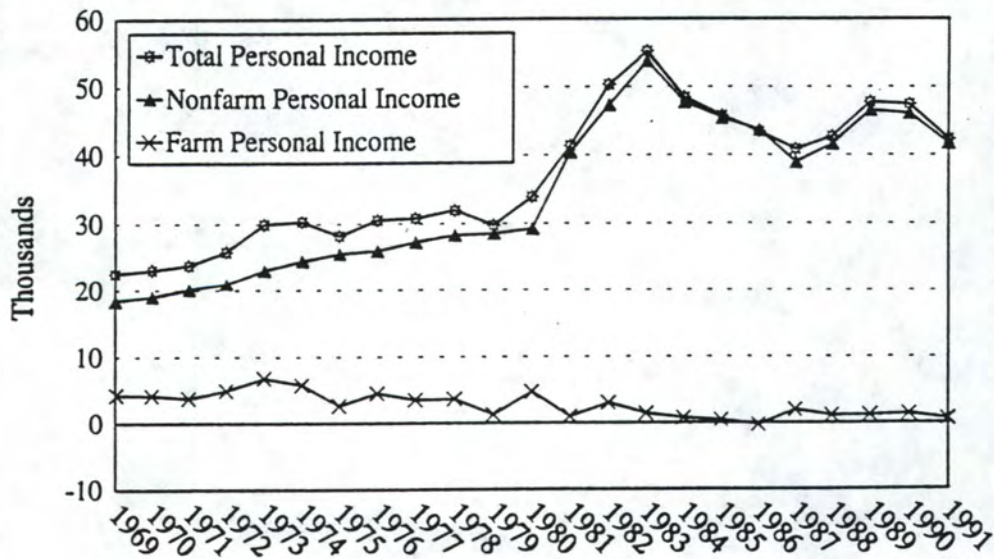
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 11: Custer County Percent of Population Age 65+



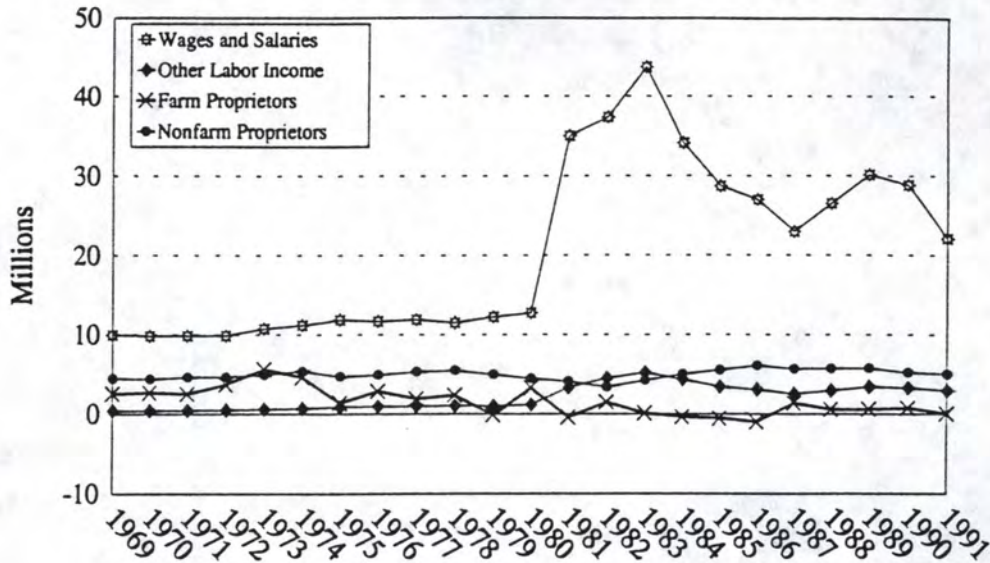
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 12: Adjusted Net Farm, Nonfarm & Total Income in Custer County, 1969-1991



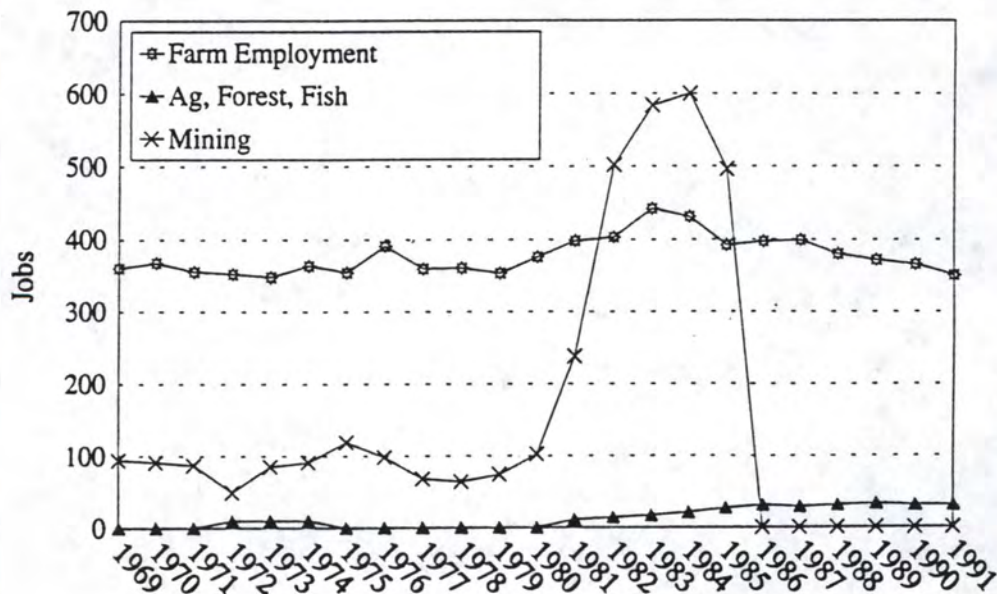
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 15: Components of Adjusted Earnings, Custer County, 1969-1991



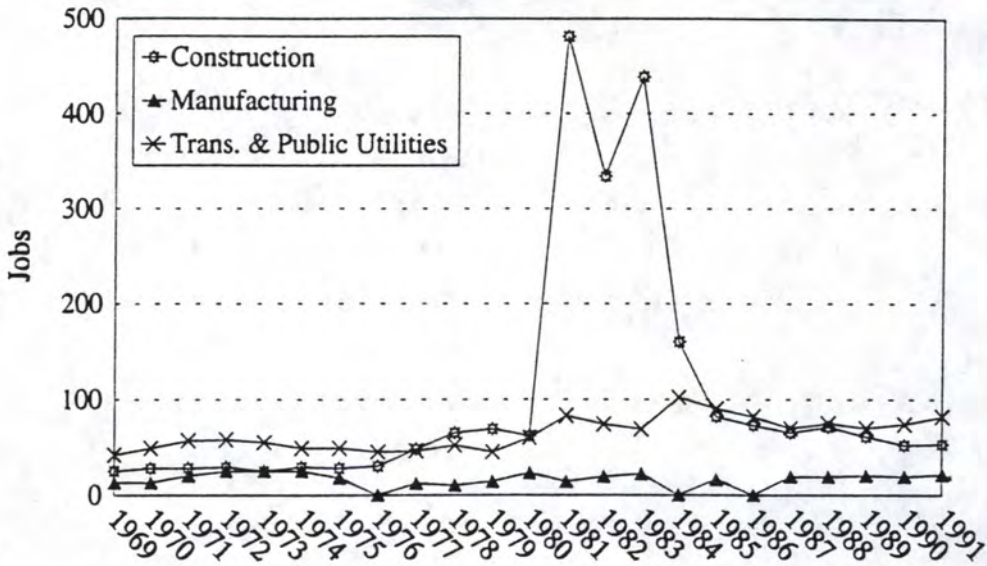
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 16: Employment in Resource Industries, Custer County, 1969-1991



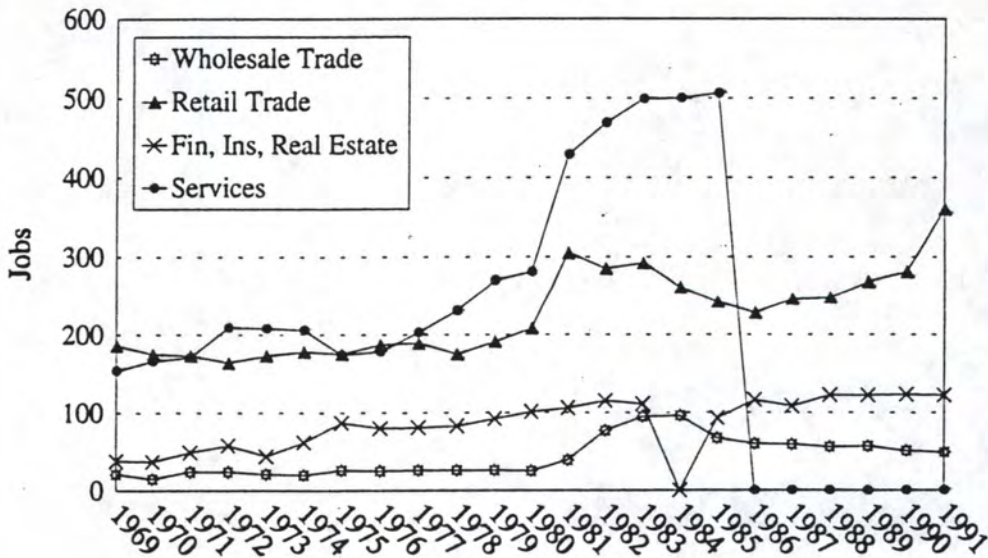
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993.
Zeros used when industry had a single proprietor; data confidential.

Figure 17: Employment in Other Basic Industries, Custer County, 1969-1991



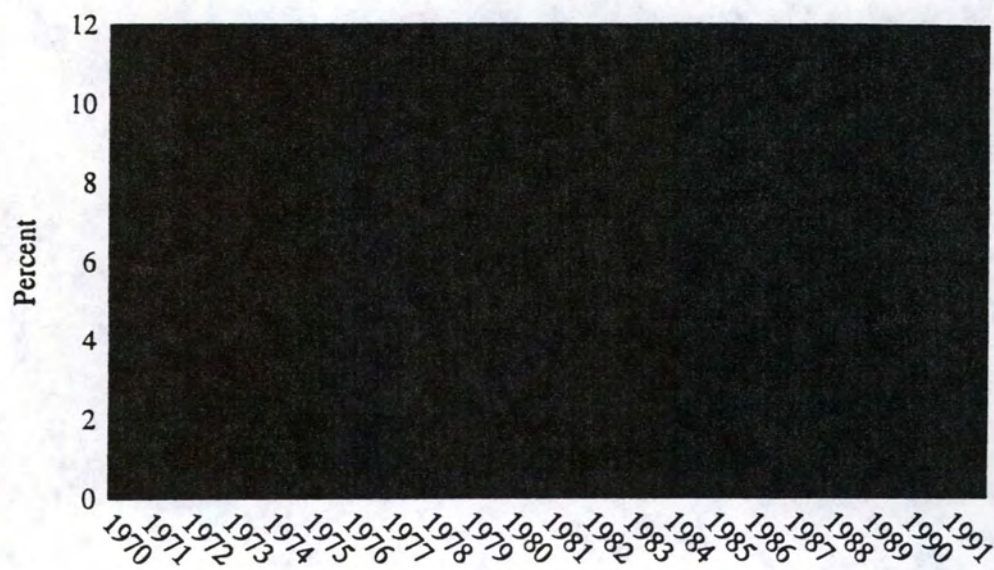
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993
 Zeros used when industry had a single proprietor; data confidential

Figure 18: Employment in Trade Industries, Custer County, 1969-1991



Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993
 Zeros used when industry had a single proprietor; data confidential

Figure 19: Adjusted Unemployment Custer County, 1970-1991



Source: Department of Employment, State of Idaho

4.2. Lemhi County

4.2.1. Population Change

As with Custer County, Lemhi County has a long history of mining. Towns flourished (at least in the summer months) in the back country where mining occurred. At this time, the population of Lemhi County is clustered around Salmon, the Tendoy/Leadore corridor, the North Fork/Gibbonsville area, and the Pahsimeroi Valley around May and Ellis.

Figure 20 contains the historic Census population of Lemhi County, and Figure 21 displays the population of Lemhi County from 1969 to 1991. In Figure 20, the population appears to have peaked in 1980. As seen in Figure 21, the population since 1969 has trended upward, rising in the late 1970's and peaking in the early 1980's with a small boom in mining activity. This trend settled out by 1986, and the population stayed fairly constant until a recent increase. By 1991, the population of Lemhi County had returned to more than 7000.

Figure 22 depicts the annual rate of population change for the county. The surge of the late 1970's and early 1980's is readily seen. What is also evident is the out-migration that occurred in the middle of the last decade. For six years, the rate of population change was either zero or negative. By 1990, however, population growth began again. Sources of this population change are discussed below.

4.2.1.1. Natality

The numbers of live births, birth, and fertility rates are presented in Figure 23. Though births increased during population growth, the fertility rate was steady, as was the birth rate. This indicates that the in-migrants did not add to the fertility rate than already existed in Lemhi County. Though the number of live births went up, the population base grew at a similar, or faster, rate. This situation leaves the birth and fertility rates relatively unchanged. As out-migration occurred in the middle 1980's, families and women in their childbearing years departed, lowering the frequency of live births. The birth rate declined slightly, but appears to be rising into the 1990's.

4.2.1.2. Migration

Figure 24 provides the migration history of Lemhi County from 1969 to 1991. The largest in-migration occurred in 1972, dissipating within a few years. This was followed by another burst in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Recall Figure 21 and how it clearly indicates that by 1986 the drop in population had dissipated. Only in the 1990's has in-migration begun again. A common impression of in-migrants was that some move into Lemhi County with insufficient information, and end up leaving fairly soon thereafter. This was evident in cohort statistics from the Salmon School District in which enrollments declined as winter came on and people moved back out of the area, having only recently arrived.

4.2.1.3. Marriage/Divorce

Marriage and divorce rates for Lemhi County are presented in Figure 25. Divorce rates appear to be stable over time. Marriage rates have declined somewhat over the long term. Given the above discussion of population change and migration, this is further evidence that in-migrants had little effect on some social indicators. The marriage rate declined slightly in the second half of the 1980's, but the overall effect of population fluctuations on marriage and divorce appears to have been minimal.

4.2.2. Age/households/families

The age composition of the population of Lemhi County is presented in Figures 26 to 29. Figure 26 gives the official population of Lemhi County in 1990 as 6899, with 2769 households and 1945 families. As seen in Figure 27, over 83% of the households with children were married couples. According to Figure 28, of all households, 67% had children under the age of 18, with 36% having children in the 6 to 11 year range. Figure 29 provides a population pyramid for Lemhi County. The pyramid portrays a county with a solid population base in the age range of families: 30 to 40 year old adults and adolescent and pre-adolescent

children. This lends additional credence to the assertion that the population fluctuations over the last two decades left the family situation in the county fairly stable.

4.2.3. Income, Earnings & Employment

4.2.3.1. Income & Earnings

Figures 30 to 33 depict various trends in income and earnings for Lemhi County from 1969 to 1991. Adjusted personal income rose steadily throughout the 1970's and into the early 1980's, as seen in Figure 30. Since that time, personal income growth has slowed, but total income has remained steady. In adjusted dollars, growth in nonfarm personal income has outstripped net farm income. The components of adjusted personal income are displayed in Figure 31. As net earnings are derived from personal income, and they rose together until the early 1980's. By that time, dividends, interest and rent, and transfer payments had risen to levels sufficient to keep total income buoyed well above \$60 million.

To better examine this situation, the components of adjusted earnings are displayed in Figure 32. As wage and salary earnings began to fall in 1978, nonfarm proprietors' income fell as well, until 1983 when it rebounded. Net farm earnings were low from the late 1970's until the early 1980's, but earnings got a slight boost from higher cattle prices in the late 1980's.

The last component of personal income is transfer payments. Government payments to individuals in Lemhi County are graphed in Figure 33. Except for a short-term increase in unemployment insurance payments in 1982, the growth in federal retirement payments dominates this picture. The level of these government payments has grown by a factor of six since 1969. This is likely due to retirement from the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, and the general attraction of Lemhi County as a retirement area.

4.2.3.2. Employment

Employment information for Lemhi County is presented in Figures 34 to 36. In Figure 34, farm employment fluctuates over the period, and by 1991 has trended down to a point

similar to the early 1970's. Mining employment increased in the early 1980's, but has also fallen back in the last ten years. Respondents from the mining sector indicated that this trend will continue as uncertainty regarding federal mineral and environmental policies slows exploration and development in Lemhi County. The agriculture, forestry and fishery sector, which does not include farm employment, appears stable through 1991. This sector faces uncertainty as the supply of logs from public lands fluctuates, and competition for logs with mills in western Montana increases.

Employment in other basic sectors of the Lemhi County economy is presented in Figure 35. Growth in the food and timber products sectors during the late 1970's gave way to decline through the middle of the 1980's. Another upsurge in manufacturing occurred in the after 1986, but has since slowed. Most of the employment loss has come in the food processing sector in and around Salmon, primarily in the closing of a beef jerky plant. The construction trades have had slow but steady growth. Some of this growth can be attributed to heavy construction employment with mining exploration, and increased employment in specialty trades. Employment in transportation and public utilities has almost doubled from 1969 to 1991.

Employment in the trade sectors is depicted in Figure 36. Other than a bubble of activity in 1975 and 1976, employment in the wholesale trade has remained steady, as has finance, insurance and real estate. Jobs in retail trade have fluctuated, but have displayed a general upward trend. What is remarkable is the consistent growth in the services sector. Over the period of 1969 to 1991, employment in this sector more than doubled.

To examine this more closely, Appendix Table A1 contains the adjusted earnings numbers for components of the service sector.³ Overall, the service sector grew by 24% from 1980 to 1991. This growth was fueled by a 73% increase in adjusted earnings for the health services sector, which accounts for almost one third of the total adjusted earnings in the sector. Educational and social services have grown considerably as well, each showing a gain

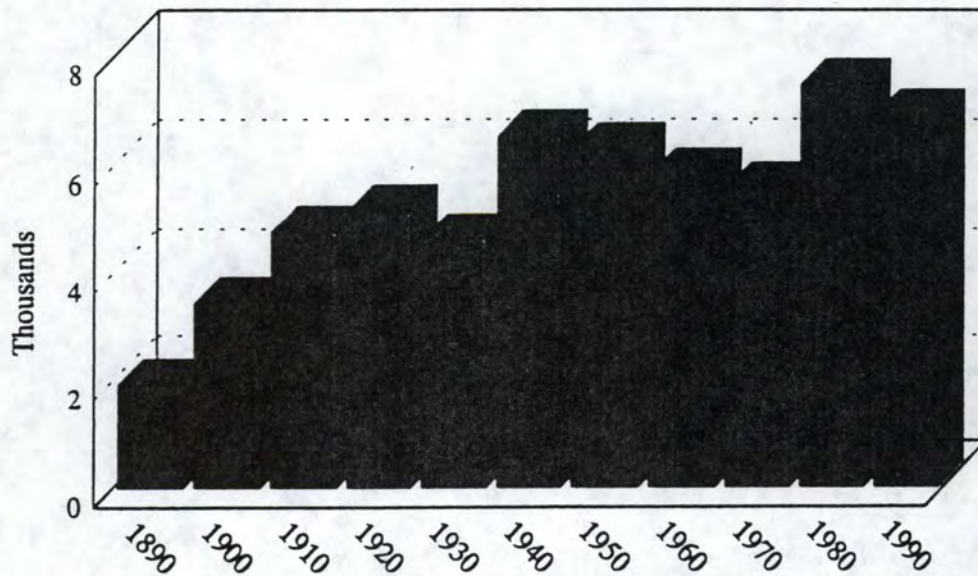
³ Employment numbers for most sectors are not reported by the Department of Commerce in the detail contained in Table A1.

in earnings of more than 30%. In the area of visitors, hotels and lodging places had a 48% increase in earnings, and amusement and recreation services (which includes outfitters and guides) grew by 39%. This steady growth appears responsible for the increased employment in the general service industry sector. If detailed employment data were available, questions of the wage structure in each of these areas could be examined.

Finally, seasonally adjusted unemployment rates for Lemhi County are presented in Figure 37. Unemployment moved over 10 percent in 1976 and fluctuated near that rate until the early 1980's. It then increased to around 15 percent for a couple of years, dropping in the late 1980's and rising back above 10 percent by 1991.

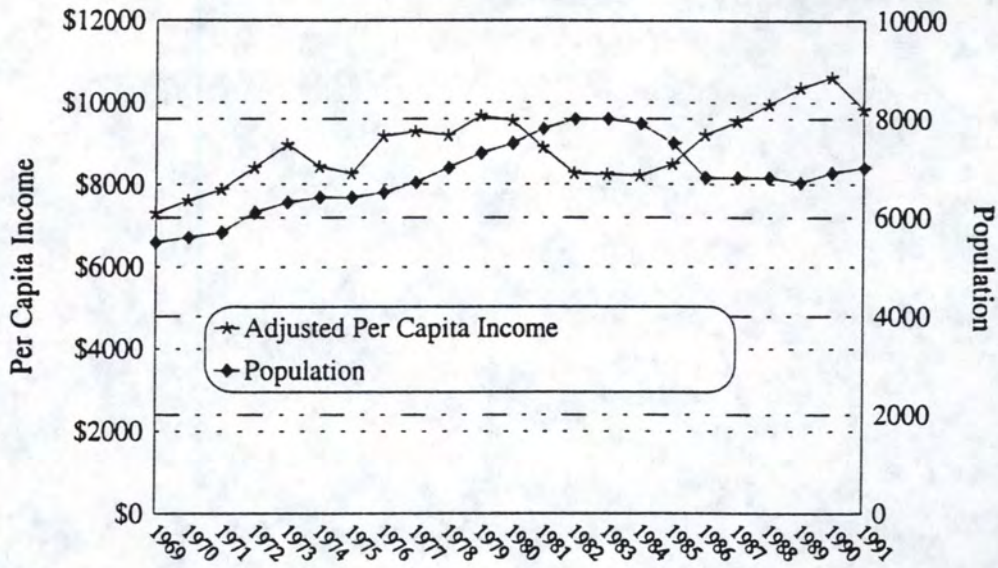
This set of secondary numbers leaves questions concerning the relationship of the social data to the economic base unanswered. Many of the outcomes for this aggregated data are partially explained in the discussion of the communities. These issues are discussed in detail below, as the economic and social situations of the seven communities in this study are examined.

Figure 20: Historic Population Lemhi County



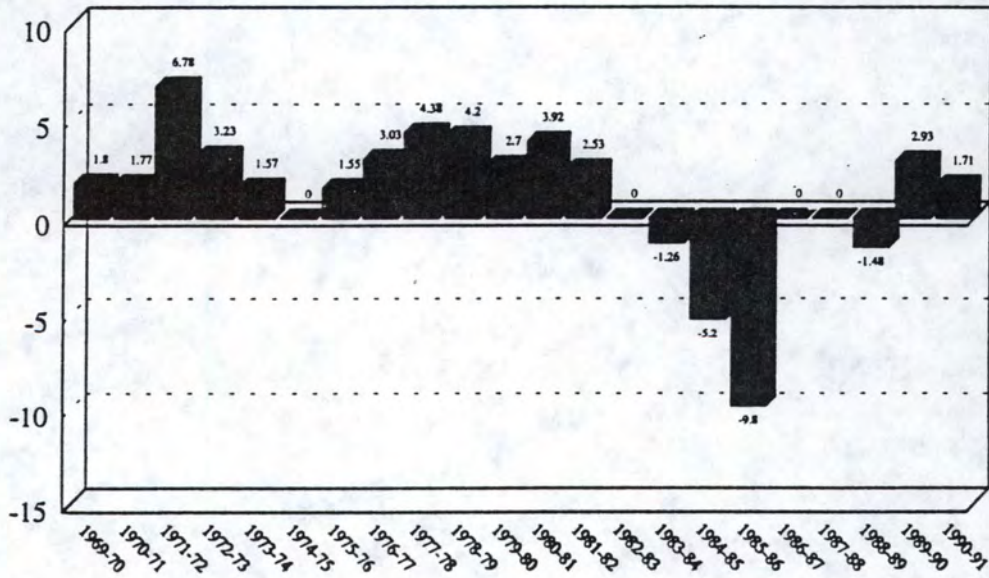
Source: Census of Population and Housing, Various Years: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 21: Lemhi County Population and Per Capita Income, 1969-1991



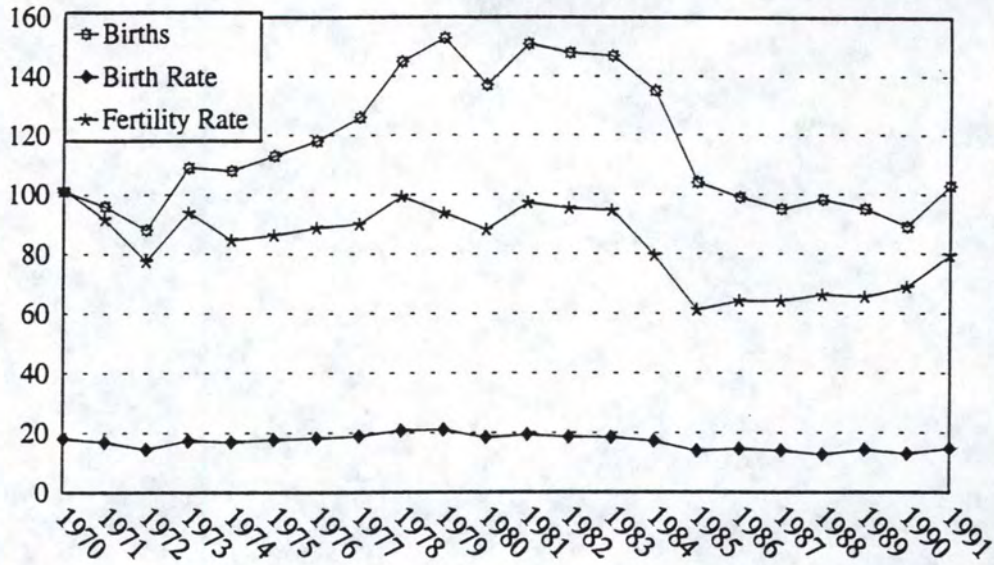
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 22: Lemhi County Annual Rate of Population Change, 1969-1991



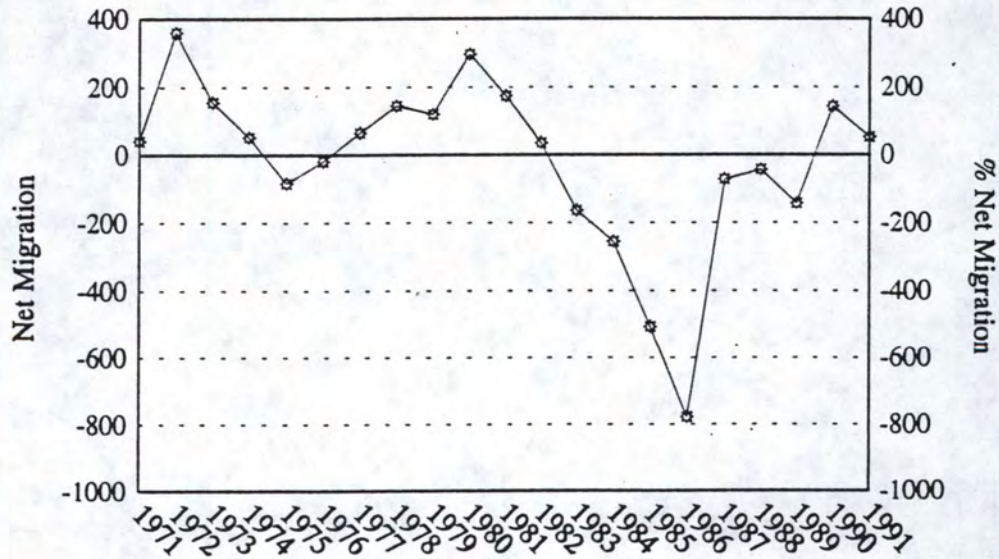
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 23: Lemhi County Natality, 1970-1991



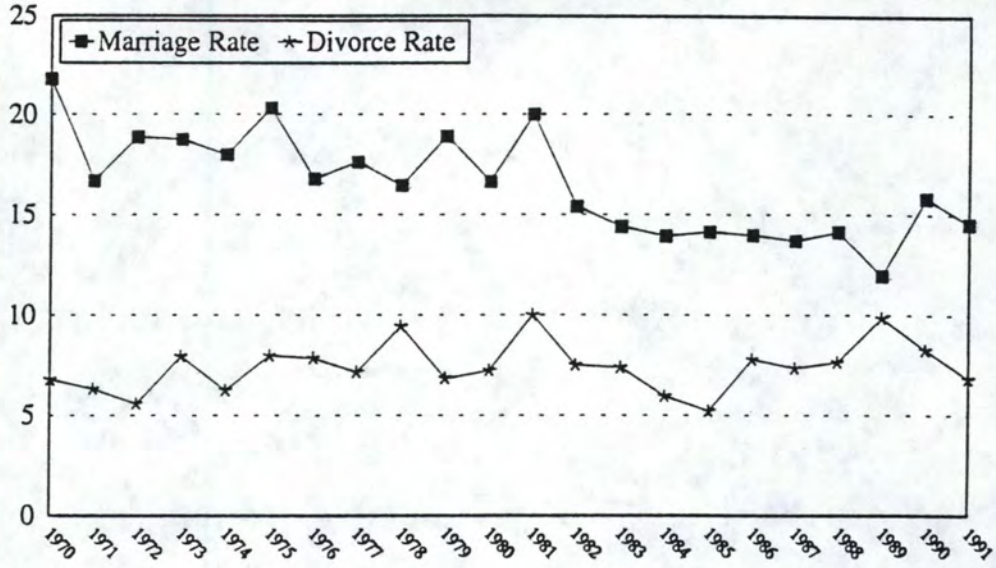
Source: Idaho Dept. of Health & Welfare

Figure 24: Lemhi County Net Migration, 1971-1991



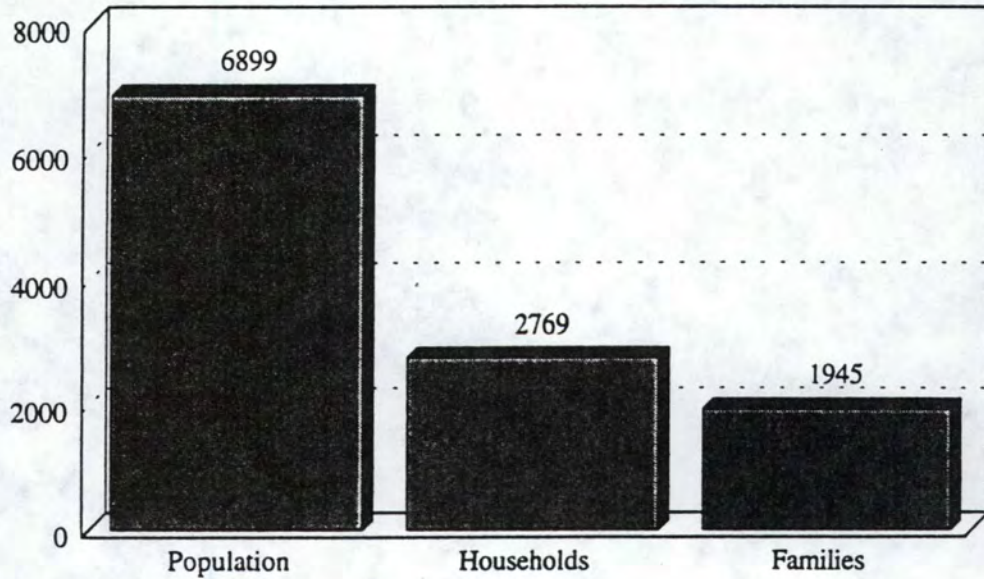
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993 & ID Dept. of Health & Welfare

Figure 25: Lemhi County Marriage & Divorce Rates, 1970-1991



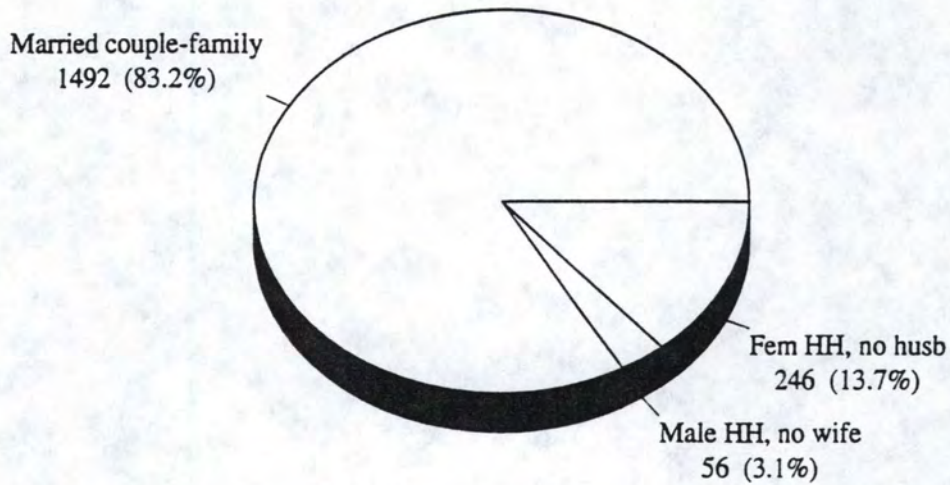
Source: Idaho Department of Health & Welfare

Figure 26: Lemhi County: Population, Households, and Families in 1990



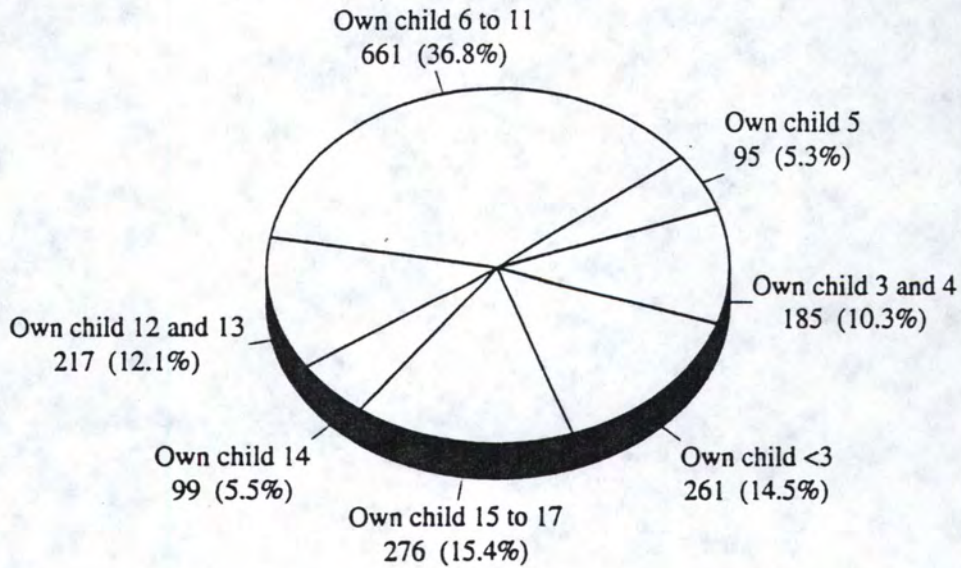
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 27: Lemhi County, Marital Status of Households with Children <18



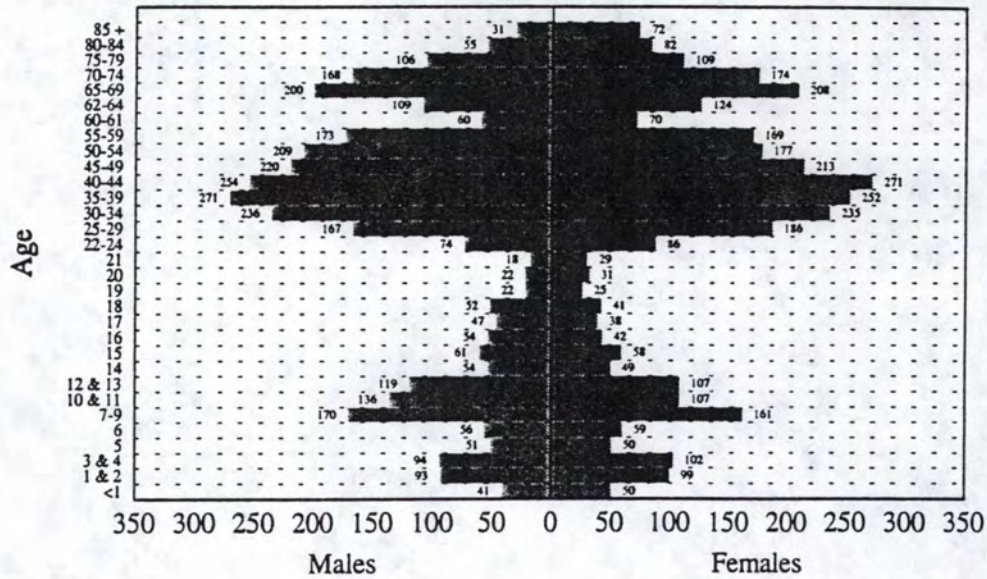
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 28: Lemhi County, Number of Households with Children <18



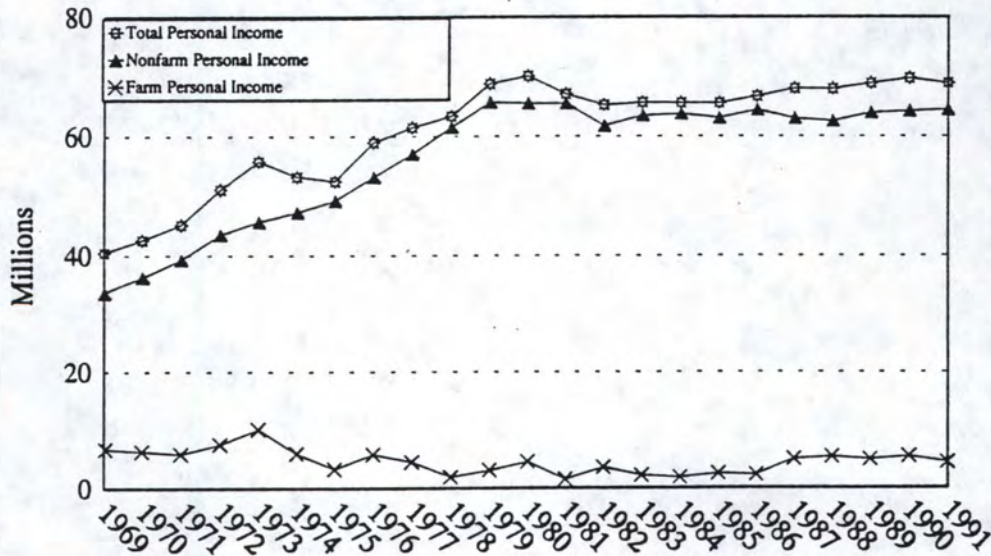
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 29: Lemhi County Total Population, Males vs. Females



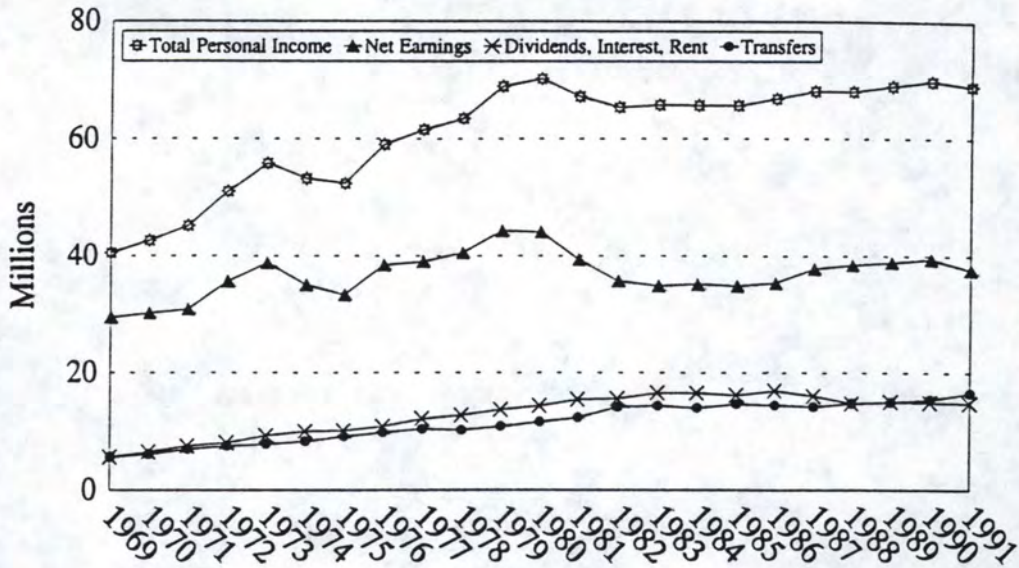
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 30: Adjusted Net Farm, Nonfarm & Total Income Lemhi County, 1969-1991



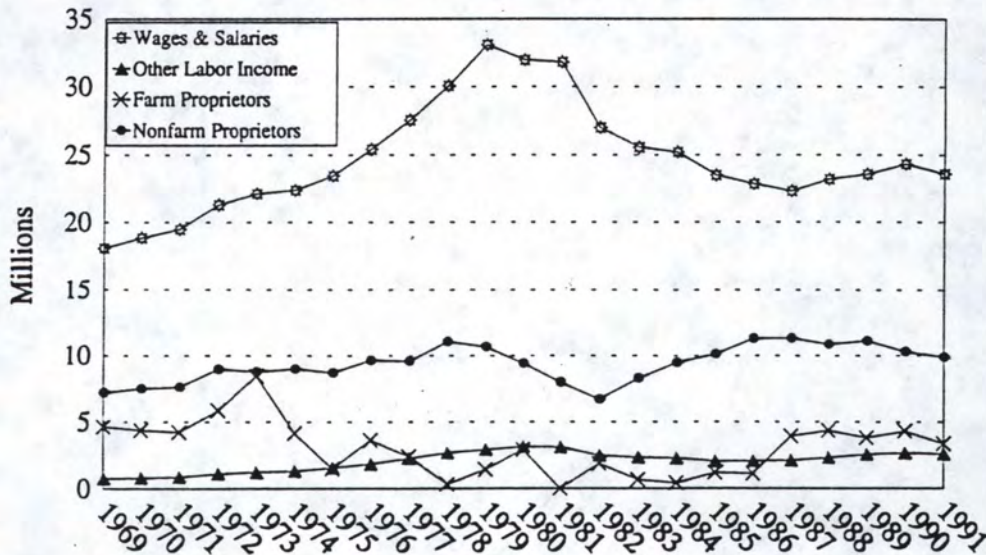
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 31: Components of Adjusted Personal Income, Lemhi County, 1969-1991



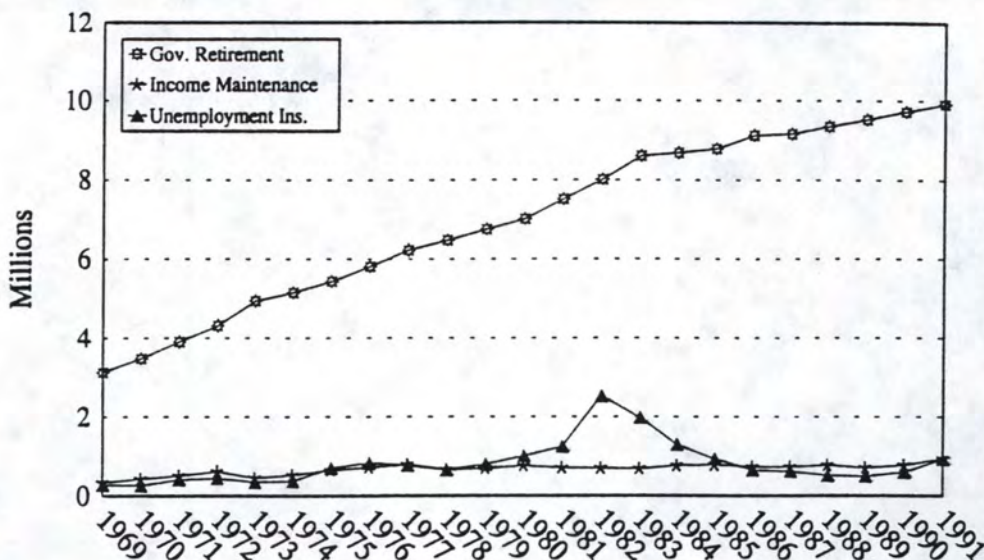
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 32: Components of Adjusted Earnings, Lemhi County, 1969-1991



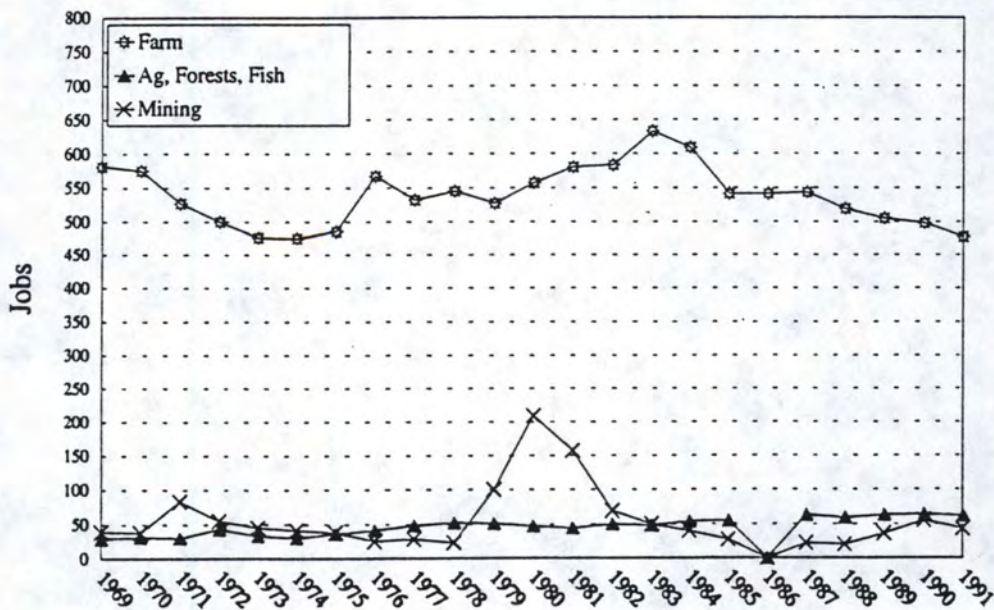
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 33: Adjusted Government Transfer Payments, Lemhi County, 1969-1991



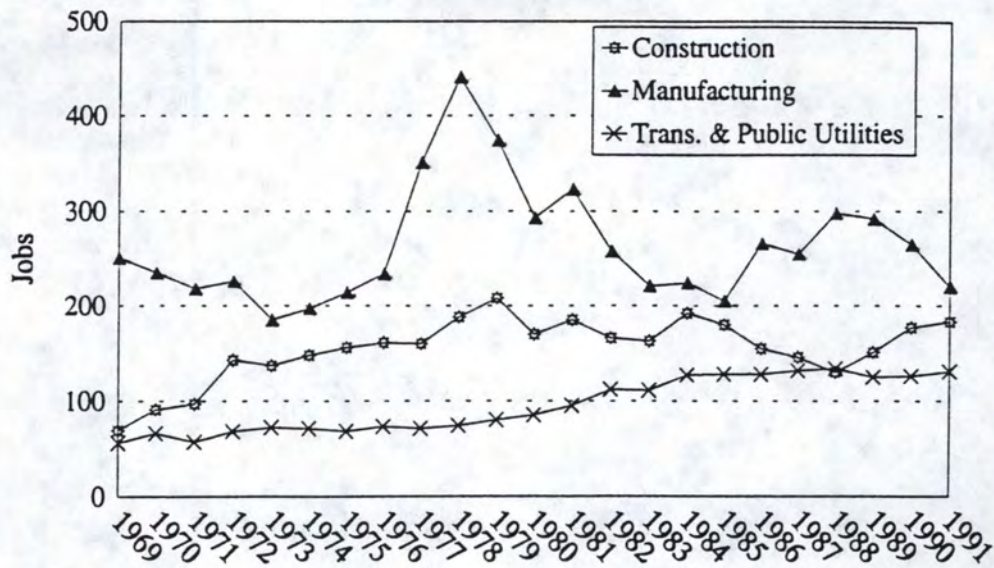
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 34: Employment in Resource Industries, Lemhi County, 1969-1991



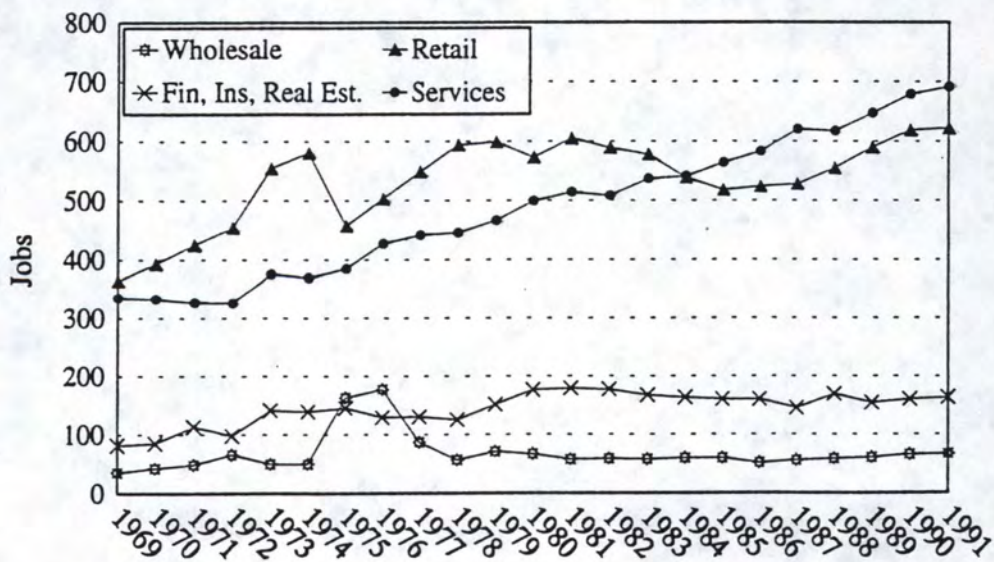
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993
Zeros used when industry had a single proprietor; data confidential

Figure 35: Employment in Other Basic Industries, Lemhi County, 1969-1991



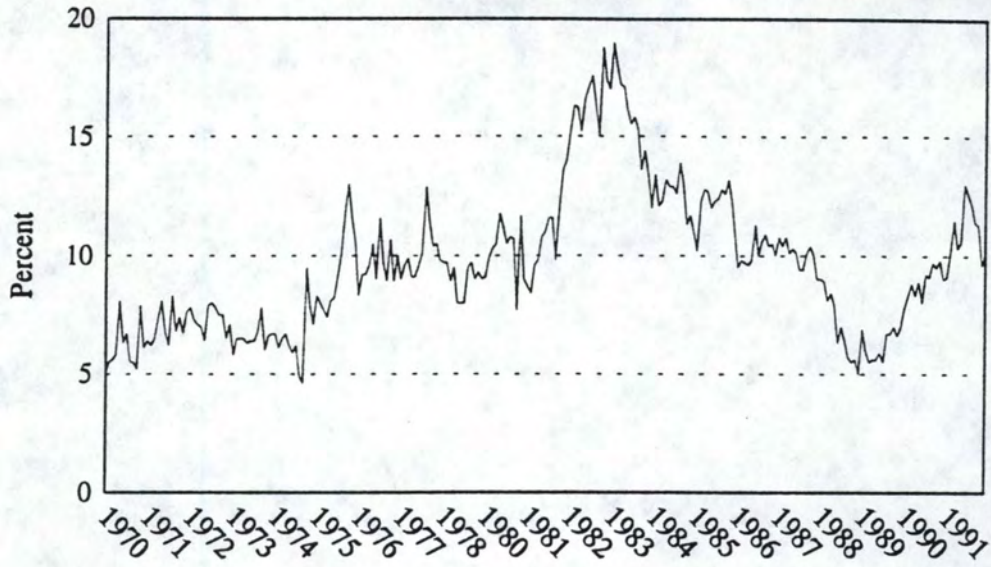
Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 36: Employment in Trade Industries, Lemhi County, 1969-1991



Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1993

Figure 37: Adjusted Unemployment Lemhi County, 1970-1991



Source: Department of Employment, State of Idaho.

4.3. Agriculture in Custer and Lemhi Counties

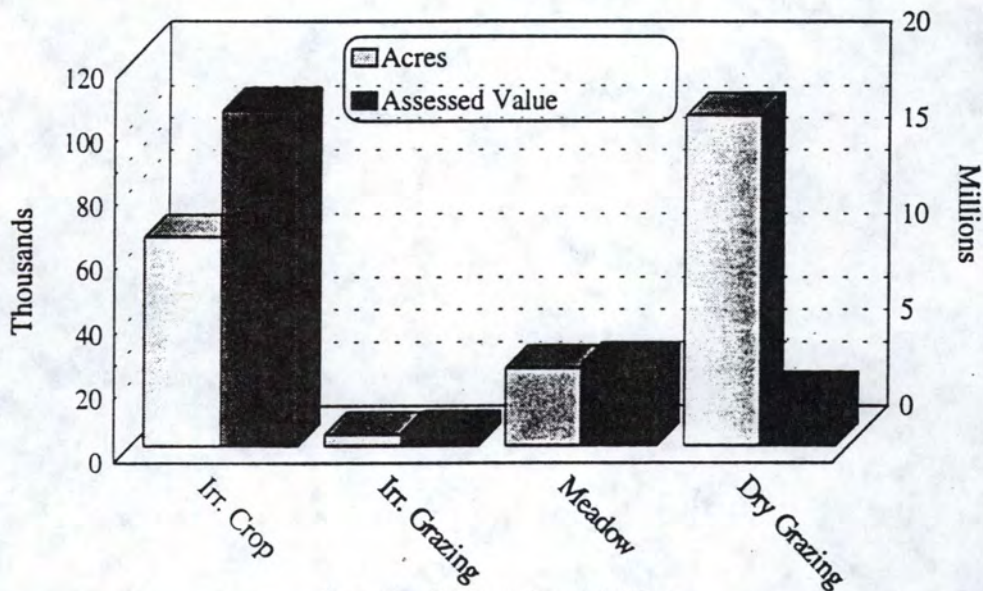
Prior to a discussion of the communities in the study area, it is important to recognize that agriculture has always been one of the backbones of the society and economy of Custer and Lemhi Counties. While agriculture will be part of the discussion of the study communities, much of the pertinent data is available only at the county level. Three issues are discussed here to provide a background for later analysis.

Figure 38 contains the acres and assessed value of agricultural land in Lemhi County. This indicates that the highest value agricultural land is irrigated crop land, mostly used for hay. There are more acres of dry grazing land, but they are of a much lower value. It is also irrigated crop land that is under the most pressure for development. This is one of the primary concerns of many respondents, both in the ranching community and in the community as a whole. Around Salmon, pressure to build houses has raised the price of ranch land too high for it to continue in production. In the Pahsimeroi and the upper part of the Big Lost area, ranches with river frontage have been purchased for recreation use, affecting the price of ranch land. More ranchers seek private pasture to reduce their reliance on public range, and this squeeze makes private pasture difficult to find and afford. Among many respondents there was a conflict between two values over this question. On the one hand, most people wanted the ranches to stay intact as operations, viewing them as a major contributor to the flavor of the community. On the other hand, few people were prepared to tell someone that they could not sell their land to the highest bidder. This type of conflict was common during this study.

Figures 39 and 40 display the number of people who consider farming as their full-time occupation, and the number of farmers who worked more than 200 days in another job off the farm in Custer and Lemhi Counties. The number of full-time farmers has risen slightly in both counties. The proportion of farmers working more than 200 days off the farm rose slightly from 1978 to 1987 in both counties. This indicates that the ability to make a living from agriculture, never an easy task, has required supplemental income for many. This is

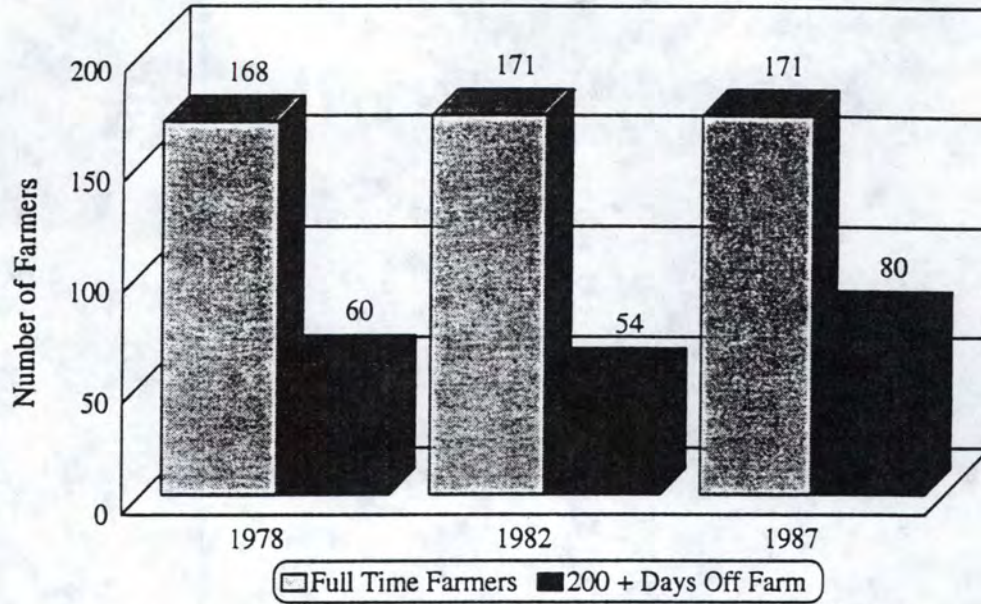
important for a couple of reasons. There is nothing unusual about off farm work. Most of the respondents in this study who ranched for a living either had a spouse who was employed and/or worked themselves. There is little doubt that the ranching tradition is important to many people. These people are willing to work on and off the ranch to maintain a viable operation. This is reflected in both Census of Agriculture numbers and interview data. In addition, many respondents have been in this situation for as long as they have been ranching.

Figure 38: Agricultural Property Lemhi County, 1992



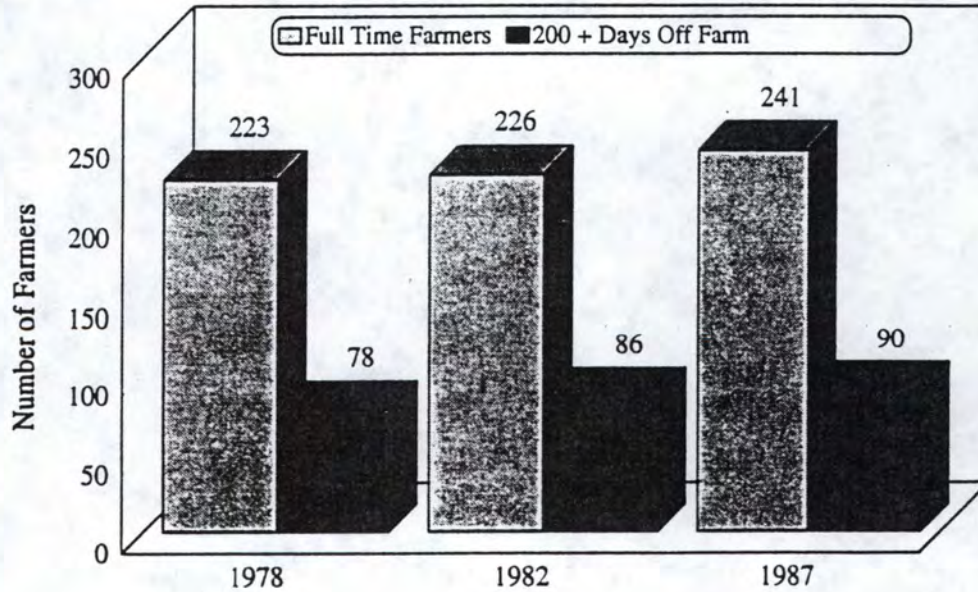
Source: Lemhi County Assessor's Office

Figure 39: Custer County Farming as a Primary Occupation



Source: Source: 1987 Census of Agriculture, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1990

Figure 40: Lemhi County Farming as a Primary Occupation



Source: Source: 1987 Census of Agriculture, on CD-ROM [machine-readable file]; U. S. Dept of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, Washington, D.C., 1990

5. Relationship of Social Profile to the Economic Base

The above discussion focused on the counties that constitute the study area. What are important, however, are the communities within the study area. The major focus of the sections that follow is the relationship between the economic base of these communities and how the communities see themselves. This link is important because economic change can leave a community's understanding of itself at odds with the new economic reality. By portraying the local economic base and relating it to the social situation in the community, important links are elucidated that are often what is at stake when change occurs.

There is a large literature on the linkage between the type and extent of economic activity and the life of rural communities (Salamon, 1992; Lobao, 1991; Buttel, Larson and Gillespie, 1990; Goldschmidt, 1978). This link has two dimensions. First, there are what economists term "thin markets." Essentially, this occurs when there is insufficient activity in one or more sectors of a community economy to maintain support industries. The local market becomes "thin" and has too few transactions to continue. The result is usually regional consolidation of some sectors and the demise of others. An example is the market for farm equipment parts in Salmon and Challis. Many ranchers indicated that overnight delivery services can save them a drive to Mud Lake or Idaho Falls, though this drive is sometimes necessary. Technological changes and a decline in the number of full-time farms have caused dealerships to move away, making parts harder to get. If the market "thins" even more, ranchers may have to get all of their parts by mail. This is well-understood general phenomenon in the study area, and was mentioned by many local merchants.

A second dimension linking economic activity and rural communities concerns social networks. As community economies change, the nature of the social networks that constitute and bind a community together change as well. A classic hypothesis in this area holds that creating larger and fewer farm units erodes the ability of rural communities dependent on agriculture to maintain schools, churches, civic activities, a reasonably large middle class,

etc. (Goldschmidt, 1978; Lobao, 1991). Essentially, farm families are no longer available to form a critical social mass and to contribute to the functioning of the community. Dimensions of the quality of life decline as there is no one to replace the farmers in the community network.

Finally, the relationship between rural communities and economic activity can be seen in how common economic activities greatly shape communities. An example of this phenomenon occurs clearly in Leadore. Many respondents observed that the rhythm of the community, its very pace regarding school activities, social functions and chance meetings between neighbors, is tied directly to the cattle industry. During calving season, conversation revolves around cows and calves. One respondent noted: "if you don't have cattle, you begin to feel like you do, because you too get caught up in the feeling of the community."

Contrast this with most other communities in the area and the cattle cycle is not as immediate; it does not constitute the community's very rhythm. It is important to a large group, and noticed by almost everyone, but it does not hold sway the way it might in Leadore. This is because ranching is the undisputed center of both the economy and society in Leadore, but much less so elsewhere. In Stanley, the visitor season has a similar effect. Conversation and the rhythm of the town are heavily dependent on the various cycles of the visitor season.

5.1. Communities and Narratives

Communities have narratives that portray their views of themselves. Common economic activities help to create and reproduce narratives for communities and serves to pass them on to community members. Within a community, however, there may be multiple narratives. Understanding what these are and the extent to which these exist and interact is vital for building a social profile of the communities in this study.

Basically, narratives are the lifelong set of stories, histories and related moments that pass social and cultural life in a community from one generation to another. These various narratives are rooted in social relationships between and among people, and their

relationships to the land. Community narratives mediate relationships between people and the environment that people both make and in which they live. Narratives provide a structure of meaning for relationships to the land. Because these narratives are rooted in differing ideas about the relationships between the human community and the land, they will clash. Each narrative, as a kind of subculture, "not only determines action and shapes what people do, think, feel, and believe but also constrains options and inhibits people from alternative ways of doing, thinking, or feeling" (Salamon, 1992:3). Three basic narratives were identified in this study. None are mutually exclusive of the others; they overlap and are sometimes held in contradictory positions by groups or individuals. However, they provide a conceptual framework that is used throughout the study.

The first narrative relationship to the land was based on the belief that resources have value only within the framework of their capture and use. Nature was seen as providing resources over which people had dominion by virtue of technology. Using technology to extract resources was seen almost as a social obligation by some respondents. The basic tenet of this narrative was that resources have primary value only when "used" by a society to meet its wants and needs. The very definition of resource involves use by humans. Minerals and the mountains in which they reside were seen as valuable for recreation and aesthetics, but only as a secondary concern. Similarly, trees were viewed as a renewable resource, yet "wasted" if left unharvested after they had burned, been diseased, or their growth had slowed. For example, Dechaud (1992:26) quotes an Oregon rancher:

If you let water run down the river without utilizing it, it's gone. If you let feed grow, fall over and die, it's gone. You cannot call federal lands a resource if it isn't used. And if it's not a resource, and it's unmanaged, there's no value,

The potential economic impact of ceasing traditional resource uses was seen as disrupting the continuance of the respondents' community narrative. This potential social disruption was seen as "robbing" the next generation of the opportunity to live a way of life. This opinion was founded on the argument that ancestors had scraped a living out of the

mountains through particular activities, making it possible for the community to exist today. This reliance on local history was frequently boiled down into "this is what we have always done here" and used to assert the right to continue doing so.

Thus, customary rights through continuing use were assumed. These rights are basically "rights to property....which are recognized by the local community by virtue of local customary usage, that is, long-standing usage recognized and accepted by the community" (Fortmann, 1990:195). Such rights usually lack formal legal recognition. These rights were viewed as having communal legitimacy through their being a social and economic foundation for the community. This is not an unusual situation in rural communities with significant public lands surrounding them (see Fortmann, 1990). Within this framework, the narrative provided a firm belief that decisions concerning resources should be made with local community as the locus of control. These last two dimensions of this narrative blend to form a belief that the local community has always defined what is the best use of local resources and that the community remains the desired level at which resources are controlled.

The second narrative relationship has some significant differences from the first. As with the previous narrative, a heavy reliance was placed on the role that respondents' ancestors played in subduing nature for economic opportunity. For example, agriculture began in support of mining, and brought irrigation and cultivation along with it. The historic nature of this activity is firmly embedded in both water rights and the manner in which grazing permits on federal lands were created. In both cases, family ancestors arrived and initiated the customary use of land and water resources. This customary use has determined, to a large extent, the arrangement of property rights as they are today. The previous narrative lacks this codification of prior communal use into a formal right. Communal legitimation came through customary use but was additionally formalized into law. Even if permits and rights have been bought and sold many times over, this is acceptable because it retains communal legitimacy.

In addition, this narrative views the community as the locus of control regarding resources. This belief is partially founded on the structure of rights mentioned above.

Moreover, this belief comes from the fact that agriculture historically provided an important social unit in and around many of these communities. For many years, ranchers were the social and political kernel of their communities. This narrative continues to uphold and transmit an obligation for ranchers to contribute to the civic and social foundations of their communities, and they continue to do so. This stems from a belief that if the community is to be the locus of control for resources, then there is an obligation for social and political participation in that community. To summarize, this narrative closely resembles the first with the addition of an important legal structure that formalized local understandings about certain resources.

The final community narrative is as diverse as its adherents. This narrative is produced and reproduced by many people from many backgrounds who share a diverse relationship to the land. Accordingly, this narrative lacks a common, long standing base of economic activity. This does not mean that a common base does not exist. Rather, its legacy as a narrative is more recent and still somewhat fragmented. Within this narrative, use is primarily defined within the context of conservation and quality of life. Resource use is associated with long term stewardship. Others defined resources based on their relationship to the quality of life. Thus, locally defined uses that privilege customary rights are often seen as secondary if they are perceived as being contrary to these views. Sustainability comes through conservation, and quality of life is tied directly to the conservation of resources.

Thus, this narrative views legislated rights as being primary over customary uses of resources. Rights to resources and access to decisions are codified by extra-local, legal means. Because of this, decisions about resource use are determined outside the sphere of communal legitimation. This is an important difference between this narrative and the previous two. Within this narrative, communal definitions of resource use are subsumed beneath larger societal definitions. Thus, the locus of control is extra-local and local decisions concerning resource use are limited.

These narratives form a framework within which the seven communities in this study are examined. Keep in mind is that these narratives often share goals, opinions, and even

outlooks for the future. They also conflict regularly. In order to understand the community narratives that are used below, we must understand that these separate narratives coexist in most of the communities. In other words, no one narrative always characterizes each community. These narratives are an attempt to reduce the data to a set of issues, and, hopefully, make it simpler to comprehend.

5.2. Communities and Functional Economic Areas

Given the above discussion of the two counties and the framework of community narratives, the seven communities and their economies are discussed below. For the purposes of economic base modeling, Custer and Lemhi Counties were broken down into seven functional economic areas.

- Challis Area
- Big Lost Area
- Stanley Area
- Pahsimeroi Area
- Tendoy/Leadore Area
- North Fork/Gibbonsville Area
- Salmon Area

Figure 41 is a map depicting these areas. Though they are not viewed as being totally separate communities by the respondents in this study, the functional economic areas will be used as a structure for a more detailed discussion of the social fabric in Lemhi and Custer Counties.

For most purposes, subcounty areas used by the Census Bureau provided most of the social data. These areas are set by the Census and present many issues concerning boundaries that cannot be solved here. The Census areas for each of the communities will be delineated and discussed at the beginning of each section. Tables B1 and B2 in Appendix B provide detail for each of the Census areas. Some general points for each area are presented first, then detailed discussions of follow.

Figure 41: Economic and Community Study Areas for Custer and Lemhi Counties

5.3. Challis area

The area used for the discussion of Challis is the Challis County Subdivision of the U. S. Census, minus Census Tract 9902, block group 2, which was added to the Pahsimeroi Area. This part of the Tract includes the north east portion of Round Valley along Highway 93. This is the greatest level of detail for useful data offered by the Census. Thus, the activities of people living in this part of Round Valley will be included in the Pahsimeroi Area. This overlap is accounted for in the discussion.

Though some respondents argued that Clayton should be included with Stanley, it was not for two reasons. First, the Census Divisions provided useful boundaries, for the most part, and adding or subtracting Clayton raised too many issues about moving boundaries. A case in point was the East Fork of the Salmon River, where the Census used the river as the boundary, thereby dividing a population into two Census Divisions. The second reason for including the city of Clayton in the Challis area was because the people there indicated that they identified, socially and economically, with Challis.

This left the Challis Area to include the area up to north eastern border of Challis City, the Challis Creek area, the remainder of Round Valley, the area up to the Willow Creek Summit, and up river to and including Clayton. This does not include people living on the north and west side of the East Fork of the Salmon River. Again, the Census Bureau's Tract boundaries made this delineation and placed those people in the Stanley Division.

5.3.1. Population Estimate

The Census estimates for the Challis area found a total of 1765 people. The population of Challis and Clayton from 1940 to 1990 is displayed in Figure 42. Until the middle of the 1980's, the population of Challis stayed roughly between 700 and 900. Clayton saw an influx in the 1960's and 1970's, and a decline in the late 1980's. The distribution of this population by age is presented in Figure 43. There are pre-adolescent children and a sizable elderly population. Figure 44 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990.

About 48% of the people in the Challis area lived in the same house in 1985 as in 1990. What is interesting is that 17% of those living in Challis moved there from another Western state. Many respondents indicated that the late 1980's did not see in-migration due to mining. Employment in that sector was not growing during that time. Rather, so-called "snow birds" and other retirees were moving in, along with younger people seeking opportunity. Many of these people came from the West, which by Census terms, includes California.

5.3.2. Families and Households

There were 523 families in the Challis area in 1990. As can be seen in Figure 45, over 84% of the families that had children were traditional families. Of the families with children, 11% were headed by single females, and 4.6% were headed by single males. The income distribution for families in Challis is presented in Figure 46. There were many families with incomes at the low end of the scale, but there was also a solid middle income distribution.

There were 694 households in Challis in 1990. The income distribution for households is presented in Figure 47. Though the number of households is larger, the distribution of income is very similar to families. The comparison of family and household incomes is done because while all families are households, the opposite is not true. If disparity exists, family income will usually be higher than household income, due to dual incomes, more economic stability, etc. When the distributions are close, economic opportunity is evenly spread between family and non-family households.

5.3.3. Education

Figure 48 presents educational attainment figures for the Challis Area. About 37% of the community were high school graduates, with 46% having at least attended college. About 17% of the people this area did not graduate from high school.

The school system in Challis was very important to most respondents. A recent photograph of athletes from Challis traveling from a game appeared in *National Geographic*

magazine, and highlights one of the salient features of this school district: distance. The photograph told the tale of lengthy travels to play single games. Travel is necessary just to reach the population in the district.

The importance of the schools transcended high school sports. Many volunteered the opinion that the quality of the schools was excellent, and cited this as a community strength. Keeping this level of enthusiasm is admirable, given that the school has expanded and contracted with the mining cycle. School enrollment numbers for Challis School District are provided in Figure 49. Though this district overlaps two other study areas, its growth has come mostly from Challis. Rapid growth during the 1980's gave way to stability in the early 1990's.

According to the Superintendent, a drop in enrollment was expected this fall, as families formerly employed by the mine began to leave. How fast this will occur remains unclear. This comes at a time when the District has unused capacity, and a shrinking tax base. Some outcomes of recent community development efforts were ideas about how to use the capacity to generate revenues for the school.

5.3.4. Poverty

It is important to understand that the roots of poverty are not simply that people want to live that way. In communities such as Challis, multiple jobs are not unusual. The presence of the mine offered employment at a good wage. Many of the jobs available in other sectors are seasonal, part time, and/or low wage. This results in significant underemployment, and even a healthy collection of such jobs can leave a family below the federal poverty level. Examining the level of poverty for households headed by single parents outlines how difficult it can be to make ends meet in rural economies.

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in Challis is presented in Figure 50.⁴ Though poverty rates are fairly low for children and adults, 19% of the elderly in Challis had incomes below the poverty level in 1989. Of families headed by a

⁴The federal guidelines for determining poverty are presented in the Appendix A.

single female with children, 23% of them were living in poverty, as indicated in Figure 51. Also, 15% of the families headed by a single male lived beneath the poverty level.

5.3.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 52, the sources of household earnings for Challis are presented. About 94% of the households had wage or salary income. This is not a surprising outcome, as wage and salary labor from mining are a predominant income source. One third garnered some income from interest, dividends or net rental income, 28% had Social Security income, 19% had nonfarm proprietor's income, and 15% had retirement income. The level of Social Security and retirement income indicates that a significant retirement community is represented. This fits with interview data. Not only have retirees been moving in since the 1980's, but there is the story about an Idaho couple who chose to retire to Challis because of the golf course. They saw the sign on the highway, and when they discovered that greens fees were gathered in a coffee can, they decided that this was the place to retire. Moreover, respondents indicated that the houses on the market in the spring of 1993 were being purchased by people for future retirement.

Figure 53 reproduces the economic base table from the community economic models.⁵ In 1991, almost 70% of total earnings and over 55% of the employment in the Challis Area was related to mining. With the temporary shut down of the mine, this situation will change drastically, although the impact of the Grouse Creek project remains to be seen.

The local agriculture sector provided almost 10% of the earnings and 13% of the jobs. The visitors sector provided just under 5% of the earnings, but accounted for almost 12% of the employment. The combination of state and federal government sectors accounted for over 10% of the earnings and employment in Challis.

Without a doubt, the economy of Challis was dominated by mining in 1991. The opening of the Thompson Creek mine has dominated the social fabric of Challis for more than a decade. In general, respondents were glad for the economic opportunities that the mine

⁵Also see Appendix Table A2.

generated. In addition, the facility paid taxes and supported the local schools. However, many respondents voiced the worry that the local economy was altogether too reliant on the mine. Local experiences with mining as an industry stretch back to the beginning of Challis as a place. It is well known that the cyclical nature of the industry can leave towns economically devastated when there is a slump.

On the other hand, this is a heavily mineralized area, and pressure to mine it will continue, providing a linkage back to the beginnings of Challis. There are many independent miners in the area, and family owned claims are often leased to companies or worked by families themselves. Many in the community viewed minerals as a valuable resource to responsibly extracted when the market allowed. The idea that mining on public land should be curtailed in the interest of other uses was often strongly derided. This opinion had its root in the customary use dimension of the community narrative. The heritage of the Challis area has a strong mining component. Some respondents viewed that heritage as constituting a communal right to carry on the idea that when the price is high enough, the minerals should be extracted. This focusing on the communal right aspect of mining and other activities will be a recurring theme throughout this report.

There was a smaller group that held the belief that the way mining is conducted on public lands around Challis was flawed. The main theme in this narrative was that the resources were being given away and very little long term good came of it for the community. This differed slightly from the question of economic over-reliance mentioned above. This narrative viewed mines as potential environmental problems, and figured that if the community might have to bear the cost of the problem, it should at least get some long term benefits. This point of view recognized some of the communal right to mine argument but put a different twist on it. This is a good example of how the community narratives overlap and intertwine at times.

Contrary to the cyclical nature of the mining industry, the ranching sector has been a stable part of the Challis economy for well over one hundred years. The social importance of ranchers was a common theme among respondents. They recalled cattle drives up to the

Stanley Basin that were conducted until the 1970's. Though this industry itself has economic cycles, it has provided a stable economic base for Challis and the study area as a whole because far fewer ranchers are likely to leave when times get difficult. They are the original "stickers."

For the most part, respondents who were ranchers viewed their operations from the view point of customary use and legal rights. This narrative included an almost unanimous argument that ranchers were stewards of the land, and this stewardship was a responsibility tied directly to a communally and legally sanctioned right to graze cattle on public lands. This narrative can be distilled further: our ancestors communally figured out who got to graze where, the Forest Service and the B.L.M. put this on paper with grazing permits, and we should be allowed to continue making decisions about this resource. In the Challis area, and throughout the study area, a similar logic was applied by many respondents to water allocation.

This idea that the local community should maintain control over resource allocations was most strongly held in the Challis. Respondents felt threatened to a much greater extent than the other areas by public policies that will alter the way public lands are managed. The frustration that decisions about their very livelihoods could be made outside the community came out strongly in many interviews. This belief that the future of the community should be decided by the community was also quite strong. Again, this was a common theme among ranchers and others throughout the study area.

On the other hand, a small group believed that ranches should be maintained, but that their use of the public grazing lands should change. This narrative held the position that the communally structured rights were created and codified when there were few, if any, competing uses for the resource. Contained in this narrative is the argument that now the larger society wants to change the hierarchy of uses for these lands. Such change, coming from outside the community, lacks the social and communal legitimation required for its acceptance amongst ranchers. This is the primary clash between community narratives

around ranching in Challis: communal rights and local control of resources versus societal rights and extra-local control of resources.

Tied into this conflict is the argument that if the ranches disappear, Challis will lose more than a portion of its economy. Many ranchers and non-ranchers felt that the Challis garnered a sense of self-definition that was tied to the land and the seasons through the cattle industry. Respondents differed greatly over the association between the character of Challis and ranching, but few argued that a link was there. As one respondent put it: "these independent grouches give the town its charm." But this "charm" was not universally appreciated. A handful of respondents expressed a low key contempt for the flavor of Challis, frequently going elsewhere for goods and services because they did not like their perceived reception in Challis.

The social networks involved with ranching portray it as a way of life that is necessarily "a good way to raise kids" because it "exposes them to hard work." Additionally, even between enemies, when there is a need for help, neighbors are there. Ranchers also portray themselves as hard headed, contentious, and opinionated. One respondent indicated that ranchers are the "best backbone for a community" because they "have a tie to the land." Obviously those adhering to this narrative will see this character as threatened when and if the ranching economy is threatened. Even newcomers made this connection. A respondent said that he brought his family to Challis so he could ranch in a community where "people wanted to live and work the same way as me -- ranching."

With mining in a temporary decline, the economy of Challis will soon have to rely on agriculture, government employment and visitors. With a few exceptions, these sectors do not offer wages near that of mining. However, in an area with significant evidence of multiple job holdings, the contribution that agriculture and visitors make to employment in Challis becomes vital. This comes even though visitors are seasonal, and their season corresponds to that of seasonal labor demand for farms and ranches.

Agriculture and visitor sectors have something of an uneasy relationship in Challis. Throughout the study area, the specter of one town or another "becoming another Jackson

Hole" was frequently raised. It does not appear that this is a real threat in Challis. At this point, there is little seasonal home ownership in the Challis area. Table A3 displays occupancy statistics for the study areas in Custer County. Vacancy rates range from 19% in Challis to 64% in Stanley. What is of interest is the vacancies due to seasonal use. It is not surprising to see that Challis and the Big Lost have tight housing markets, as almost all vacancies are due to seasonal homes. Though this indicates a somewhat tight rental market, the percentage of seasonal homes is low.

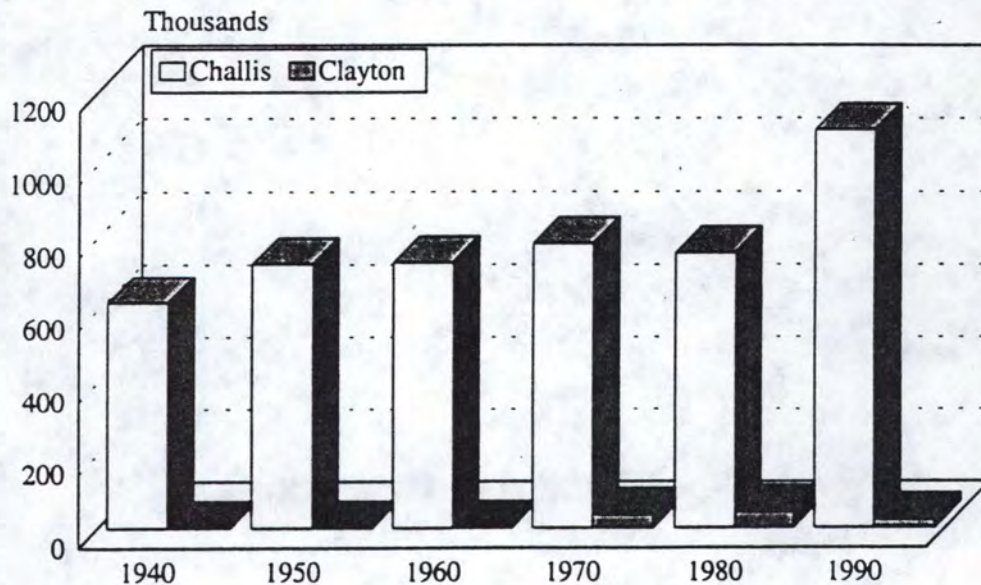
One source of the uneasy relationship between agriculture and visitors was due to the social threat posed by visitors. Many of the ranchers indicated that the an influx of visitors had the potential to "water down" what they saw as the distinctive character of Challis. They cited some usual examples of people who "don't know what is going on" complaining about dogs in the back of pickups and cows along the highway. This attitude may be at the genesis of a converse impression that Challis is an inhospitable place for the visitor once they leave the Highway 93 corridor. This assertion was repeated by some respondents in Salmon as well. Recreation for pay, now called the visitor sector, has been part of the Challis economy since almost the turn of the century. Respondents recalled guided tours for hunting, fishing, and white water going back that far. What has changed is the type of visitor and the economic size of the sector. This is not the only source of an uneasy feeling about recreation in Challis. People have come to this area for generations to recreate. Traditionally, some came from out of state, but many came from the population centers on the Snake River plain. In the last twenty years, the numbers have grown and visitors now come from all over the nation and the world. The old situation included people who "knew how to live in Idaho" as one respondent put it; the more recent visitors lack that particular sensibility.

The visitor sector would be significantly larger except that respondents related that a significant portion of the purchased inputs and services for outfitted recreation were bought outside Challis. This could be due to the absence of a given service, and outfitters frequently thought they received better prices and service elsewhere. In the spring of 1993 the local outfitters offered an informational presentation for local merchants in an effort to close this

gap. The economic impact on the local hotel sector, for example, was significant: they reported that over 60% of the business, on average, was related to recreation. Yet, as long as a large volume of wholesale and retail business continues to leak from Challis to other places, much of the potential economic impact of the existing visitor sector will go unrealized.

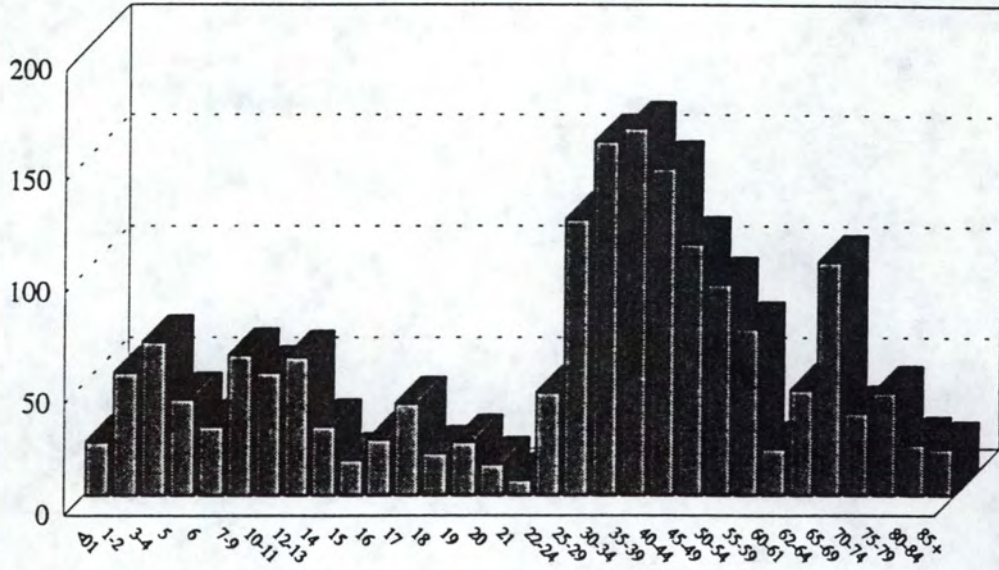
To summarize, Challis has narratives that compliment and clash at the same time. Challis has not yet developed a year around visitor industry, and it might take some time for it to do so. As a thrust for the future, this may not be universally welcome in Challis. With the future of mining uncertain, this remains a town of ranchers, with a growing number of cash carrying visitors who may be partly responsible for keeping the town alive. Throughout the study area the conflict comes not from disparate goals [everyone wants to steward resources] but from disagreements over who decides how to achieve those goals. It is this clash over the locus of control, and whether the community can allocate resources, that is occurring in Challis.

Figure 42: Population of Challis and Clayton, 1940- 1990



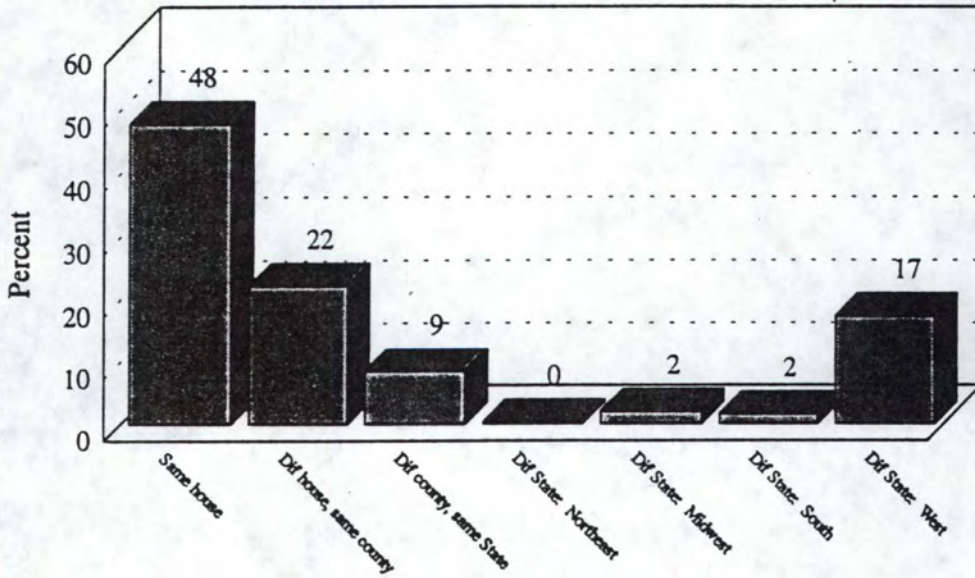
Source: Census of Population and Housing, various years.
Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.

Figure 43: Total Population by Age, Challis Area



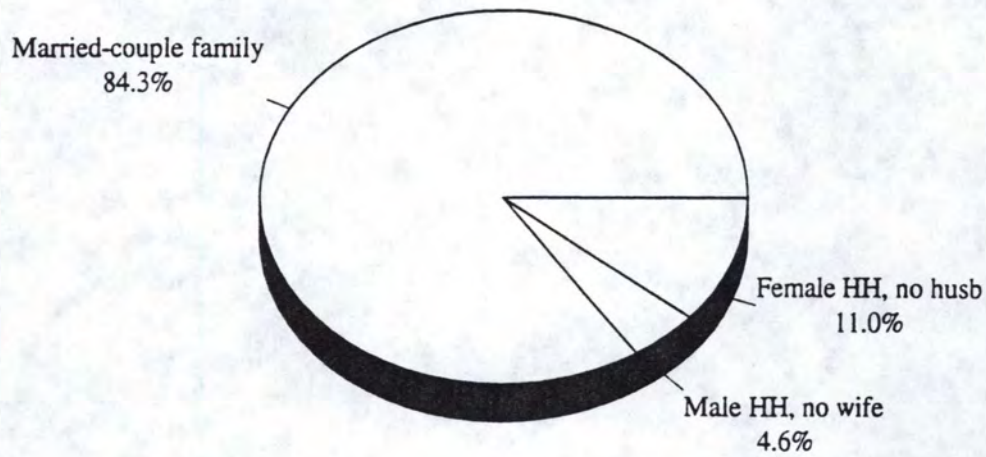
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 44: Residency Status 1985-1990, Challis Area



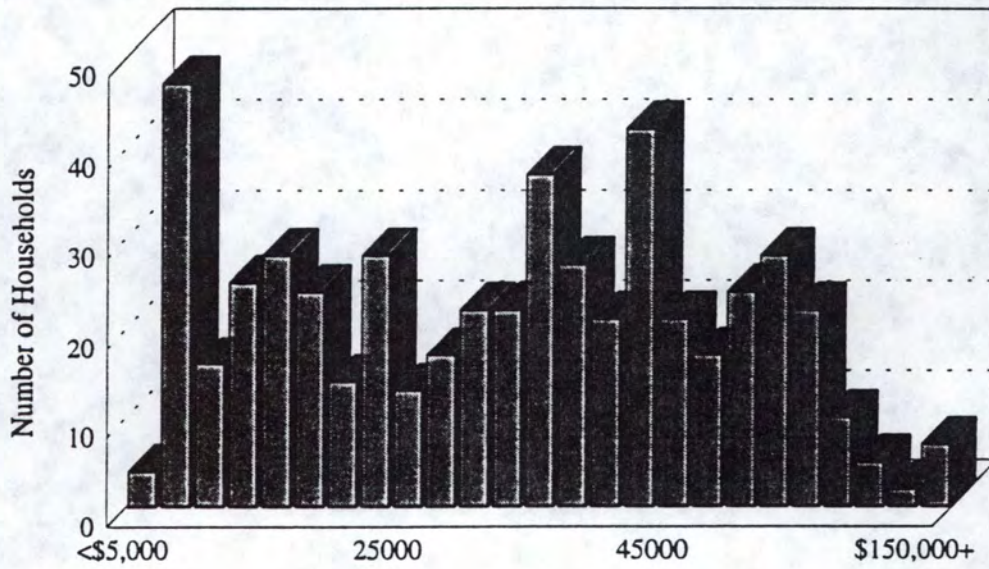
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 45: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Challis Area



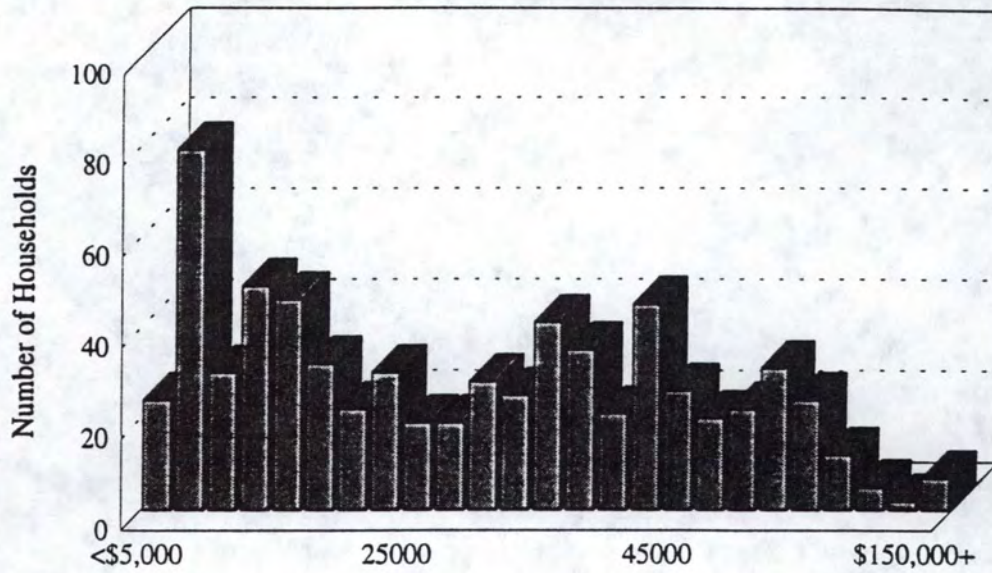
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3a on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 46: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Challis Area



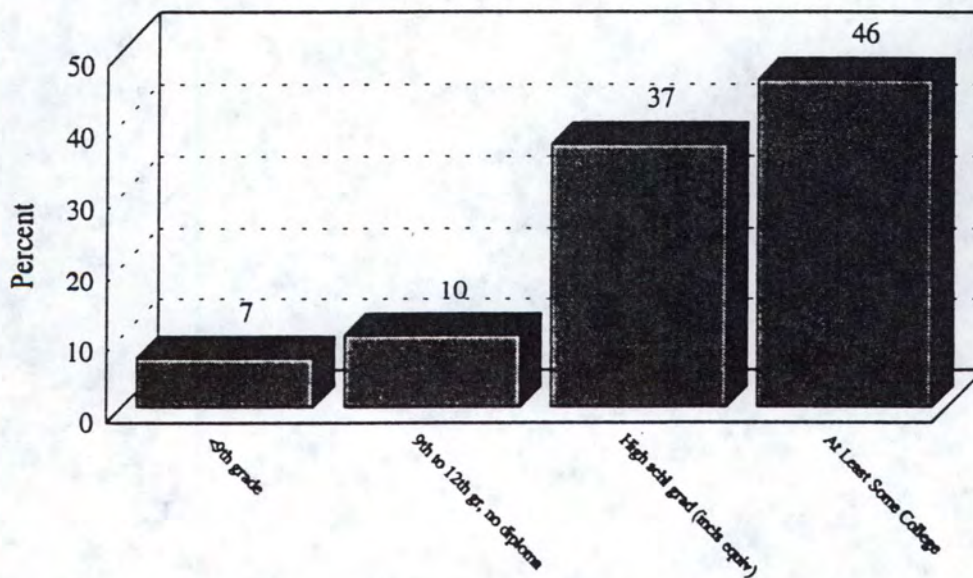
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 47: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Challis Area



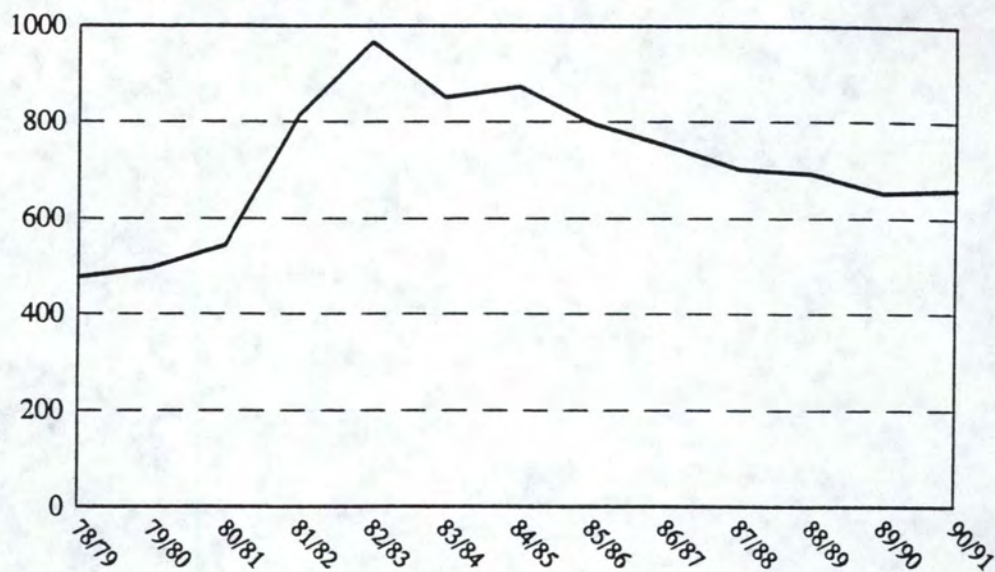
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 48: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Challis Area, 1989



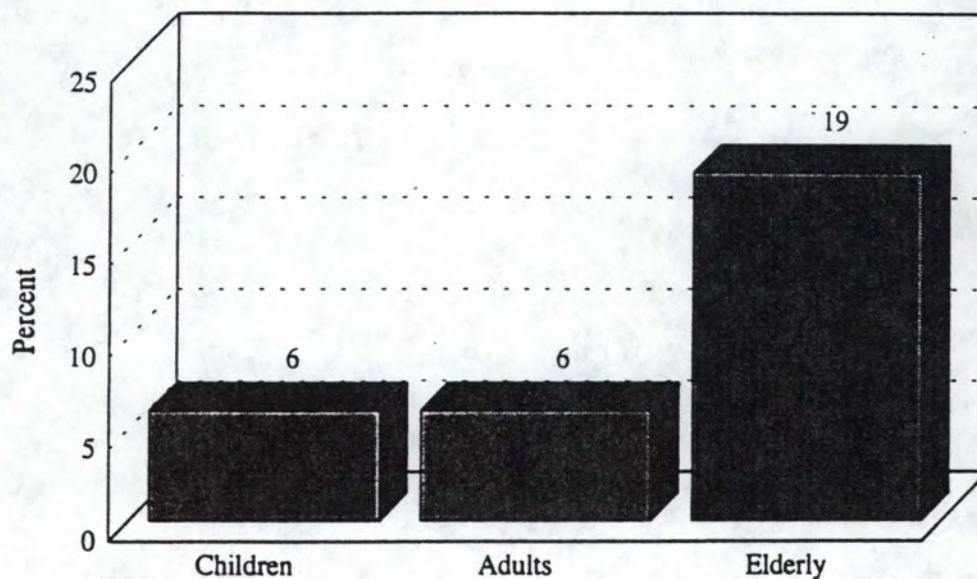
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 49: Total School Enrollment, Challis School District #181, 1978-1991



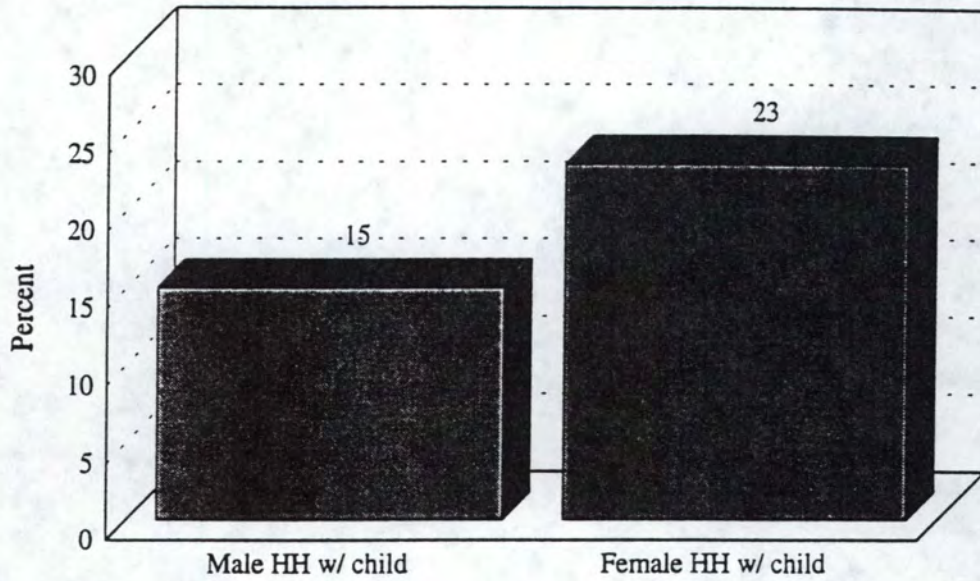
Source: Challis School District #181

Figure 50: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Challis Area, 1989



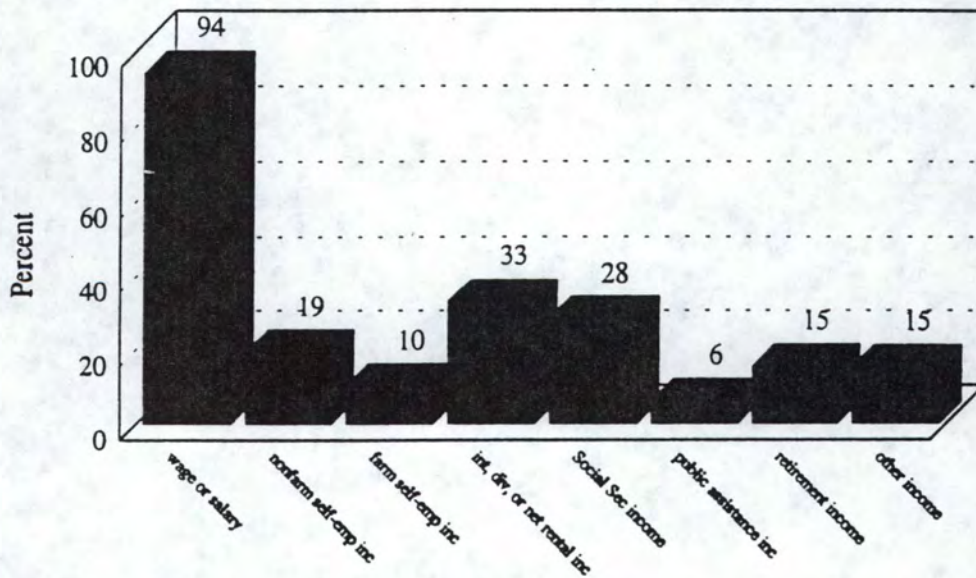
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 51: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Challis Area



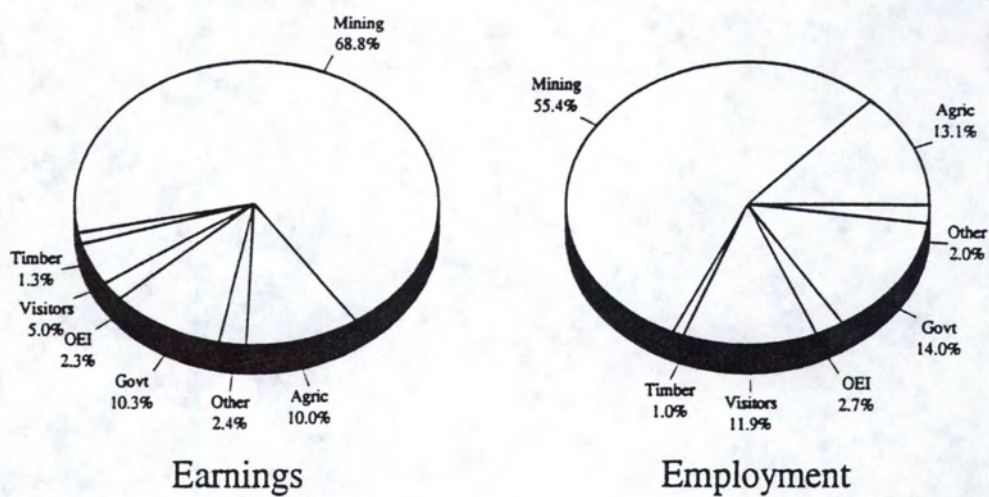
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3a on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 52: Sources of Household Income, Challis Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 53: Challis Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, incommuters, etc.)
Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

5.4. Big Lost area

The area used for the discussion of the Big Lost area is the Mackay County Subdivision of the U. S. Census. This includes the Census Place of Lost River, which shows dwellings but no people in the 1990 Census. Thus, the Big Lost area is construed as the area south along U.S. 93 from Willow Creek summit to the Butte County line at Darlington, including Lost River, and south and west to the Blaine County line.

5.4.1. Population Estimate

The 1990 Census estimate for the Big Lost area was 1207 people. The population for Mackay and Lost River over time are displayed in Figure 54. Mackay's population has risen slightly since its low point in 1970. Lost River, on the other hand, peaked in 1960 and today the Census indicates no residents. The distribution of population by age is presented in Figure 55. There is a preponderance of people over the age of sixty. Figure 56 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990. About 60% of the people in the Big Lost area lived in the same house in 1985 as in 1990. What is interesting here is the 17% of those living in the Big Lost who moved there from somewhere in Idaho during that time. Many respondents indicated that an influx of people employed at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory had come to the lower part of the Big Lost valley. This may help to explain the higher level of residency change within Idaho that is found in the Big Lost.

5.4.2. Families and Households

There were 338 families in the Big Lost area in 1990. As can be seen in Figure 57, just over 83% of families with children are traditional two parent families. Of the families with children, just over 11% were headed by single females, and 5.6% were headed by single males. The income distribution for families in the Big Lost is presented in Figure 58. The distribution is skewed toward incomes of less than \$25,000, with a slight rise around the \$30-35,000 range, and another around \$60,000.

There were 458 households in the Big Lost area in 1990. The income distribution for households is presented in Figure 59. Though the number of households is larger and includes families, the distribution of income is very similar for families. Family and household income are somewhat skewed toward the lower end of the income distribution. This situation contributes to the poverty numbers that follow.

5.4.3. Education

Figure 60 presents educational attainment figures for the Big Lost area. About 31% of the community were high school graduates, with 42% of the population having attended some college. About 27% of the people in this area did not graduate from high school.

School enrollment numbers for Mackay School District are provided in Figure 61. School enrollment has fluctuated slightly since 1970, but appears to have escaped the rapid changes seen in Challis. Overall, the trend is steady.

5.4.4. Poverty

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in the Big Lost is presented in Figure 62. About 24% of the children in the Big Lost live beneath the poverty level in 1989, along with 17% of the adults and 20% of the elderly. These numbers are high by almost any standard. In contrast to Challis, they are very high for children and adults. Figure 63 indicates that 28% of families headed by a single female were living in poverty, while 22% of families headed by a single male lived beneath the poverty line. There is a significant lack of full time jobs that are not seasonal in nature. Recalling the distributions of family and household incomes the prevalence of poverty that is seen in the Big Lost comes as no surprise.

5.4.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 64, the sources of household income for the Big Lost area are presented. About 89% of the households had wage or salary income, even though wage and salary

opportunities in the Big Lost are not plentiful and the wage scale is lower than in Challis. Almost one half of the people had income from interest, dividends or net rental income, 37% had Social Security income, 17% had nonfarm proprietor's income, and 15% had retirement income. The level of Social Security and retirement income indicates that an important retirement community is evident. This is consistent with the existence of three care facilities in this area. Agriculture is important here, as evidenced by the 23% of the population reporting self-employed farm income.

Figure 65 reproduces the economic base for the Big Lost area.⁶ Agriculture provided almost 50% of total earnings and over 50% of the employment in the Big Lost in 1991. The ranching community in the Big Lost keeps business flowing to many local retail and wholesale merchants. In addition, some potatoes are grown in the southern reaches of the valley, closer to the Butte County line. There is also one fish farm in the area.

The visitors sector provided just under 4% of the earnings, but accounted for about 8.5% of the employment. This sector is larger than most people outside the area might expect. Facilities that accommodated recreational vehicles in the Mackay area all indicated that business had been booming in the last few years, with people attracted to the golf course and fishing opportunities. While recognizing the importance of agriculture, many respondents spoke directly about summer visitors. A common approach was to indicate that a noticeable increase in sales occurred from May to September, then business steadied to winter levels. The consensus among merchant respondents was that they could not live serving visitors alone, nor could they live without them. The major problem was the seasonal nature of visitors.

Yet, opinions about how good visitors were for the area differed greatly. Some respondents indicated that the influx of people was a welcome relief from the cabin fever of winter. A stronger opinion was that the increasing flow of visitors was "all that'll keep Mackay from dying." On the other side, many respondents saw visitors as a neutral force that dropped their money and kept moving. This was acceptable unless the visitors decided to

⁶Also see Appendix Table A4.

stay, which elicited more guarded opinions of "wait and see." One visitor who stayed indicated that the community was slow in accepting new people, but that its economy was changing fast enough to bring the community along with it.

The combination of state and federal government sectors accounted for over 26% of the earnings and employment in the Big Lost. The schools, the Forest Service and other agencies have a large impact on this area.

Of interest in Figure 65 is the impact of retired people on the economy. Though one fifth of the over-65 population lives in poverty, OEI incomes accounted for almost 12% of all the earnings in the Big Lost, resulting in about 9% of the jobs. A large part of this is attributed to employees of the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory. These people live in southern Custer County, commuting out of the county each day. The number of retirees is also quite high. This is likely due to the presence of care facilities in the Mackay area, as well as individual retirements. With this situation, Social Security and other transfer income comes into the local economy, and accounts for a major portion of the OEI. Nonetheless, the level of poverty among the elderly in the Big Lost area is very high. This suggests that older populations may not all be in a sound economic situation.

There was little doubt that the local ranches contributed a great deal to the social foundation of Mackay. Many respondents indicated that community events such as the rodeo provided a common celebration of the "cowboy culture" in the area. Though some ranch business goes to Arco, with few exceptions the local merchants cited the ranches as the backbone of their businesses. They also said that the community garnered its very social foundation from the ranches. A handful indicated that if the ranches were gone, their business might survive but would not be "worth having" if the town's character was lost.

In general, the ranching community held to the narrative that their communal rights were being threatened by extra-local forces. The recent actions concerning water rights in the Big Lost, and the legal controversy concerning an allotment held by a large local ranch were often cited as examples. Respondents espousing this narrative held fast to their belief that their customary use of local resources provided them the right to decide about resource uses

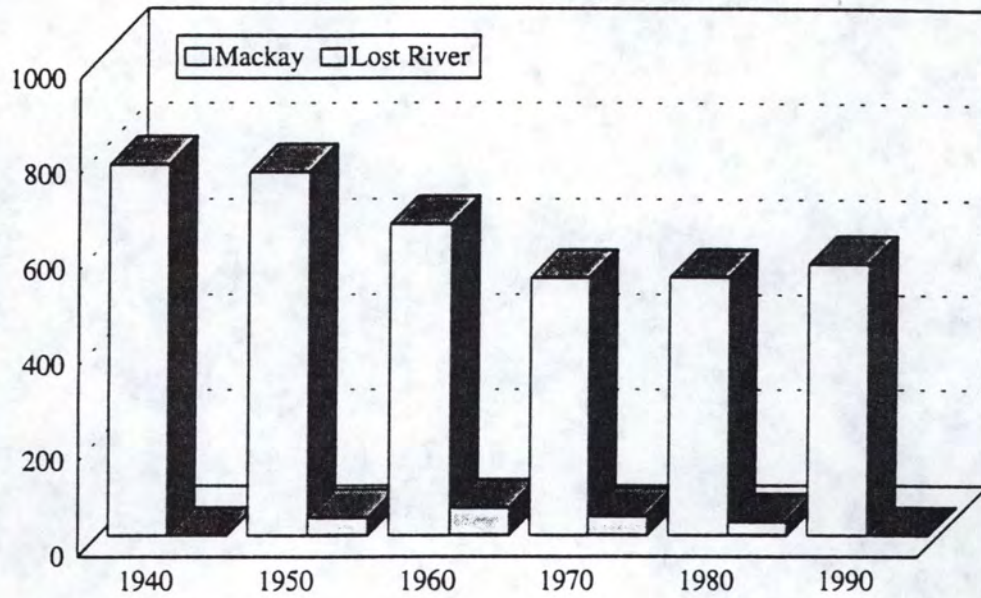
in their community. They echoed the belief that they had a right to participate in decisions that directly affected where they lived.

The primary worry among respondents was that the social fabric of the local community might not be maintained in the future if ranching disappeared. For example, increased employment related to the I.N.E.L. was viewed as positive because it brought an influx of families. This would support schools and community activities. Some, however, were worried that these families might not share the community's "understanding of agriculture" though no specific examples were ever offered.

On the other hand, people from outside the area buying local ranches for private recreation were seen as a threat to the community. This did not add to the community since it brought in few actual residents, and they lacked an attachment or commitment to the valley as a social unit. This was often cited as the most important threat to the viability of the local community. This trend increases the price of land in the area, making it impossible for ranches to expand on private land. One additional dimension of the narrative indicated that people were buying ranches, expecting the "cowboy" flavor of Mackay to be part of their experience. However, by removing the economic base of Mackay they threaten the very flavor they wish to experience. A particularly cynical respondent said that this situation might result in "the locals being like zoo animals for rich people to come live next to for a few weeks a year."

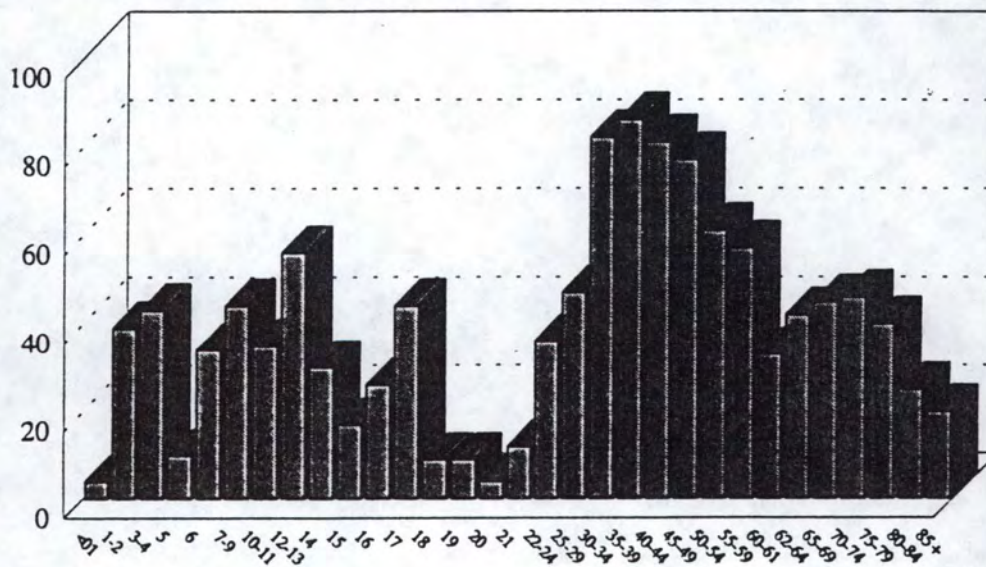
In summary, the community narratives in the Big Lost area were not clashing as they had in Challis. The simple reliance of the economy on ranching and the belief that this resulted in a community identity summarized the narrative. Locus of control regarding resources was seen as local, and was viewed as threatened by extra-local forces in a manner similar to that found in Challis. The removal of ranches from production and the increasing attention to environmental issues in the Valley were seen as harbingers of a loss of control for the community.

Figure 54: Population of Mackay and Lost River, 1950- 1990



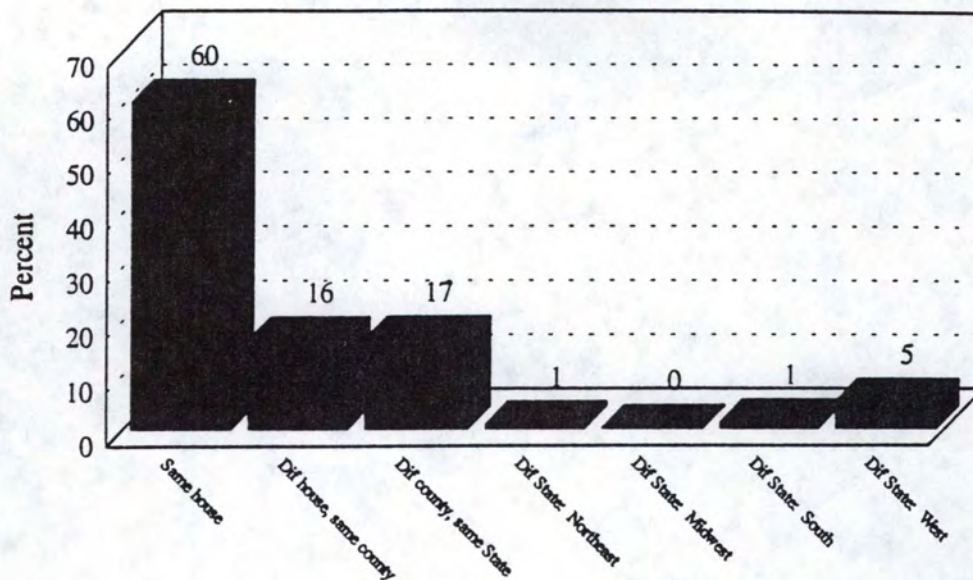
Source: Census of Population and Housing, various years,
Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Figure 55: Total Population by Age, Big Lost Area



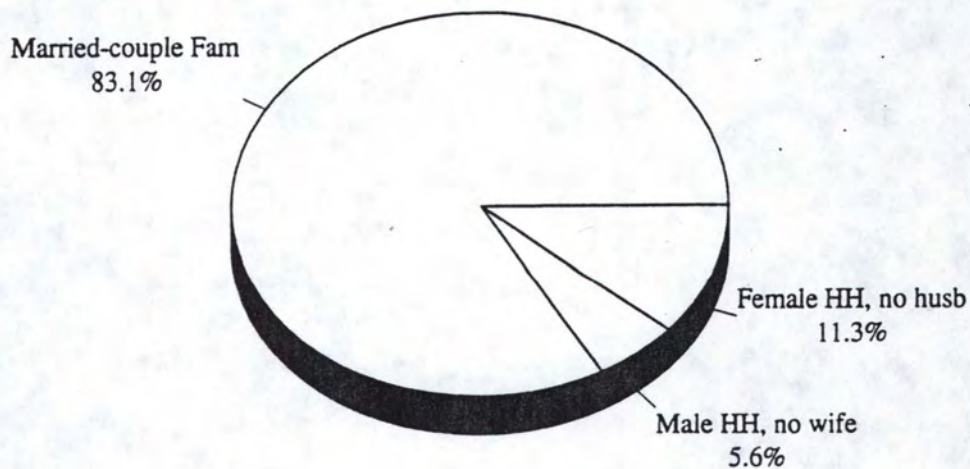
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM
[machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 56: Residency Status 1985-1990, Big Lost Area



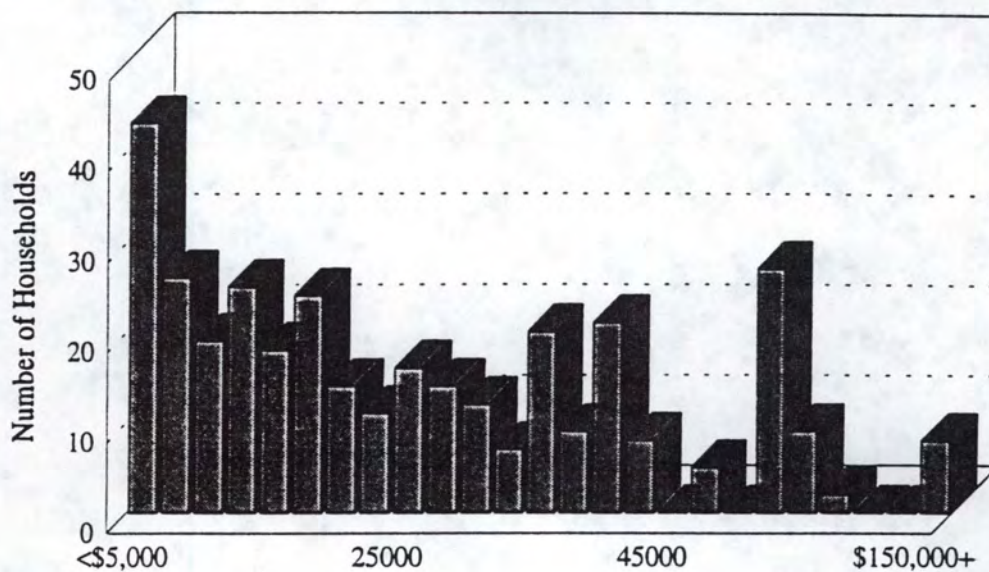
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 57: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Big Lost Area



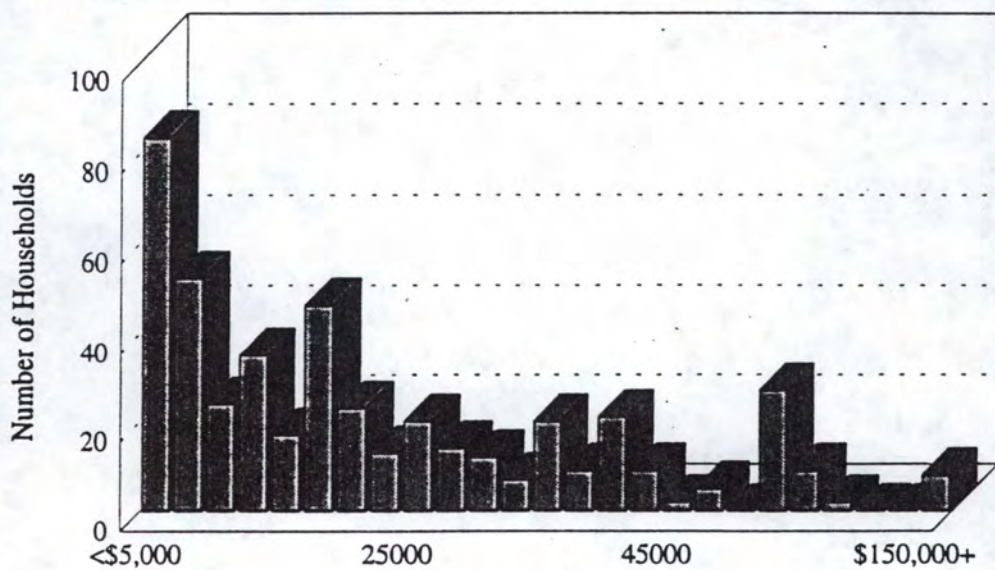
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 58: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Big Lost Area



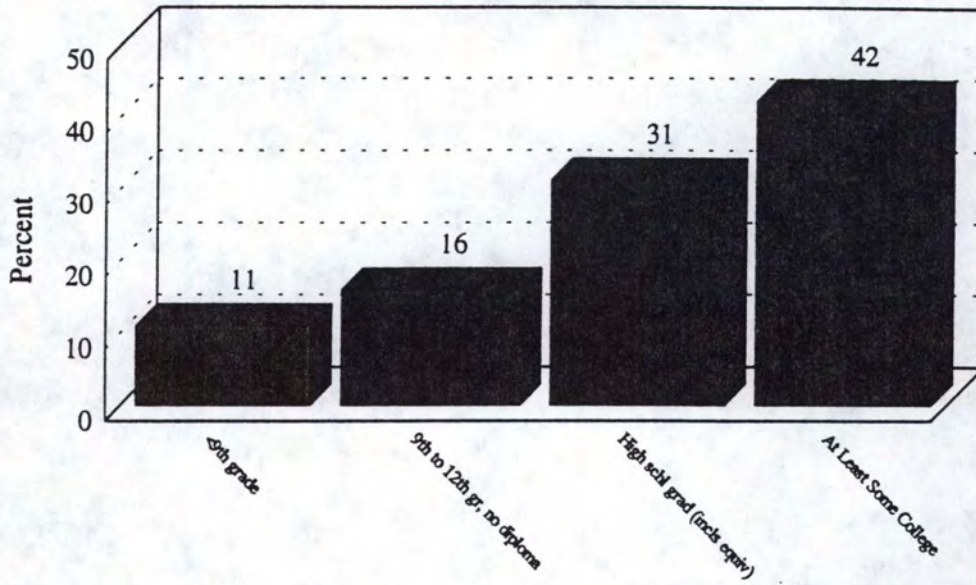
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 59: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Big Lost Area



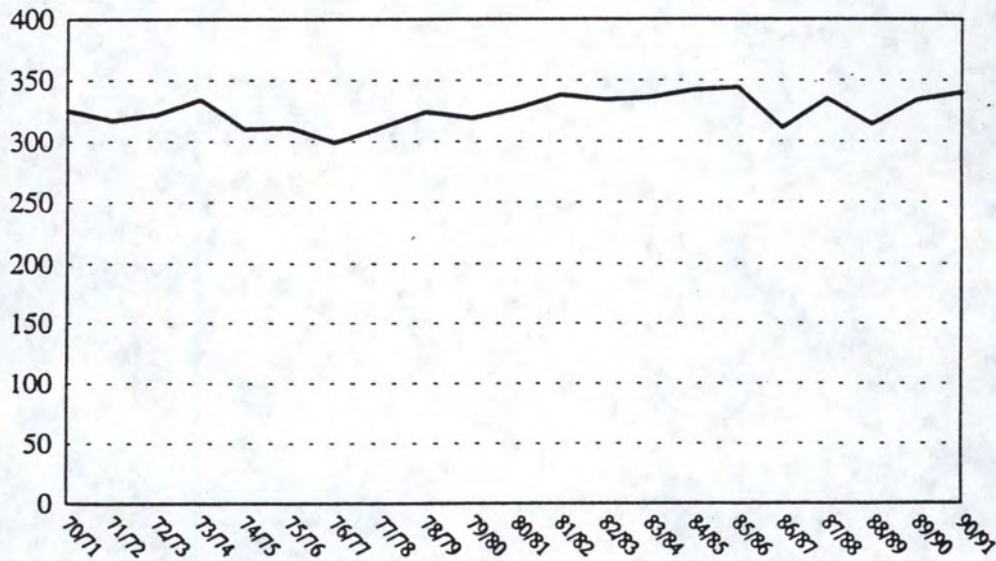
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 60: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Big Lost Area, 1989



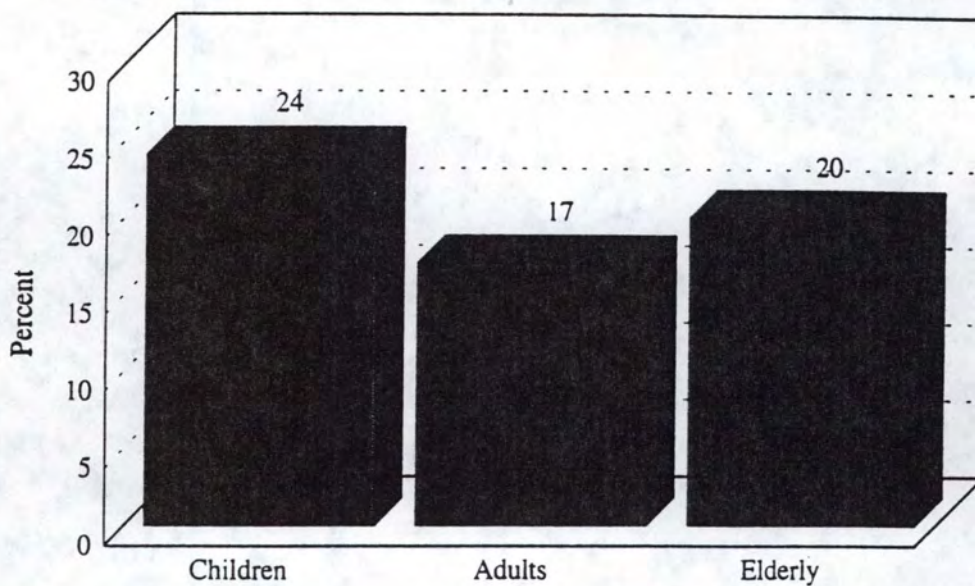
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 61: Big Lost School District Enrollment, 1970-1991



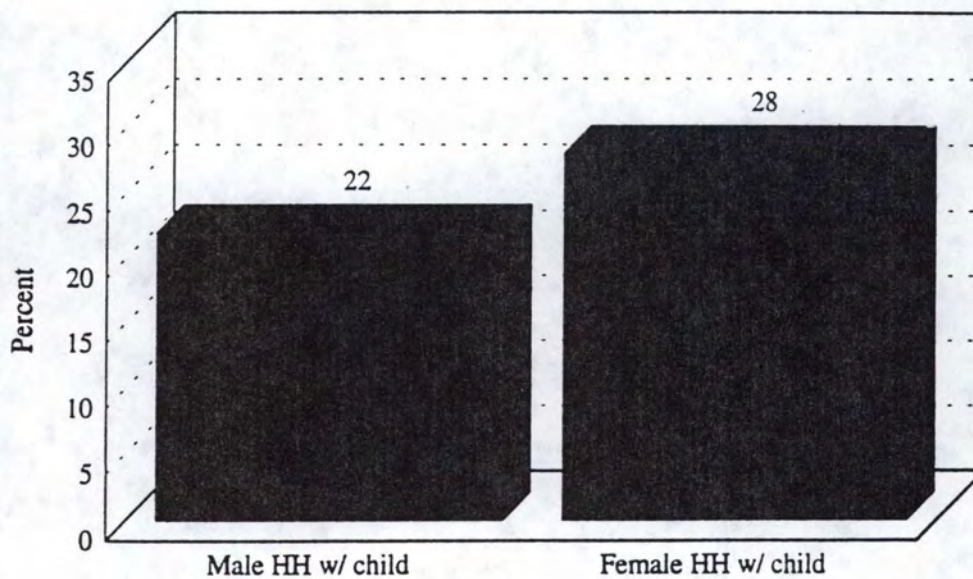
Source: Mackay School District #182

Figure 62: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Big Lost Area, 1989



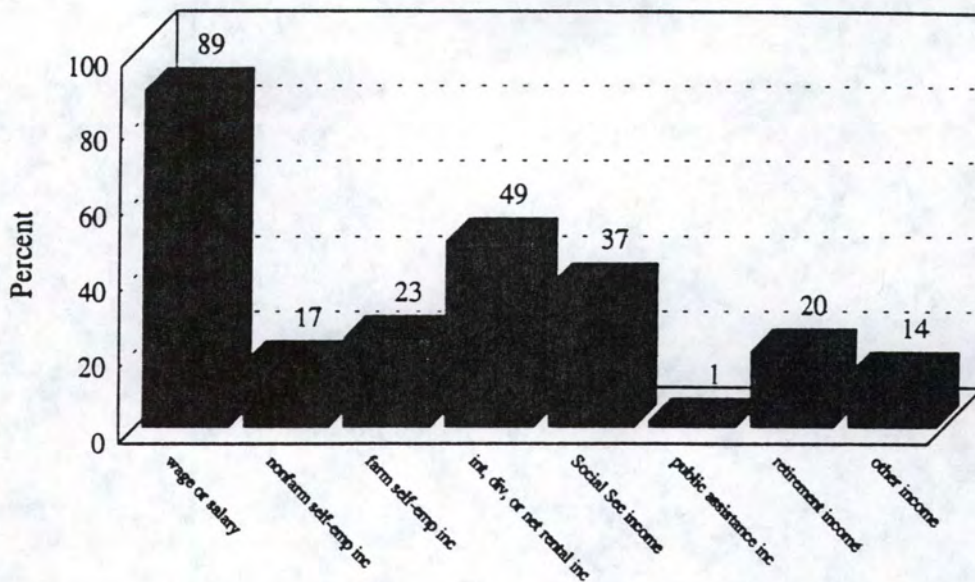
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 63: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Big Lost Area



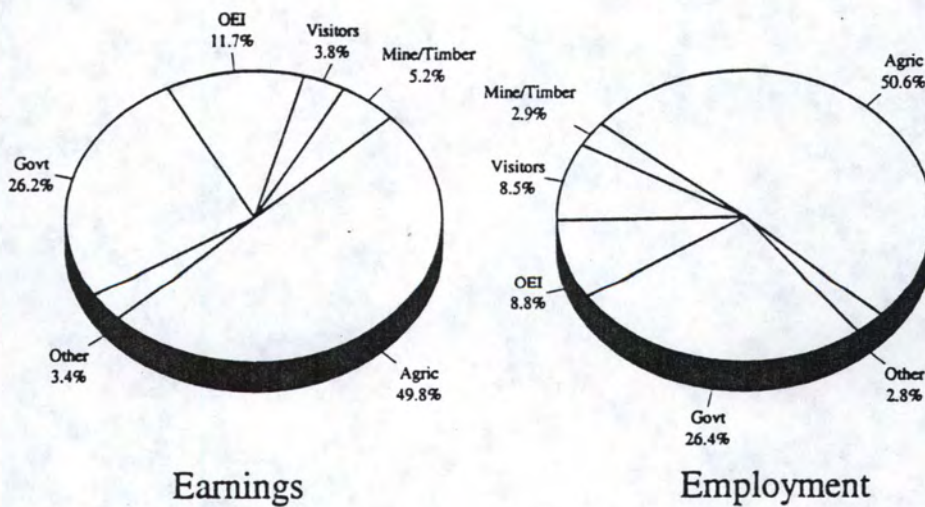
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3a on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 64: Sources of Household Income, Big Lost Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 65: Big Lost Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, INEL, etc.)

Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

5.5. Stanley area

The area used to describe Stanley is the Stanley Division of the U.S. Census. As mentioned this begins just above river from Clayton, includes the north west side of the East Fork of the Salmon, continues into the Sawtooth National Recreation Area, to the Boise, Elmore, and Blaine County lines.

5.5.1. Population Estimate

The estimated population for the city of Stanley is presented in Figure 66. There was some contention over the accuracy of the 1990 Census, but the trend remains slightly upward. The Census estimate for the whole Stanley area was 444 people. The distribution of this population by age is presented in Figure 67. This bears a limited resemblance to the overall population pyramid for the county. Population is not the only dimension in which Stanley bears little resemblance to Custer County. In the Stanley Basin area, once children reach high school age, they are often sent to stay with relatives, or one of the family members moves away with the children, so that they may attend high school. This could explain the absence of adolescent children in Stanley. There is evidence of something of a baby boom in the late 1980's, which corresponds to the number of family age residents. A respondent indicated that the number of families with young children had grown since the Census was taken.

Figure 68 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990. About 31% of the people in the Stanley area lived in the same house in 1985 as in 1990, with 26% living in a different house in the same county. These numbers are much lower than most areas in the study. What is interesting here is the 24% of those living in the Stanley who moved there from somewhere in Idaho during that time. The population is from a much more diverse background than the rest of the county, and includes many more people who are economically mobile. The allure of Stanley as a remote and beautiful area has drawn a number of Idahoans to move there.

5.5.2. Families and Households

There were 115 families in the Stanley area in 1990. As seen in Figure 69, of the families with children, just over 94% are traditional families. Of the families with children, almost 6% were headed by single females. The income distribution for families in Stanley is presented in Figure 70. The distribution is probably the most egalitarian in this study, with the distribution spread out almost evenly across the scale, until the \$30,000 range. A few families had incomes above the \$45,000 range.

There were 180 households in the Stanley area in 1990. The income distribution for households is presented in Figure 71. The presence of lower wage and seasonal jobs in the Stanley area pushes this distribution toward the lower end of the scale.

5.5.3. Education

Figure 72 presents educational attainment figures for the Stanley area. About 30% of the community were high school graduates. Some 62% of the people in Stanley attended some college, and only 8% of the people in this area did not graduate from high school. This is by far the highest proportion of individuals in the overall study area to have graduated from high school and/or attended college.

School enrollment numbers for Stanley are embedded in the numbers for the Challis School District. The small school in Stanley has had about 20 to 25 students over the past couple of years. Once the students reach high school age, they must go elsewhere for high school.

5.5.4. Poverty

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in the Stanley area is presented in Figure 73. Though poverty levels in Stanley are quite low, all the children living in poverty lived in intact, traditional families. Again, the prevalence of lower wage, seasonal employment could account for this.

5.5.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 74, the sources of household income for the Stanley area are presented. Again, wage or salary income was the most likely form of earnings, with 92% of households reporting it. Households with earnings from nonfarm proprietor's income were fairly high at 24%, and 30% had dividend, interest and rental income. Wage and salary opportunities in the Stanley mostly in the visitor service and government sectors, and few opportunities exist except for self-employment.

Figure 75 reproduces the economic base of the Stanley area.⁷ Visitors accounted for over 72% of the earnings, and almost 79% of the employment. Along with the combined federal and state government sectors, there is little else in the way of economic activity in Stanley.

Socially, it is hard to argue that Stanley is a comfortable partner with the rest of Custer County. Most respondents voiced a sense of social, political, cultural, and economic isolation from the rest of the study area. Ranching and mining activities that used to occur in this area are, for the most part, gone. Its economy is completely reliant on visitors and government employment. Respondents elsewhere held myths about Stanley that were not supported by the data.

Stanley is not a wealthy enclave in Custer County. As discussed above, its income distribution indicates that seasonal wage labor provides most of the economic activity, and proprietor's income makes up the rest. Almost 90% of the homes in the Stanley area, as indicated in Appendix Table A3, were for seasonal or occasional use. The people who own these homes may indeed be wealthy, but few of them do more than visit. The population is far more diverse than the rest of the study area. The incidence of college and professional degrees was higher in Stanley but it did not translate into a higher standard of living.

Community networks revolve around the visitor industry and its seasons. In the past, this part of the economy was balanced with other sectors. Respondents indicated that thirty years ago, you could enter a bar in Stanley during fishing season and see no less than three

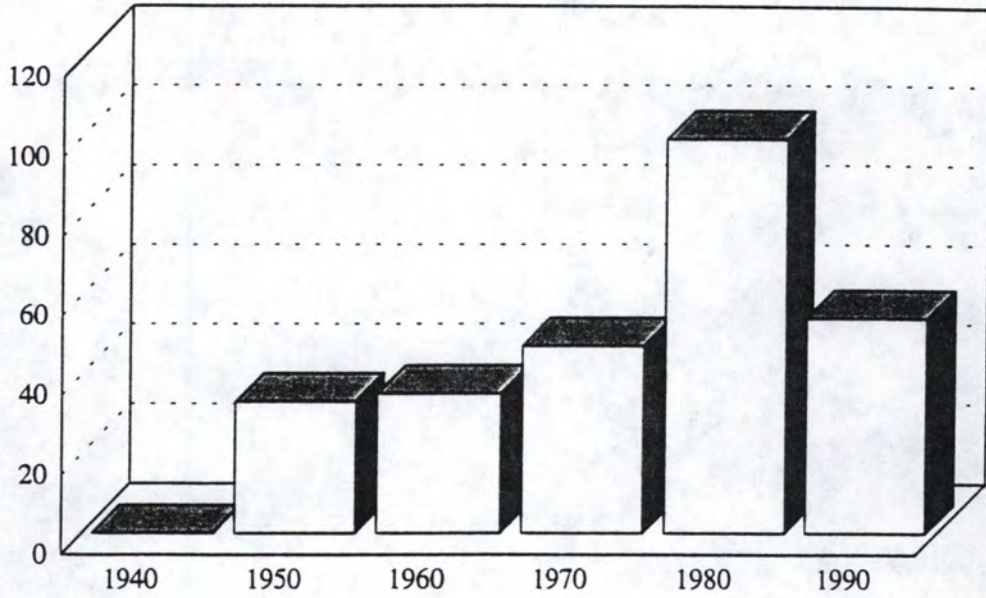
⁷Also see Appendix Table A5.

layers of patrons surrounding the bar: people who had come to fish, miners, and cowboys. Long time residents of the area recall when the salmon fishing season brought a tremendous influx of visitors. One previous owner of an intermittently operated hotel asserted that the present level of visitation supports fewer hotels than did the salmon seasons of the past. Increased highway accessibility may have contributed to this situation by allowing people to pass through more readily.

Today, the miners and cowboys are almost nonexistent, and visitors provide almost all of Stanley's nongovernment economic activity. But community narratives exist here also, and clash as well. The focus is somewhat different from other communities, however. The respondents in Stanley held a subtly different view of recreation and its impact on the community. One narrative indicated that recreation on the public land was a form of right roughly similar to grazing rights asserted by ranchers. Recreation was viewed as a resource use that was nondestructive, and as an activity that should be given precedence over other uses because it engendered economic activity without extracting physical resources.

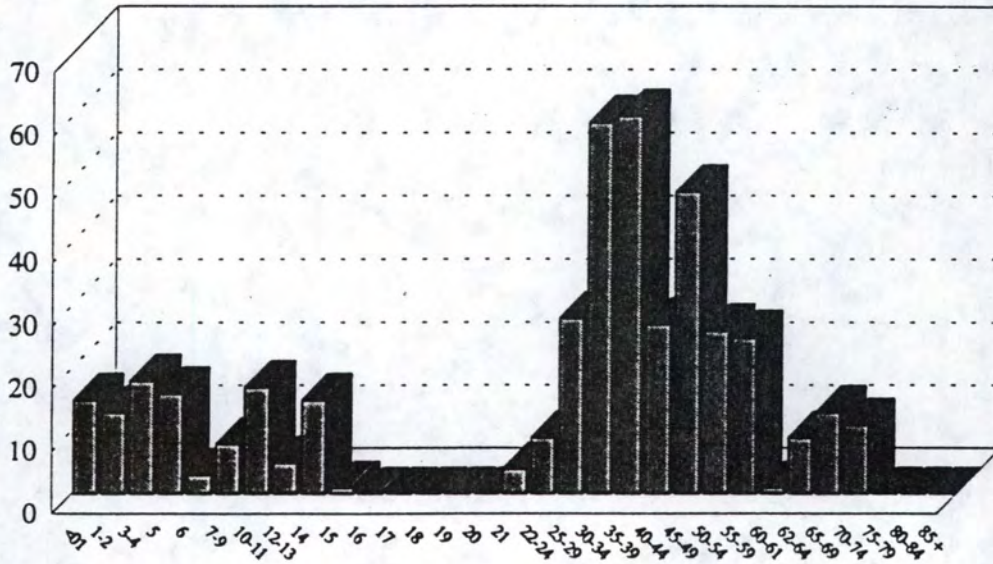
An alternative narrative viewed recreation as the best economic use of the public lands provided that use did not come at the expense of the environment. The idea was that recreation might have to accept different rules if the environment was at stake. This was viewed as acceptable since the quality of the resource was directly responsible for the quality of the recreational experience. Many environmental decisions concerning public lands will have direct impacts on the recreation industry. The former narrative implies that their customary right to the land should not be violated due to adverse economic impacts. The latter narrative asserts that recreation can still occur, but within different rules. Though the differences are subtle and important, on a philosophical level this looks quite familiar to the situation surrounding grazing on the public lands.

Figure 66: Population of Stanley 1940-1990



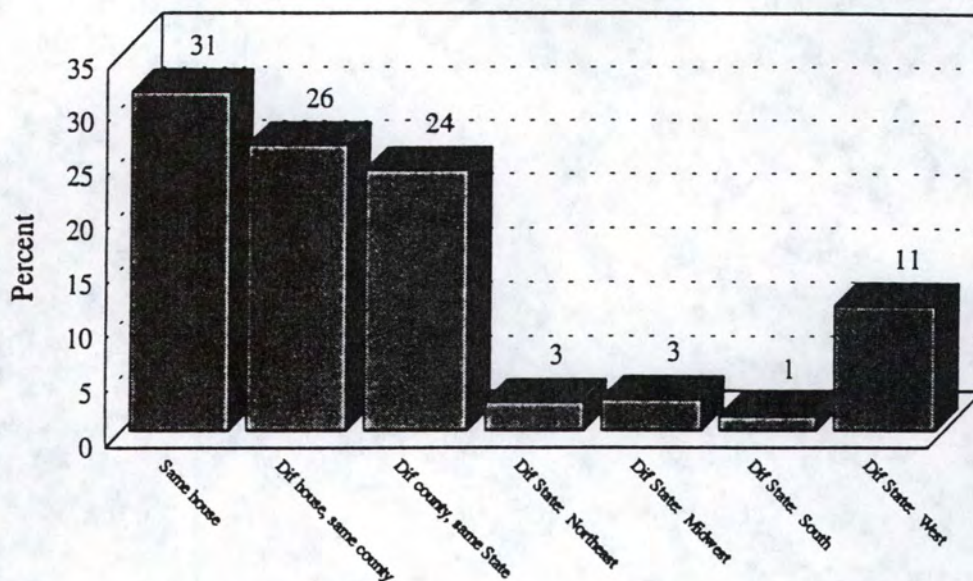
Source: Census of Population and Housing, various years, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Figure 67: Total Population by Age, Stanley Area



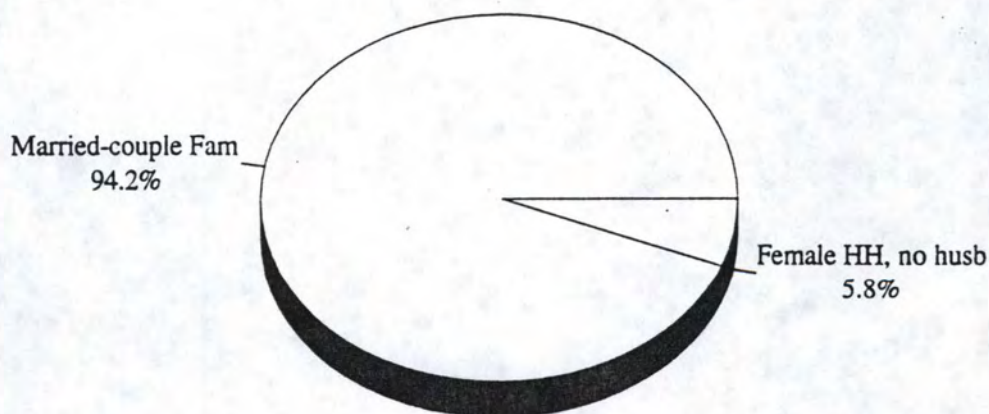
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 68: Residency Status 1985-1990, Stanley Area



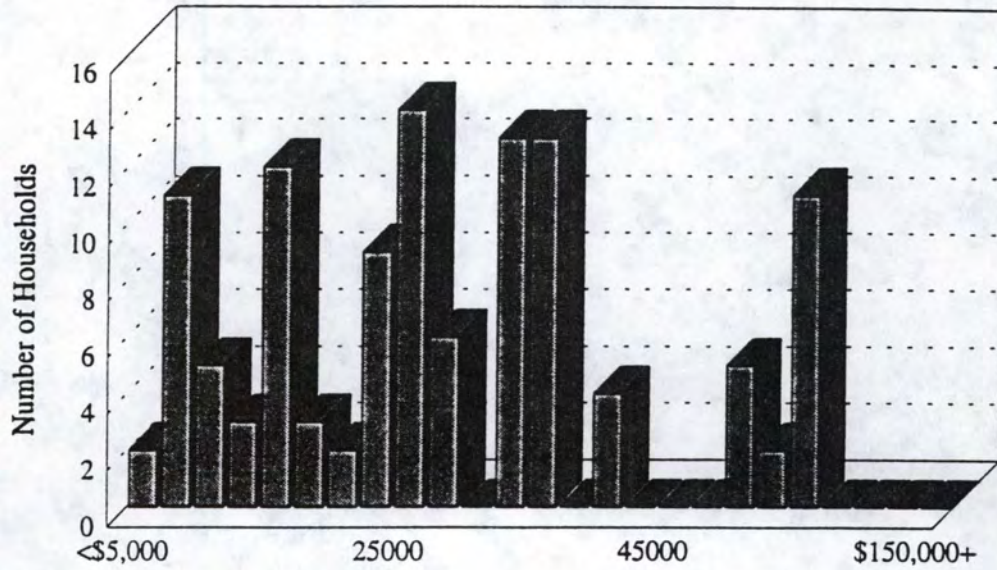
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 69: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Stanley Area



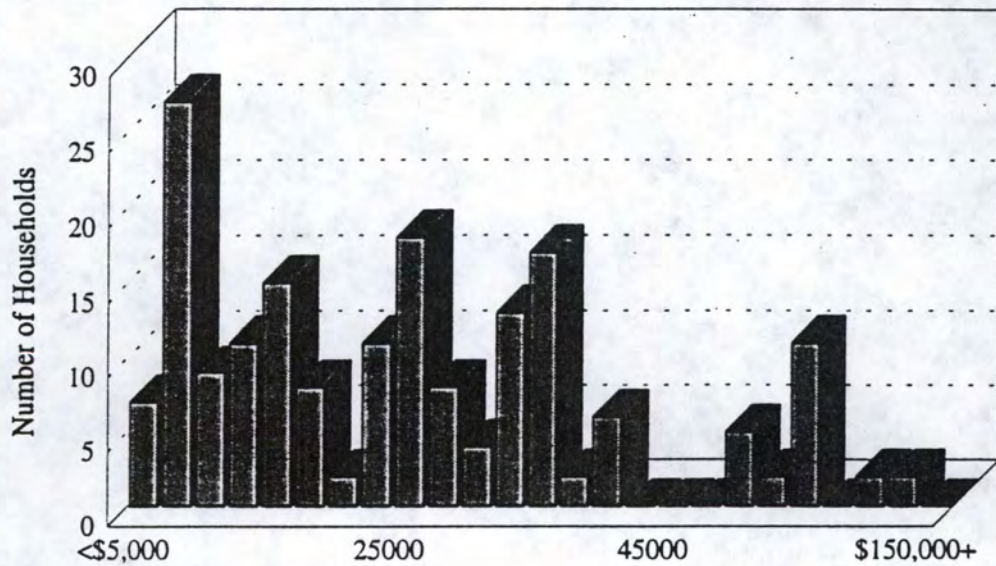
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 70: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Stanley Area



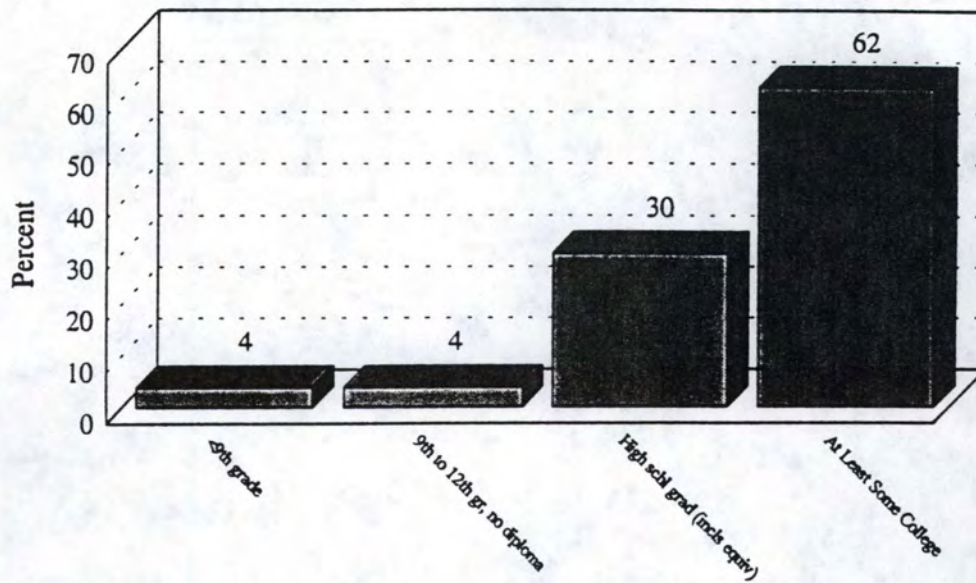
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 71: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Stanley Area



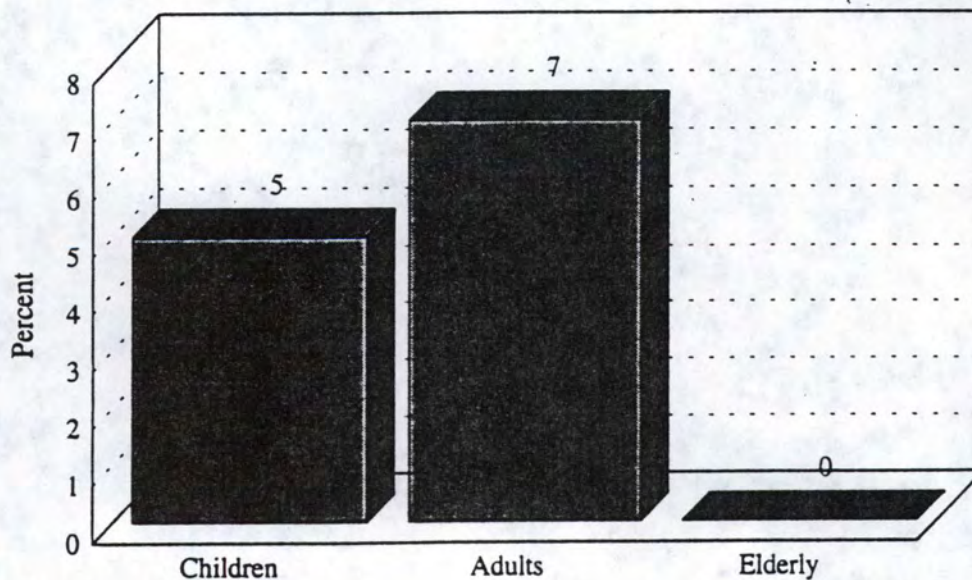
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 72: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Stanley Area, 1989



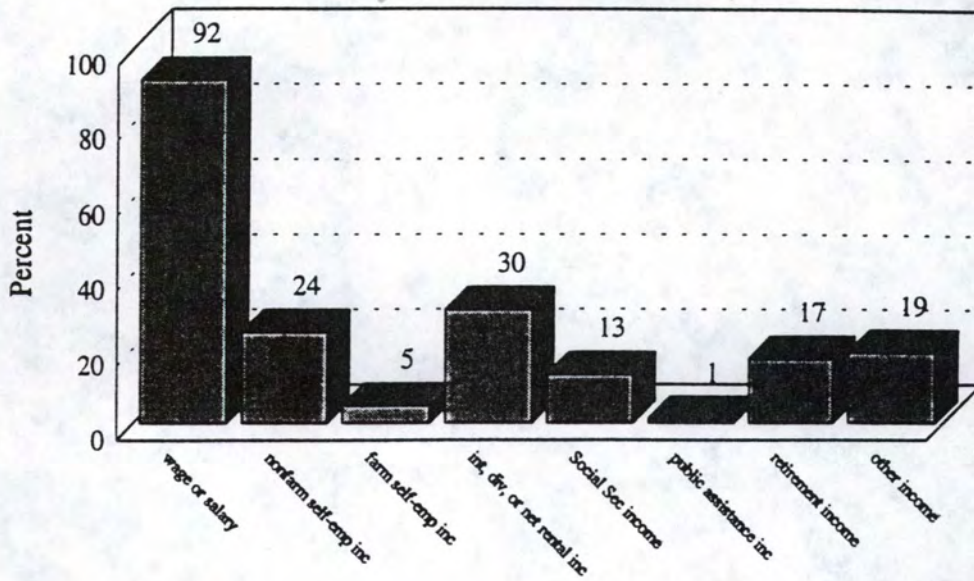
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 73: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Stanley Area, 1989



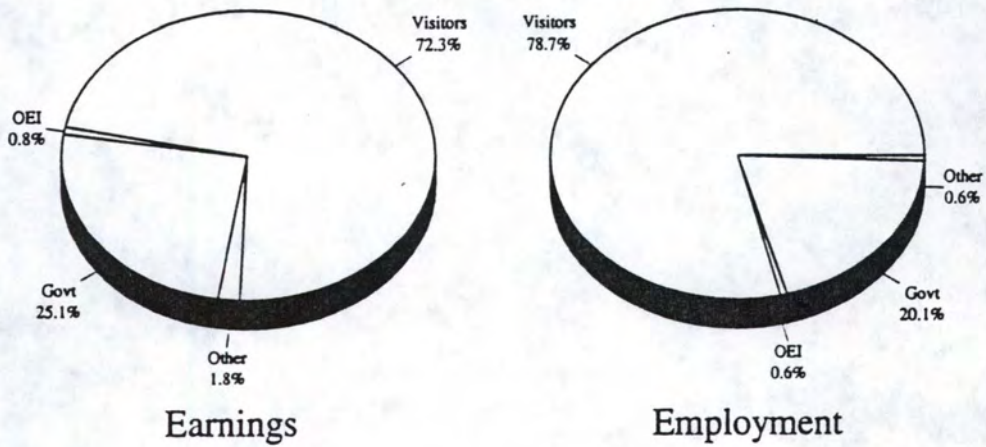
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 74: Sources of Household Income, Stanley Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

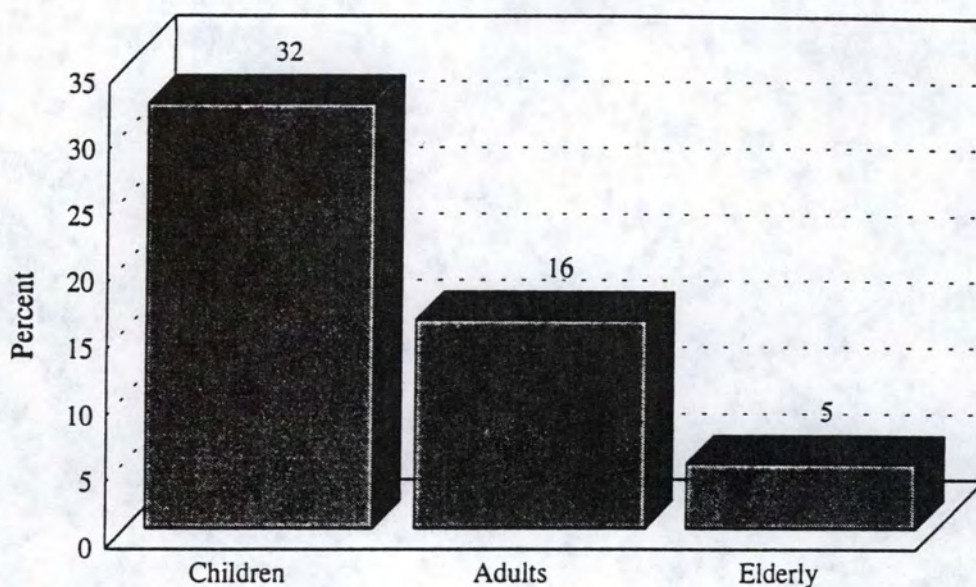
Figure 75: Stanley Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, incommuters, etc.)

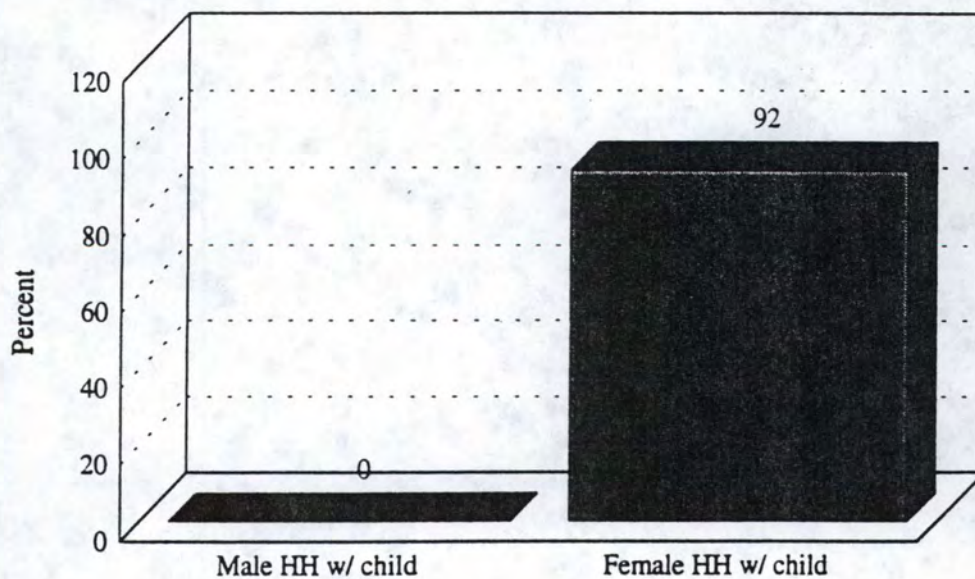
Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

Figure 116: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Salmon Area, 1989



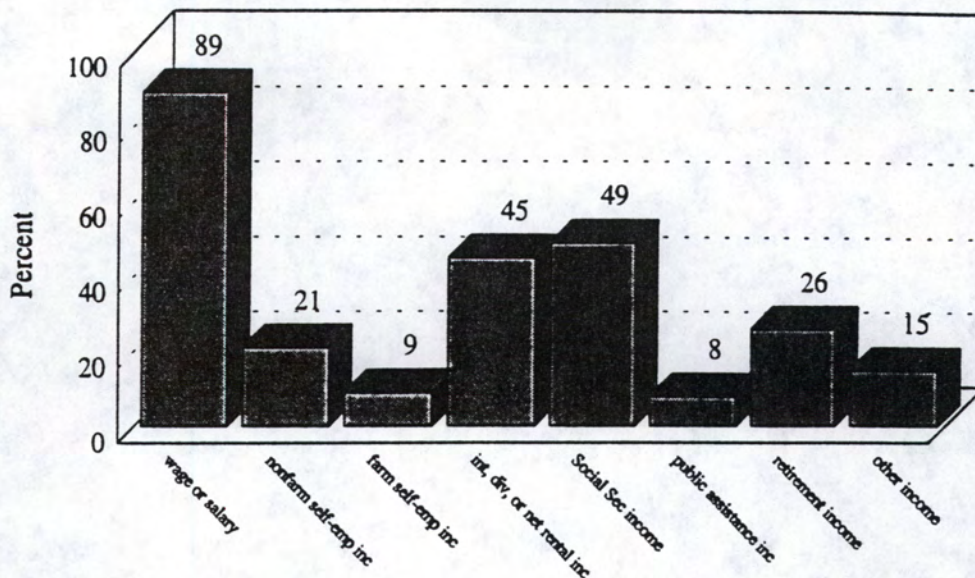
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 117: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Salmon Area



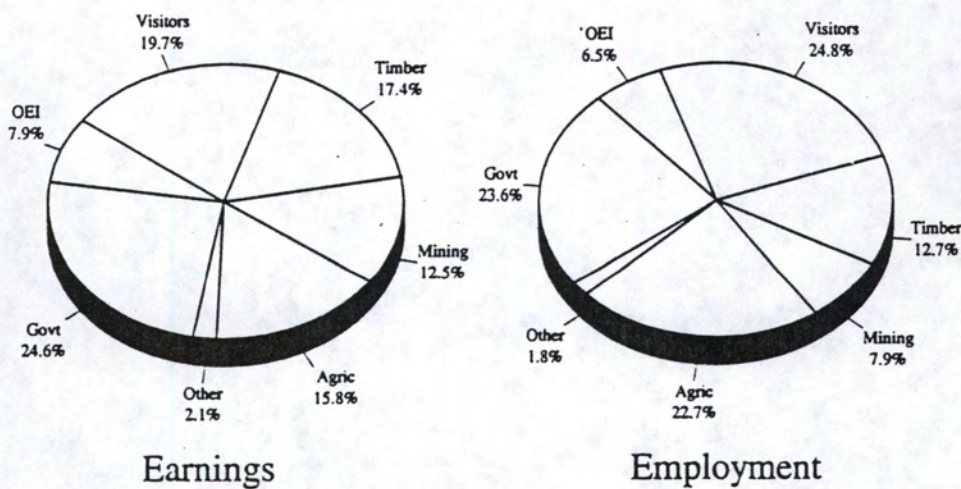
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3a on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 118: Sources of Household Income, Salmon Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 119: Salmon Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, incommuters, etc.)

Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

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7. Appendix A: Tables

Table A1: Earnings in Service Industries in Lemhi County, 1980-1991, in thousands

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	% Change
<i>Total Services</i>	4285	4346	3942	4847	5505	5787	6186	6343	6806	7911	8126	8760	24
Hotels & other lodging	344	382	255	405	448	587	637	674	461	643	728	842	48
Personal services	380	324	319	397	346	470	507	569	770	726	695	722	15
Business services	416	512	325	657	687	781	682	724	692	676	684	706	3
Auto repair & garages	125	156	116	135	181	258	344	191	172	182	185	192	-7
Misc. repair services	361	276	340	504	740	444	540	471	561	805	594	438	-27
Amusement & recreation	396	261	325	361	374	353	462	488	548	698	806	907	39
Motion pictures	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	0
Health services	990	1108	1134	1175	1309	1551	1597	1904	2188	2449	2479	2837	73
Legal services	288	289	328	398	481	382	419	469	446	463	470	509	7
Educational services	57	69	75	70	89	91	80	97	110	106	111	124	32
Social services	*	*	*	*	*	68	*	50	*	63	86	118	37
Membership organizations	*	*	305	307	288	242	207	238	262	283	285	321	-25
Eng & mgmt services	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	428	646	824	898	5
Misc services	545	556	340	359	445	498	609	396	*	*	57	63	-92

* Data not reported: confidential or total was less than \$50,000

** Category not used prior to 1988

Source: Regional Economic Information System, on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, May 1993

Table A2: Economic Base of Challis in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	9.98	13.06
Mining	68.78	55.36
Timber	1.28	1.00
Visitors	4.96	11.92
Linked to OEI ¹³	2.28	2.65
State & Local Govt.	5.14	5.86
Federal Govt.	5.18	8.12
Other	2.39	2.02
Total	100.00	100.00
<hr/>		
Personal Income Analysis (%)		
Earnings	49.58	
OEI ¹	50.42	
PI Total	100.00	

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹³"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

Table A3: Custer County Occupancy

	Challis	Big Lost	Stanley
Housing units, total	843	731	577
Rural: Farm	25	62	0
Rural: Nonfarm	818	669	577
Occupied housing units	681	439	205
Vacant housing units	162	292	372
<i>% Vacancy Rate</i>	19	40	64
Not condominium, Vacant for rent	40	5	22
Not condominium, Vacant for sale only	13	42	7
Not condominium, Vacant for seasonal, recreational, occasional use	31	137	332
Not condominium, All other vacant	78	108	11
<i>All Vacancies</i>	162	292	372
<i>% Vacant for seasonal, rec, occ use</i>	19	47	89

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Table A4: Economic Base of Big Lost in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	49.78	50.65
Mining	2.81	1.33
Timber	2.39	1.54
Visitors	3.76	8.49
Linked to OEI ¹⁴	11.68	8.80
State & Local Govt.	12.00	10.20
Federal Govt.	14.18	16.23
Other	3.39	2.77
Total	100.00	100.00

Personal Income Analysis (%)

Earnings	64.78
OEI ³	35.22
PI Total	100.00

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹⁴"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

Table A5: Economic Base of Stanley in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	0.00	0.00
Mining	0.00	0.00
Timber	0.00	0.00
Visitors	72.32	78.69
Linked to OEI ¹⁵	0.80	0.58
State & Local Govt.	7.12	4.41
Federal Govt.	17.94	15.73
Other	1.82	0.59
Total	100.00	100.00

 Personal Income Analysis (%)

Earnings	90.89
OEI ²	9.11
PI Total	100.00

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹⁵"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

Table A6: Economic Base of Pahsimeroi in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	96.50	85.14
Mining	0.00	0.00
Timber	0.00	0.00
Visitors	0.54	8.75
Linked to OEI ¹⁶	0.82	2.09
State & Local Govt.	1.32	2.11
Federal Govt.	0.81	1.90
Other	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00
Personal Income Analysis (%)		
Earnings	56.28	
OEI ⁴	43.72	
PI Total	100.00	

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹⁶"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

Table A7: Economic Base of Tendoy-Leadore in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	85.40	76.63
Mining	0.00	0.00
Timber	0.00	0.00
Visitors	1.94	6.12
Linked to OEI ¹⁷	1.10	1.55
State & Local Govt.	6.38	7.37
Federal Govt.	5.12	8.27
Other	0.06	0.06
Total	100.00	100.00
Personal Income Analysis (%)		
Earnings	85.29	
OEI ⁶	14.71	
PI Total	100.00	

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹⁷"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

Table A8: Economic Base of North Fork/Gibbonsville in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	0.99	2.88
Mining	0.00	0.00
Timber	3.89	1.93
Visitors	43.64	63.35
Linked to OEI ¹⁸	2.94	2.06
State & Local Govt.	11.26	5.24
Federal Govt.	36.95	24.43
Other	4.21	2.04
Total	100.00	100.00
Personal Income Analysis (%)		
Earnings	49.58	
OEI ⁷	50.42	
PI Total	100.00	

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹⁸"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

Table A9: Economic Base of Salmon in 1991

	Earnings (%)	Employment (%)
Agriculture	15.78	22.66
Mining	12.53	7.86
Timber	17.42	12.74
Visitors	19.68	24.84
Linked to OEI ¹⁹	7.89	6.51
State & Local Govt.	12.17	10.16
Federal Govt.	12.48	13.43
Other	2.07	1.81
Total	100.00	100.00

 Personal Income Analysis

Earnings	77.25
OEI ⁵	22.75
PI Total	100.00

Source: Custer-Lemhi Economic Model, 1993.

¹⁹"Outside Equity Income" is a broad mix of incomes received by community residents from sources outside the communities. These include social security payments, public assistance, unemployment compensation, private retirement income, the receipt of dividend, interest, and rent payments, military (e.g., national guard) income, and the income of outcommuters.

8. Appendix B: Definitions

Live Birth -- a birth that shows any sign of life after delivery.

(Crude) Birth Rate -- number of live births per 1,000 population.

Fertility Rate -- number of live births per 1,000 women 15-44 years of age.

Marriage Rate -- number of marriages per 1,000 population.

Divorce Rate -- number of divorces per 1,000 population.

Educational Attainment -- The highest level of school completed or the highest degree received. The category, "Associate degree" includes persons whose highest degree is an associate degree in (1) an occupational program that prepares them for a specific occupation, and the course work may or may not be creditable toward a bachelor's degree or (2) an academic program primarily in the arts and sciences, and the course work is transferable to a bachelor's degree. Some examples of professional degrees include medicine, dentistry, chiropractic, optometry, osteopathic medicine, pharmacy, podiatry, veterinary medicine, law, and theology, but specifically exclude barber school, cosmetology, or other training for a specific trade.

Families (Family Households) -- Includes a householder and one or more persons living in the same household who are related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption. All persons in a household who are related to the householder are regarded as members of his or her family. A household can contain only one family for purposes of census tabulations. Not all households contain families since a household may comprise a group of unrelated persons or one person living alone.

Household -- Includes all the persons who occupy a housing unit. Persons not living in households are classified as living in group quarters. In sample tabulations, the count of households may differ from the count of occupied housing units as a result of the weighting process.

Income in 1989 -- Information on money income received in the calendar year 1989 was requested from persons 15 years and over. "Total income" is the algebraic sum of the amounts reported separately for wage or salary income; net nonfarm self-employment income; net farm self-employment income; interest, dividend, net rental or royalty income; Social Security or railroad retirement income; public assistance or welfare income; retirement or disability income; and all other income. (For more information, see "Public Assistance Income," "Retirement Income," and "Social Security Income.")

Per Capita Income -- The mean income computed for every man, woman, and child in a particular group. It is derived by dividing the total income of a particular group by the total population.

Poverty Status in 1989 -- Poverty status was determined for all persons except institutionalized persons, persons in military group quarters and in college dormitories and unrelated individuals

under 15 years old. These groups were excluded from the denominator when calculating poverty rates. Poverty statistics were based on a definition originated by the Social Security Administration in 1964 and modified by Federal interagency committees in 1969 and 1980 and prescribed by the Office of Management and Budget. The income cutoffs used by the Census bureau to determine the poverty status of families and unrelated individuals included a set of 48 thresholds arranged in a two-dimensional matrix consisting of family size cross-classified by presence and number of family members under 18 years old. The average poverty threshold for a family of four persons was \$12,674 in 1989.

Residence in 1985 -- Indicates the area of residence on April 1, 1985 of those persons who reported that they lived in a different house than their current residence on that date.

Urban and Rural Population -- As defined for the 1990 census, the urban population comprises all persons living in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 or more persons outside urbanized areas. The population not classified as urban constitutes the rural population. In this product, rural population is subdivided to include rural farm population which comprises all rural households on farms.

Table B1: Lemhi County Census Areas, Geographic Identifiers

Block Group	Census Tract/Block Numbering Area	County Subdivision-- FIPS	Place--FIPS	Internal Point Latitude	Internal Point Longitude
1	9801	91035	99999	+45077862	-114479732
2	9803	91886	45910	+44679748	-113356652
2	9803	91886	99999	+44613464	-113363861
3	9803	91886	99999	+44999240	-113744247
1	9803	92737	99999	+44769530	-113964043
3	9803	92737	99999	+45015422	-114000712
2	9801	93174	71650	+45185389	-113918436
3	9801	93174	71650	+45182747	-113900672
4	9801	93174	71650	+45180398	-113913951
1	9802	93174	71650	+45172452	-113896112
2	9802	93174	71650	+45175351	-113887578
3	9802	93174	71650	+45171156	-113882621
2	9801	93174	99999	+45459549	-114038649
3	9801	93174	99999	+45191611	-113902617
4	9801	93174	99999	+45129720	-113942019
1	9802	93174	99999	+45161096	-113907564
2	9802	93174	99999	+45420014	-113854996
3	9802	93174	99999	+45106123	-113854996
1	9803	93174	99999	+45010174	-114022261
3	9803	93174	99999	+45074439	-113862284

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Table B2: Custer County Census Areas, Geographic Identifiers

Block Group	Census Tract/Block Numbering Area	County Subdivision-- FIPS	Place--FIPS	Internal Point Latitude	Internal Point Longitude
1	2201	90575	13780	+44526146	-114211520
1	9902	90575	13780	+44503274	-114231464
2	9902	90575	13780	+44513091	-114220441
1	9901	90575	15490	+44259058	-114398496
1	9901	90575	99999	+44573839	-114319774
2	9901	90575	99999	+44488772	-114550310
1	9902	90575	99999	+44223293	-114274944
2	9902	90575	99999	+44281387	-113751948
4	9902	90575	99999	+44263609	-113976770
4	9902	92024	47890	+43721884	-113544078
3	9902	92024	49240	+43911974	-113610851
3	9902	92024	99999	+43929883	-113560862
4	9902	92024	9999	+43870838	-113904151
2	9901	93335	76780	+44217780	-114928481
3	9901	93335	76780	+44215787	-114936977
2	9901	93335	99999	+44252752	-114630023
3	9901	93335	99999	+4470469	-115022021

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

9. Appendix C: Cover Letters and Instruments



University of Idaho
**Cooperative
Extension System**

How much money circulates in the economy of Salmon or Challis? What is the most important industry in Mackay? Just how much is recreation worth to Stanley? We would like your help in a research project to answer these and many other questions about local economies in Custer and Lemhi counties.

In cooperation with the commissioners of Custer and Lemhi counties, the Salmon District Bureau of Land Management, and the Salmon National Forest, the University of Idaho is trying to build an accurate picture of the economies of Salmon, Challis, Mackay and Stanley. As we all know, these communities are at an economic crossroads. In order to plan for the future it is vital that people in these communities know where their local economies stand. But, to build an understanding of how these complex local economies work, we need your help.

We need to get a rough measure of where dollars come from and where they go. Some of these connections are difficult to see. For instance, you will notice that there are a few questions about recreation spending. Outfitters and guides, their customers, tourists driving through the area and all forms of summer visitors spend money in many businesses around towns such as these. In addition, crews employed by mining and logging interests often come to town for various periods of time, spending money on lodging, food and other items. Neither of these examples will show up in Federal or State of Idaho data, yet transactions such as these are vital to the economies of places such as Salmon, Challis, Mackay and Stanley.

Community volunteers are leaving a fairly short survey that is attached to this letter. We are asking you to take the time to fill it out. Please notice that it does not ask for dollar amounts or financial information, but only for various percentages that will help us to establish how the local economy works. In addition, there are multiple questions concerning recreation. Related to this, on the last page there is a section for insights and comments that you could give us. We would appreciate it if you would take the time to describe situations like those mentioned above, where the contributions of various groups or industries to the local economy are easily overlooked. If you have any questions, here are some people you can call:

We would like to thank you for taking the time to help the University of Idaho and the Commissioners of Custer and Lemhi counties to evaluate the local economies in this region. The results of this effort will be available in a few months and we will welcome your comments.

Cordially,

Robert R. Loucks
Lemhi County Agent

Aaron Harp
Rural Sociologist

5.6. Pahsimeroi area

The study area labeled the Pahsimeroi is composed of the U.S. Census Patterson Division in Lemhi County, and Census Tract 9902, block group 2, from the Challis Division in Custer County. The issues concerning the combination of these two Census areas are outlined in the above discussion of Challis. Essentially, as no lower level of aggregation for the data was available, the population and other variables tend to overstate the size of the community in the Pahsimeroi. The next level of aggregation, the census block, only has data useful for political re-apportionment. The unique geography of this valley makes some compromise on the data essential. The line between Custer and Lemhi Counties leaves less than one third of the valley in Lemhi County. Yet the Census tract in Custer County that includes the remainder of the valley also includes the area up river past Morgan Creek almost to Challis. This is a serious limitation in the data. Whenever necessary, this will be accounted for in the narrative.

In the end, the Pahsimeroi area is composed of the area from Elk Bend, Ellis, the area encompassing May and Patterson, and continuing on to the Butte County line, the area from Ellis upriver almost to the city limit of Challis along U.S. 93.

5.6.1. Population Estimate

The Census estimate for the Pahsimeroi area was 1109 people, with 392 living in the Patterson Division in Lemhi County. The Census also classifies Patterson as a Census Place. The population of Patterson over time is graphed in Figure 76. The population was nonexistent by the time of the 1970 Census. The remaining houses in what was Patterson do not appear to have made an impact on the Census count in 1990. The distribution of this population by age is presented in Figure 77. This area appears to retain many of its young adults in the 18 to 29 year age range. Additionally, the large population in the 60 to 75 year range can be attributed to the inclusion of the Elk Bend area, which is heavily populated with retirees. Figure 78 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990. About 54% of the people in the Pahsimeroi area lived in the same house in 1985 as in 1990. What is interesting

here is the 12% of those living in the Pahsimeroi area who moved there from somewhere in the West during that time. This is most likely due to families associated with mining at Challis living in the northern side of the round valley and the retirement nature of Elk Bend.

5.6.2. Families and Households

There were 314 families in the Pahsimeroi area in 1990. Of these, 134 lived in the Patterson Division of Lemhi County. As can be seen in Figure 79, just over 79% of the total number of families with children under the age of 18 are traditional families. Of the families with children, just under 14% were headed by single females, and 7% were headed by single males. The income distribution for families in the Pahsimeroi is presented in Figure 80. The distribution is skewed toward incomes of less than \$25,000.

There were 403 households in the Pahsimeroi area in 1990, of which 155 lived in the Patterson Division. The income distribution for households is presented in Figure 81. There appears to be an increase in numbers at the extremes of the scale, and these numbers will affect poverty rates.

5.6.3. Education

Figure 82 presents educational attainment figures for the Pahsimeroi area. About 35% of the community were high school graduates, with 37% of the population having attended some college. About 27% of the people in this area did not graduate from high school.

5.6.4. Poverty

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in the Pahsimeroi is presented in Figure 83. About 27% of the children in the Pahsimeroi live beneath the poverty level in 1989, along with 20% of the adults and 10% of the elderly. For children and adults, these numbers are high. Figure 84 indicates that 82% of families with children headed by a single female lived beneath the poverty level, while 36% of the families headed by a single male lived in poverty. This incidence of poverty for female headed

households with children is quite high. These numbers are consistent with the family and household income distributions for this area. Economic opportunities other than government and agriculture are few in this area. Seasonal labor and agricultural work are available, the latter being associated with a Hispanic population in the Pahsimeroi Valley.

5.6.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 85, the sources of household earnings for the Pahsimeroi area are presented. About 83% of the households had wage or salary income. This income is more likely to be linked to Challis than to come directly from the Pahsimeroi Valley proper, with the exception of agricultural employment. Over one third of the people had income from interest, dividends or net rental income, 43% had Social Security income, 17% had nonfarm proprietor's income, and 22% had retirement income. The level of Social Security and retirement income indicates that the retirement community is very evident, and likely to be concentrated around Elk Bend. Agriculture is much more important here, as evidenced by the 25% of the population reporting self-employed farm income.

Figure 86 portrays the economic base of the Pahsimeroi area.⁸ Agriculture completely dominates the local economy, with over 96% of total earnings and over 85% of the employment in the Pahsimeroi in 1991. The ranching community in the Pahsimeroi conducts business with retail and wholesale merchants in Salmon and Challis.

There is little doubt that this is ranching country. A visit to the Pahsimeroi Valley makes this readily apparent. The spatial arrangement of the valley indicates a settlement pattern that almost surely enforced a sense self-sufficiency coupled with a heavy reliance on neighbors when in need. Like all the study area, the Pahsimeroi was mentioned as a good place for "kids to learn about working" and it was also "too far away from anywhere for them to get into trouble."

The virtual monopoly that ranching has on this area means that the community virtually stands or falls with the fortunes of ranchers. The community narrative in the

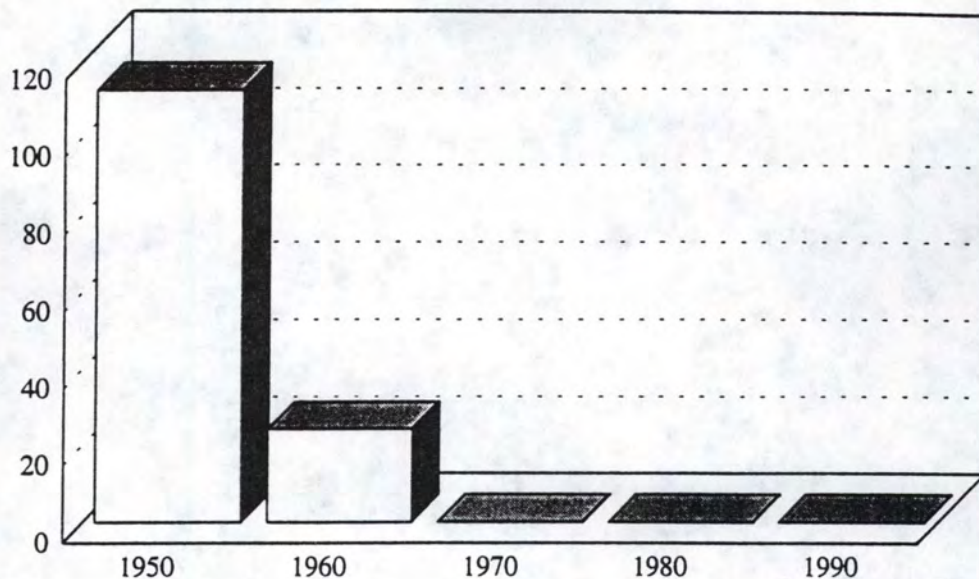
⁸ Also see Appendix Table A6

Pahsimeroi is customary use and self-sufficiency. Respondents portrayed themselves as working hard and helping your neighbor. Importantly, the ranching community held strong opinions about customary use of range resources. There was strong belief that the continued use of public lands to make a living in the Pahsimeroi Valley was a right built on many generations of use. Water allocations and grazing allotments were portrayed as something that fathers and grandfathers had set up, and the expectation was that these arrangements were due respect. From this foundation, most respondents spoke possessively about public land resources.

Near Ellis, there was concern about the purchase of ranches by nonranchers. One respondent was bothered that her family's ranch was now going to be used for something other than ranching. This was a general concern among ranchers. In addition, the respondents in the valley indicated that they spent their money in Challis and Salmon. They were more likely to go to Salmon for extensive purchases because they could do more things in one trip. If the valley were to have a decline in ranching, replaced by an influx of seasonal land holders, this business would fade. Nonetheless, communities like May, Ellis, and Patterson were so heavily dominated by ranching that the notion of land put out of production for private recreation seemed foreign to the local community.

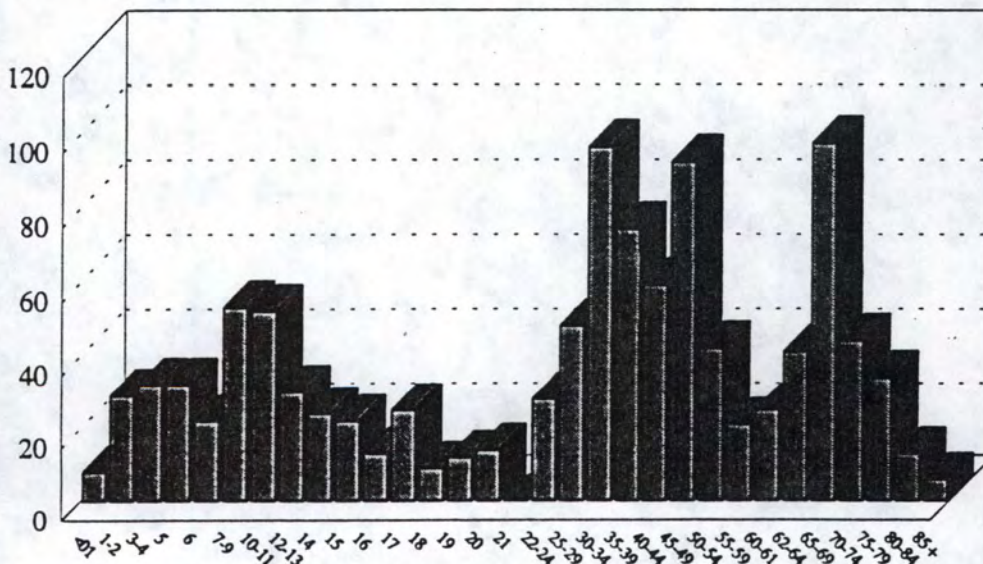
This economy is monolithic and the social fabric is almost as monolithic. Including the local Hispanic population, and with the exception of a few non-ranchers, the Pahsimeroi is dangerously dependent on public lands for its economic livelihood. In the event a decline in grazing or some re-allocation of water was to occur, this area could be severely affected.

Figure 76: Population of Patterson 1950-1990



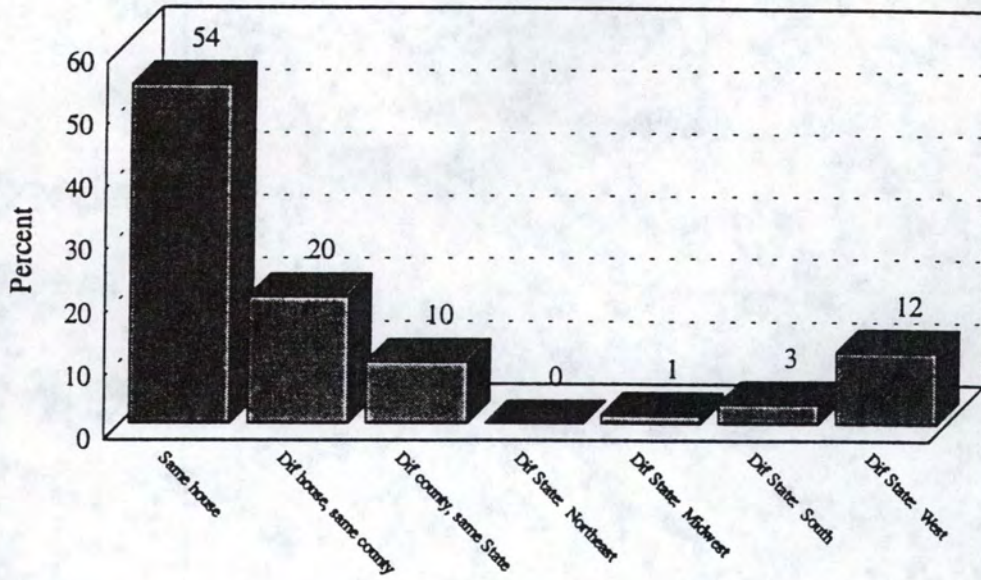
Source: Census of Population and Housing, various years, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Figure 77: Total Population By Age, Pahsimeroi Area



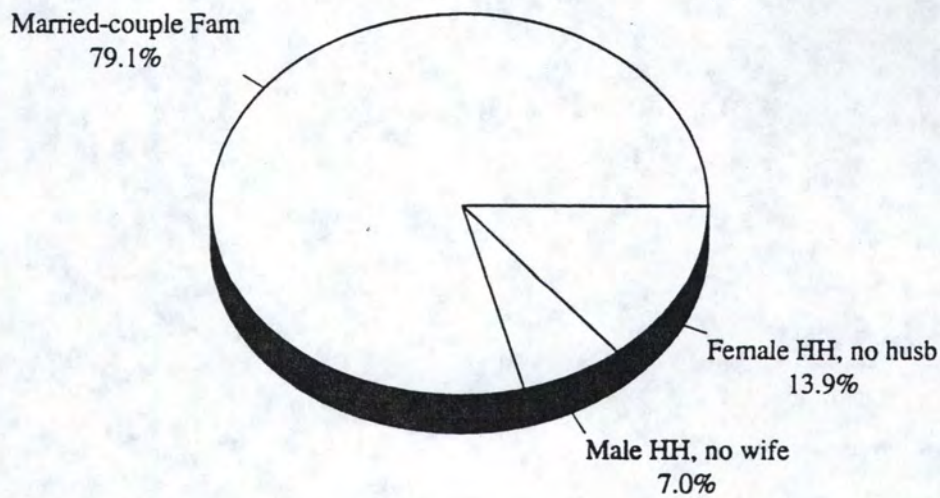
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992.

Figure 78: Residency Status 1985-1990, Pahsimeroi Area



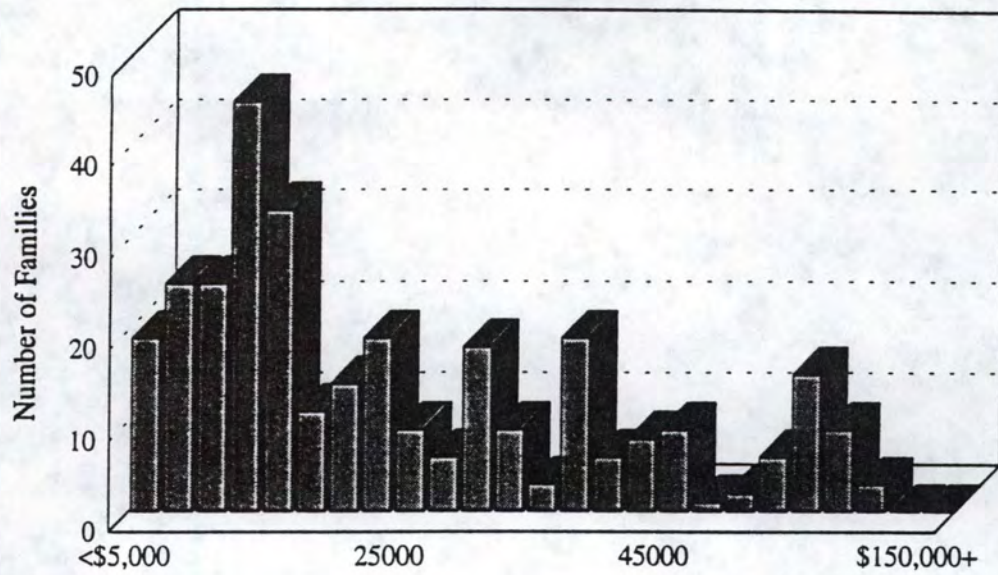
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 79: Structure of Families with Own Children <18, Pahsimeroi Area



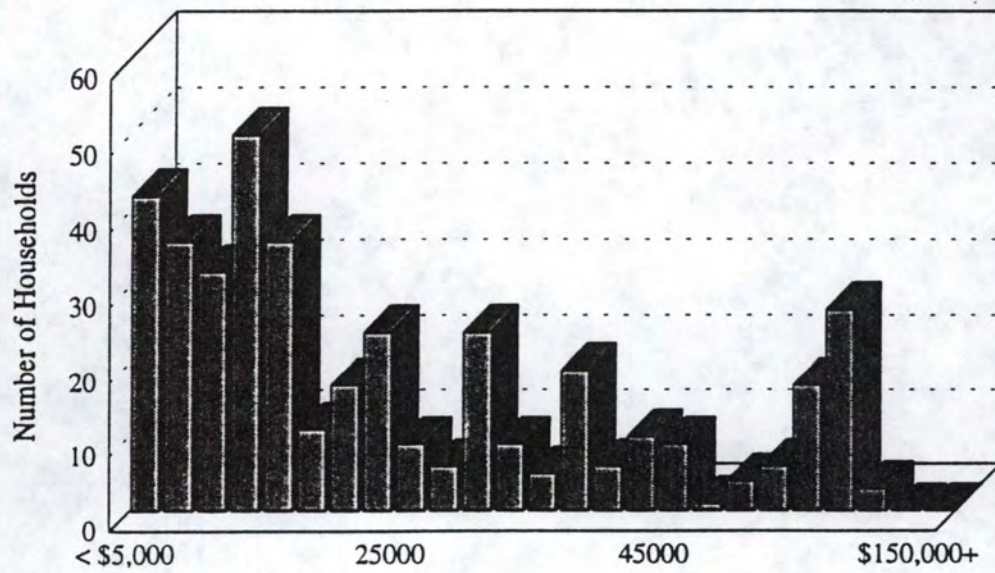
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 80: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Pahsimeroi Area



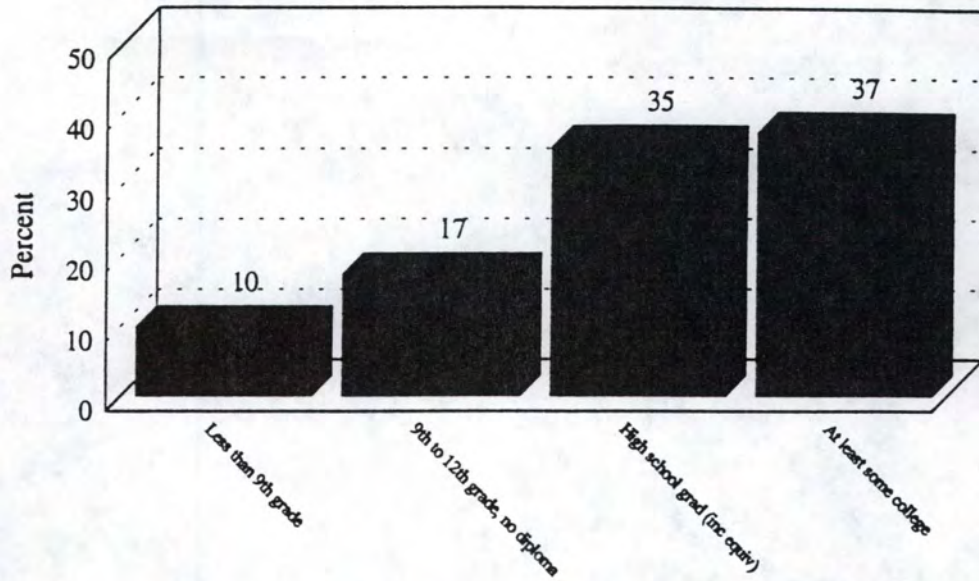
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 81: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Pahsimeroi Area



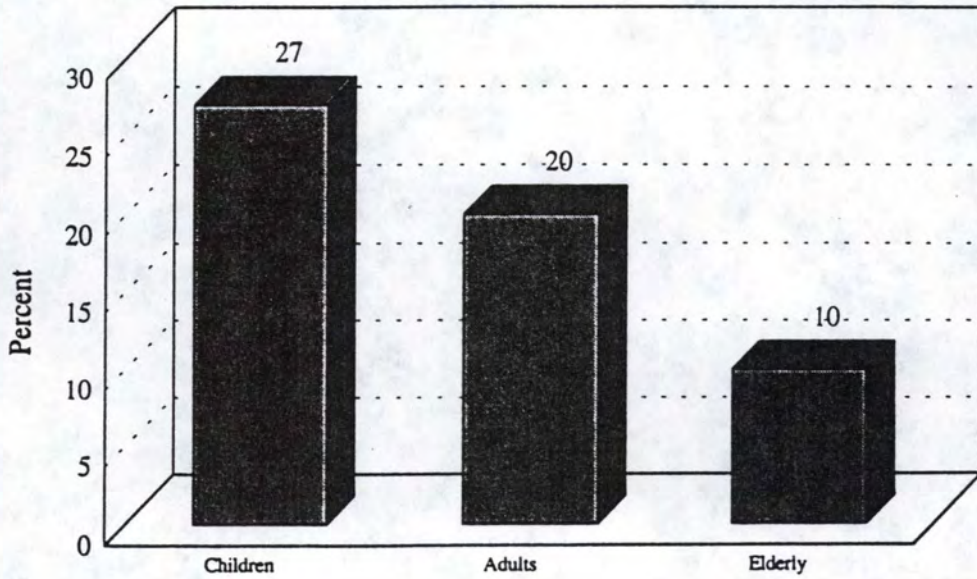
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 82: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Pahsimeroi Area, 1989



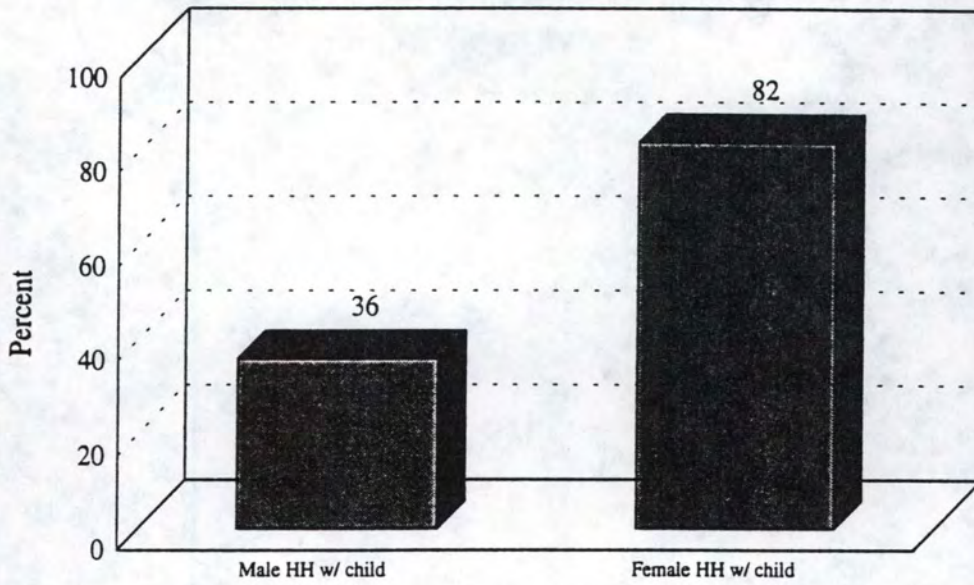
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 83: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Pahsimeroi Area, 1989



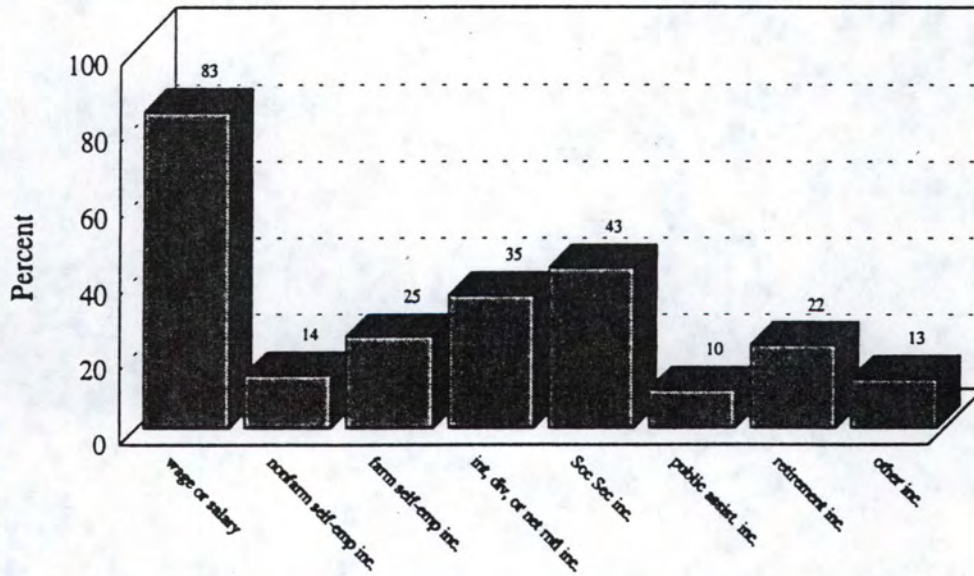
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992.

Figure 84: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, Pahsimeroi Area



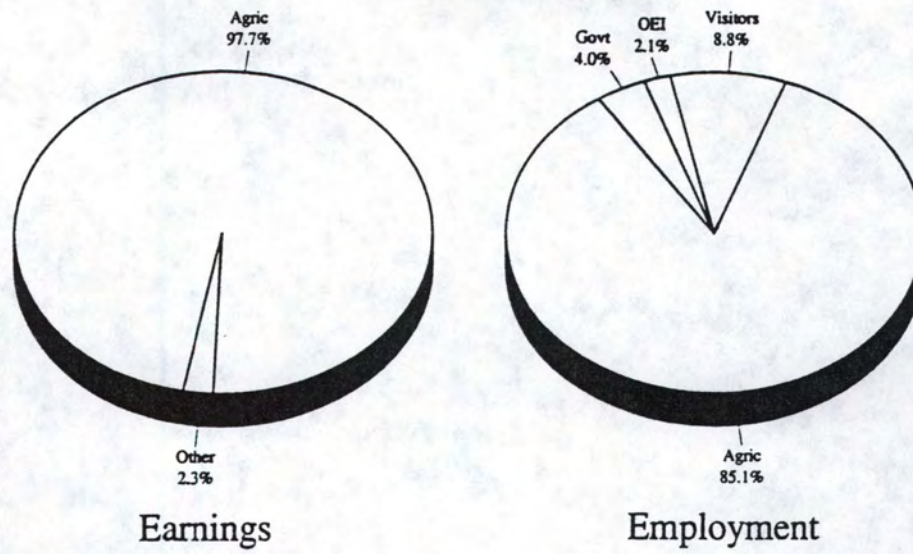
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992.

Figure 85: Sources of Household Income, Pahsimeroi Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992.

Figure 86: Pahsimeroi Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, incomuters, etc.)
Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

5.7. Tendoy/Leadore area

The Tendoy Leadore study area is made up of the Leadore Census Division, which essentially encompasses the area in the Birch Creek drainage and Lemhi River drainage between the Lemhi Range and the Montana border, north to and including Tendoy.

5.7.1. Population Estimate

The Census estimate for the Tendoy/Leadore area was 588 people. The population of the city of Leadore as reported by the Census is presented in Figure 87. A steady decline can be seen with a temporary stabilization in 1980. The distribution of the area population by age is presented in Figure 88. This distribution is quite similar to others in the study area, and to Lemhi County as a whole. There is evidence of a solid population of family age adults. Figure 89 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990. About 77% of the people in the Tendoy/Leadore area lived in the same county in 1985 as in 1990. What is interesting here is the 10% of those living in the Tendoy/Leadore area who moved there from somewhere in the West during that time. A few of the respondents in this area were ranchers or retirees who moved into the area from other Western states.

5.7.2. Families and Households

There were 180 families in the Tendoy/Leadore area in 1990. As can be seen in Figure 90, almost 98% of the total number of families with children under the age of 18 were traditional families. The remaining families with children were headed by single females. As a proportion of all families, female headed households were a small portion of the total. The income distribution for families in the Tendoy/Leadore is presented in Figure 91. About half of the families in this area have incomes in the \$20,000 to \$30,000 range.

There were 231 households in the Tendoy/Leadore area in 1990. The income distribution for households is presented in Figure 92, and it is almost identical to the distribution of family incomes. This is due to the low number of non-family households in the area.

5.7.3. Education

Figure 93 presents educational attainment figures for the Tendoy/Leadore area. About 30% of the community were high school graduates, with 45% of the population having at least attended some college. About 25% of the people in this area did not graduate from high school.

School enrollment in the South Lemhi School District is portrayed in Figure 94. Enrollment figures are characterized by a slow decline, with minor fluctuations. The social importance of the school cannot, however, be underestimated.

5.7.4. Poverty

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in the Tendoy/Leadore is presented in Figure 95. About 14% of the children in the Tendoy/Leadore live beneath the poverty level in 1989, along with 17% of the adults and 18% of the elderly. All the children living in poverty in this area lived in families with a single female head of household.

5.7.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 96, the sources of household earnings for the Tendoy/Leadore area are presented. About 85% of the households had wage or salary income. Well over one third of the people had income from interest, dividends or net rental income, 27% had Social Security income, and 19% had nonfarm proprietor's income. Agriculture is very important here, as evidenced by 45% of the population having reported self-employed farm income. The percentage of households with wage and salary income and percentage with farm income indicates the presence of off-farm labor within households. As mentioned regarding Challis, this is not unusual at all. Many respondents indicated that their spouse, and often themselves, worked off the ranch.

Figure 97 portrays the economic base for the Tendoy/Leadore area.⁹ Agriculture dominates the local economy, with over 85% of total earnings and over 76% of the employment in 1991. The employment of federal, state and local governments accounts for most of the remainder of the economy.

Mining was an early boom in the area, with the town of Gilmore flourishing, and Leadore along with it. Ranchers began making a living feeding miners, a familiar scenario in Idaho. By the time the mines shut down, ranching had long ago ceased to be interdependent on local miners and was part of the larger food system.

In many respects, this area resembles the Pahsimeroi area in that its economy relies so heavily on ranching. Some ranches have been in the same families for generations, a common finding in this area. A few respondents recalled their grandparents' stories about the conflict with the Nez Perce in the 1870's, and how some people moved their children out into the brush to avoid possible contact with the tribe.

A large part of the social fabric is founded on these historic roots. Historically, everyone on ranches did most things about the same time during the year. When the community is composed almost solely of ranch families, it will reflect the common activities of its members. With the decline of mining, ranching sets the tone for the community in Tendoy/Leadore. In this sense, given that ranching so dominates the local economy and serves as the pulse of the community, it comes as no surprise that respondents' ideas about themselves would reflect these similarities. As the Census numbers indicate, families are by far the dominant social unit. Thus, the school in Leadore becomes a center of family life. Having a school offers local control over education and a source of pride when children are successful. Respondents asserted that there was broad support for the school and always has been. The idea that the successful education of the local children was a communal obligation was clear.

Most of the respondents voiced a community narrative of customary use. Ranches had varying degrees of reliance on public lands for grazing. However, there was an almost

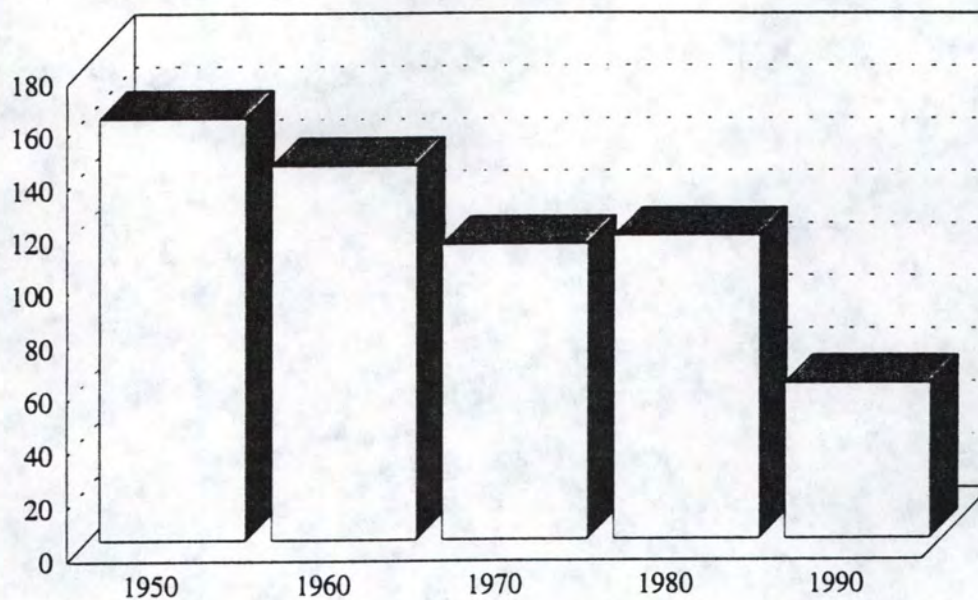
⁹Also see Appendix Table A7

unanimous opinion that the Tendoy/Leadore area was built on access to public grazing and mining. The mining argument had faded into memory, but the idea that grazing cattle and sheep on public lands was a customary right remained clear. The degree to which this area's economy relied on ranching has implications for this narrative. In the event cattle have to come off the range to any great degree, the social fabric of Leadore and Tendoy would be stressed. Bundled with their belief that access was a customary right was the belief that the whole social enterprise lives or dies with the cattle.

On the other hand, a few respondents recalled the annual influx of people coming to the Tendoy/Leadore area to fish in the Lemhi River. It was recalled that merchants along the highway serving food or offering services got a short but welcomed boost in business from fishing. When the salmon and steelhead runs began to decline, the money that accompanied them declined as well. There exists what looks like a hotel on Highway 28, but the rooms have been sold, almost like a condominium, for seasonal use for hunters and other recreationists. It is a relic of the days when the hunting and fishing business was sufficient to keep it going as a hotel for part of the year. One anecdote related the story that one local merchant could make enough money serving the breakfast rush of people heading out to fish to pay the bills for that day's incoming supplies.

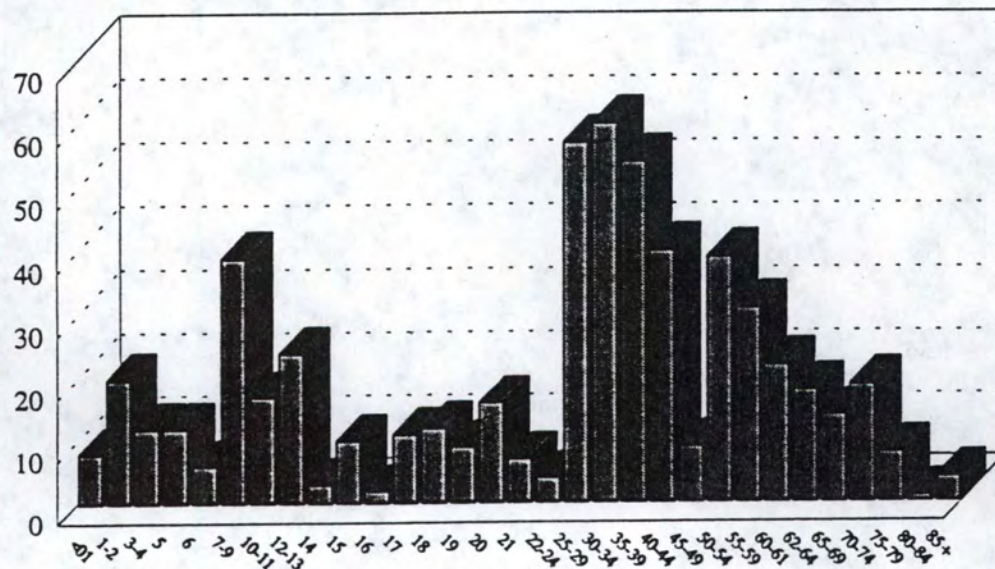
Visitors are just passing through and this did give rise to a local towing business. This is not the place to retire unless you want solitude: as one respondent put it, you have to be "self-entertaining." Though mining was the economic spark for the development of Leadore, and fishing supplied a seasonal boost to the local economy, ranching continues to dominate economic and social activity in the Tendoy/Leadore. Like the Pahsimeroi, Tendoy/Leadore is a community that is so heavily reliant on the cattle industry that its very future as a social unit is tied to the public lands.

Figure 87: Population of Leadore 1950-1990



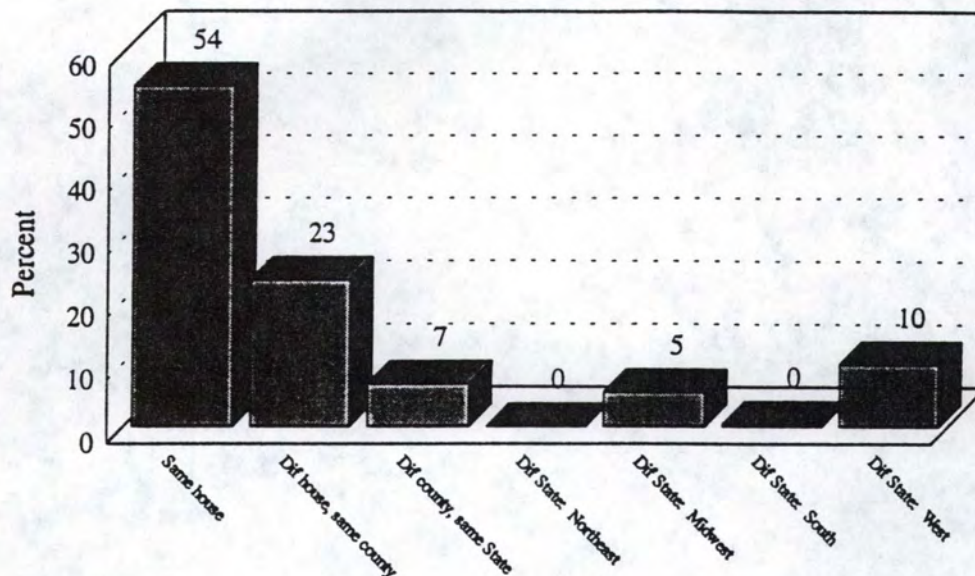
Source: Census of Population and Housing, various years.
Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C.

Figure 88: Total Population by Age, Tendoy/Leadore Area



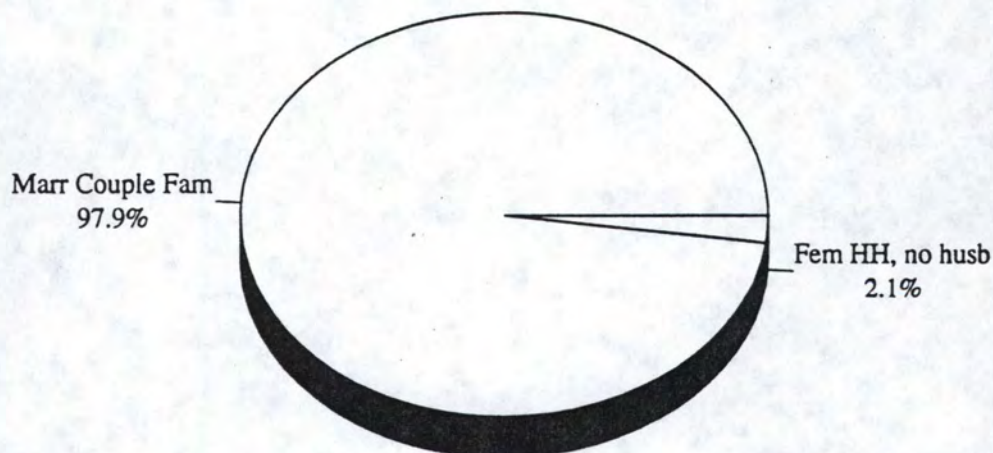
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM
[machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 89: Residency Status 1985-1990, Tendoy/Leadore Area



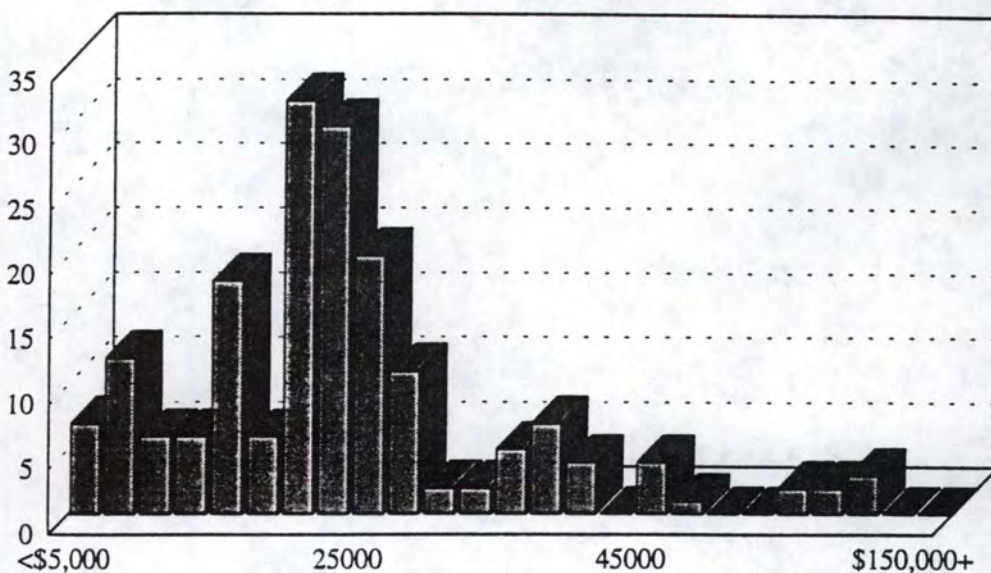
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 90: Structure of Families w/ Own Children <18, Tendoy/Leadore Area



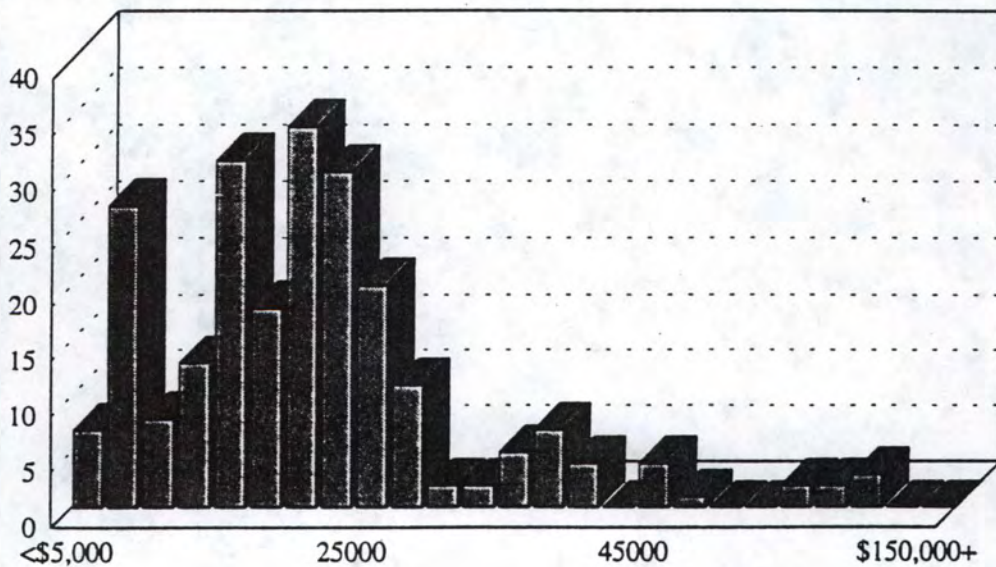
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 91: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Tendoy/Leadore Area



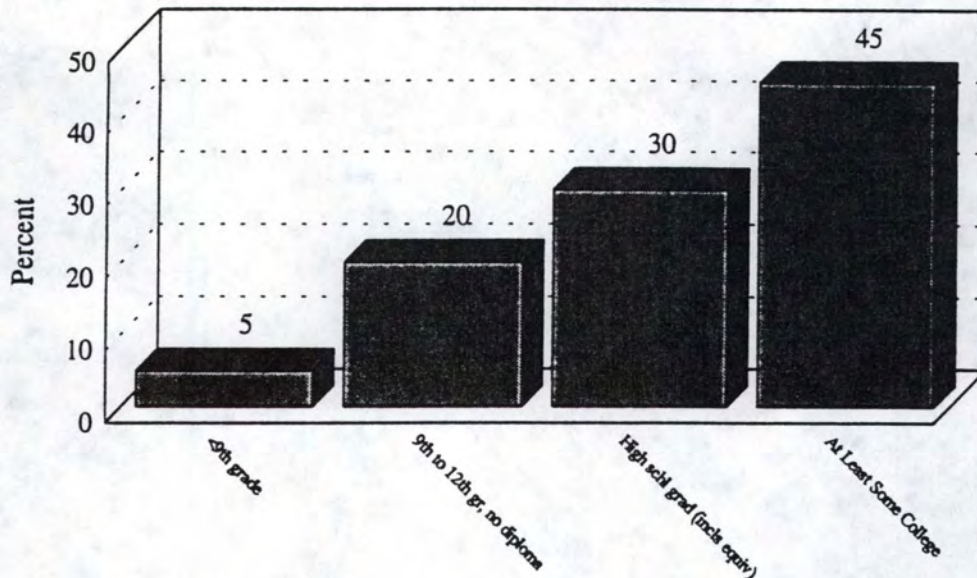
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 92: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Tendoy/Leadore Area



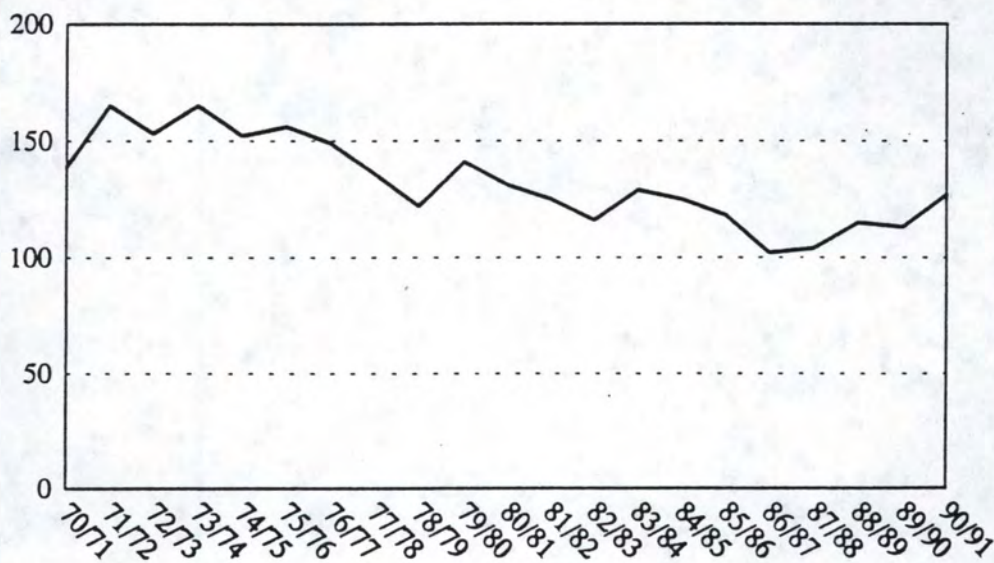
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 93: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Tendoy/Leadore Area, 1989



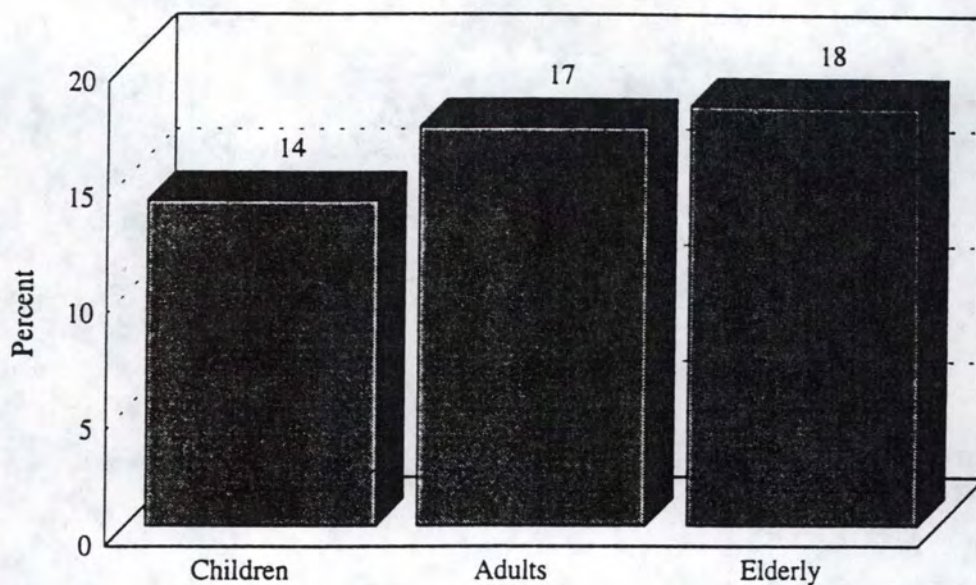
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 94: South Lemhi School District #292 Enrollment, 1970-1991



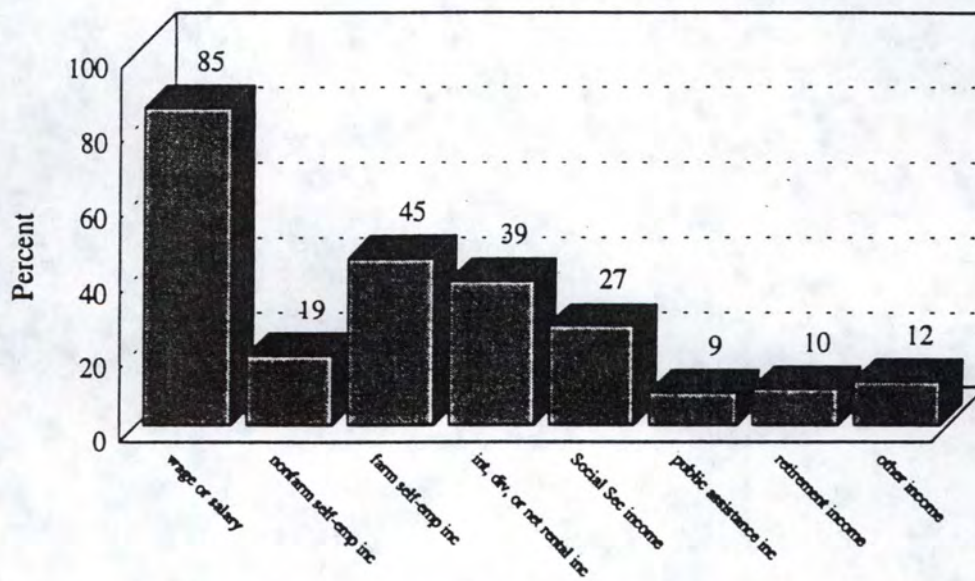
Source: South Lemhi School District #292

Figure 95: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, Tendoy/Leadore Area, 1989



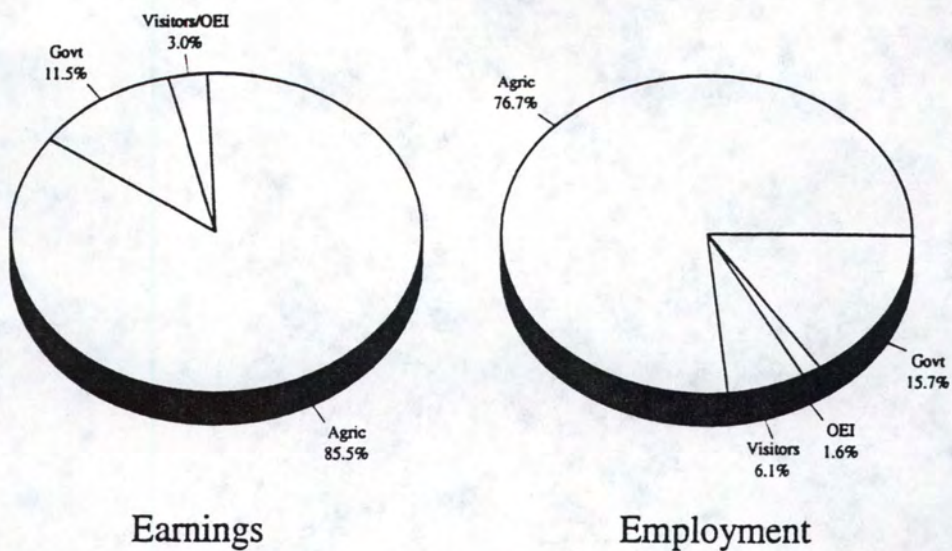
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 96: Sources of Household Income, Tendoy/Leadore Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 97: Tendoy Leadore Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, incommuters, etc.)

Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

5.8. North Fork/Gibbonsville area

The North Fork/Gibbonsville study area is made up of two pieces of the larger Salmon Division of the U.S. Census. These two areas are Tracts 9801, Block Group 1, and 9802, Block Group 2, both of the Salmon Division. This area covers U.S. 93 north of Carmen to the Montana line, and just down river west of North Fork.

5.8.1. Population Estimate

The Census estimate for the North Fork/Gibbonsville area was 910 people. The distribution of the area population by age is presented in Figure 98. This distribution is similar to others in the study area, except the almost complete absence of people in their early twenties. There is evidence of a solid population base for of families. Figure 99 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990. About 77% of the people in the North Fork/Gibbonsville area lived in the same county in 1985 as in 1990. About 22% of those living in the area moved there from somewhere in Idaho or the West during that time. This area is seeing an increase in retirement homes, many people coming from within Idaho.

5.8.2. Families and Households

There were 290 families in the North Fork/Gibbonsville area in 1990. As seen in Figure 100, almost 86% of the total number of families with children under the age of 18 were married couple families. Of the remaining families with children, almost 11% were headed by single females, and just over 3% were headed by males. The income distribution for families in the North Fork/Gibbonsville is presented in Figure 101. The majority of the families in this area had incomes below \$25,000. The income distribution of the 356 households in the North Fork/Gibbonsville area is presented in Figure 102, and it is almost identical to the distribution of family incomes.

5.8.3. Education

Figure 103 presents educational attainment figures for the North Fork/Gibbonsville area. Some 41% of the community were high school graduates, with 40% of the population having at least attended some college. About 19% of the people in this area did not graduate from high school.

5.8.4. Poverty

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in the North Fork/Gibbonsville is presented in Figure 104. About 23% of the children in the North Fork/Gibbonsville lived beneath the poverty level in 1989, along with 13% of the adults and 29% of the elderly. Of the households with children headed by females without a spouse present, Figure 105 indicates that 65% lived below the poverty line. This is a large proportion for any area. Again, seasonal, low wage jobs produce underemployment and poverty. This is a common situation throughout the study area.

5.8.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 106, the sources of household earnings for the North Fork/Gibbonsville area are presented. About 88% of the households had wage or salary income. Almost half of the people had income from interest, dividends or net rental income, 36% had Social Security income, 17% had retirement income, and 38% had nonfarm proprietor's income. The importance of nonfarm proprietors' income indicates that there is a functioning local business community. In addition, the percentage of households reporting interest and Social Security income points to a significant retirement community.

Figure 107 portrays the economic base for the North Fork/Gibbonsville area.¹⁰ Visitors dominate the local economy, with almost 44% of total earnings and over 63% of the employment in the North Fork/Gibbonsville in 1991. The employment of federal, state accounts for most of the remainder of the economy.

¹⁰ Also see Appendix Table A8.

In its reliance on visitors, the North Fork/Gibbonsville area has a profile not unlike Stanley. That is about the extent of the useful comparisons. This area has a long history of mining and timber, and these industries have given way to visitors using the Salmon River, commuters driving into Salmon, and retirees. There is still some logging and mill activity here but on a smaller scale.

Respondents in this area all recognized that its history was in mining and timber. In North Fork/Gibbonsville respondents were more likely than anywhere else to assert that the traditional uses of land, both public and private, were rights rather than privileges. The argument was made that the generations preceding this one had been logging and mining in this area without wholesale destruction, and this established a sort of right for this and future generations to continue in those pursuits. This idea extended to the outfitting and guides sector, which has been functioning here since well before the second world war.

Many people living in this area commuted to Salmon for work, contributing to the percentage of households reporting wage and salary income. But there was a significant retirement community. As indicated at the bottom of Appendix Table A8, over 50% of the personal income for this area comes from outside equity income. This income produces less than 3% of the earnings in the area, indicating that it is spent elsewhere. Considering that people have to drive to either Salmon or Missoula for any substantial shopping this income may well leak out of the community economy. This money, accompanied by the fact that 36% of households had Social Security income and 17% had retirement income, is the hallmark of the retired householder. These earnings are important, but as stated they tend to leak out of areas like North Fork/Gibbonsville because the businesses in this area cannot capture them.

The visitor sector is not the same high-profile sector that prevails in Stanley. It is far more likely to be people driving up from Southern Idaho or Western Montana to hunt, fish, or raft. Much of the visitor activity is due to traffic over Lost Trail pass during the summer months. This influx of summer visitors produces business along Highway 93, but also creates a stream of curious people who drive along the river down toward the Shoupe area. The road

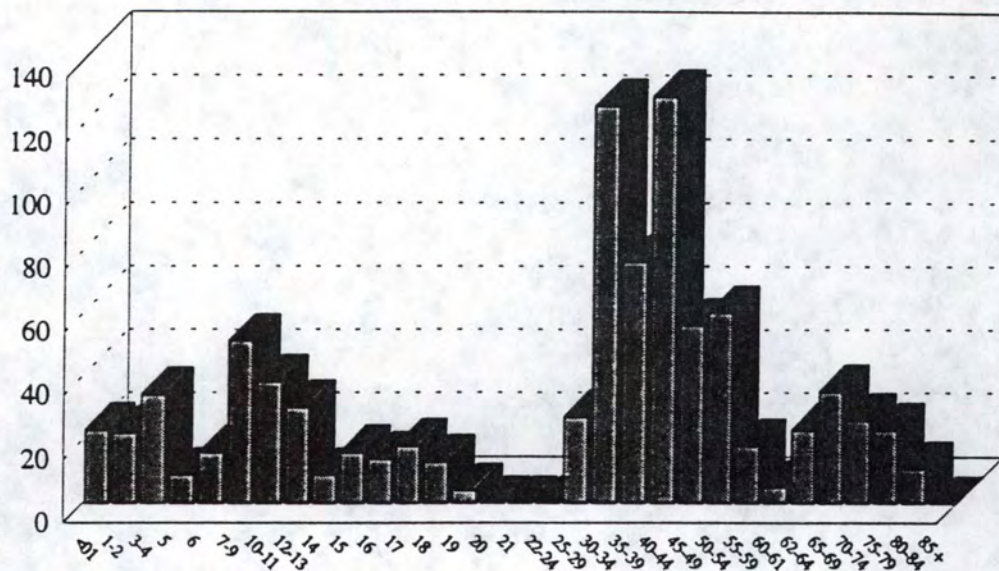
is good enough for the casual wanderer to drive it. Some of the merchants operating along this road indicate that this is a part of their annual summer influx.

Other types of visitor activity have a few distinct seasons. The spring and fall fishing seasons bring people from southern Idaho, Montana, Utah, and other neighboring areas. Some of these people bring trailers, campers, and tents and camp while fishing along the Salmon as it flows down toward its confluence with the Middle Fork of the Salmon. Other visitors use the hotel accommodations around North Fork. The merchants along the North Fork Road indicated that for the most part, meals and simple supplies were purchased. This is a more meat and potatoes type of visitor opportunity than that usually associated with Stanley.

On the other hand, outfitted fishing and hunting takes place in this area in the spring and fall. This is a different type of economic activity in that the outfitter provides most of the supplies that the nonoutfitted visitor would otherwise have to bring or buy. In addition, water-based outfitting in the summer months brings significant traffic to the North Fork corridor. Single and multiple day trips bring people down river, and they have to be taken back to their point of departure. This is a flow of people into and out of this area on an almost daily basis. They spend some money, but respondents indicated that their expenditures per person always seemed fairly low. The volume, however, makes up for this.

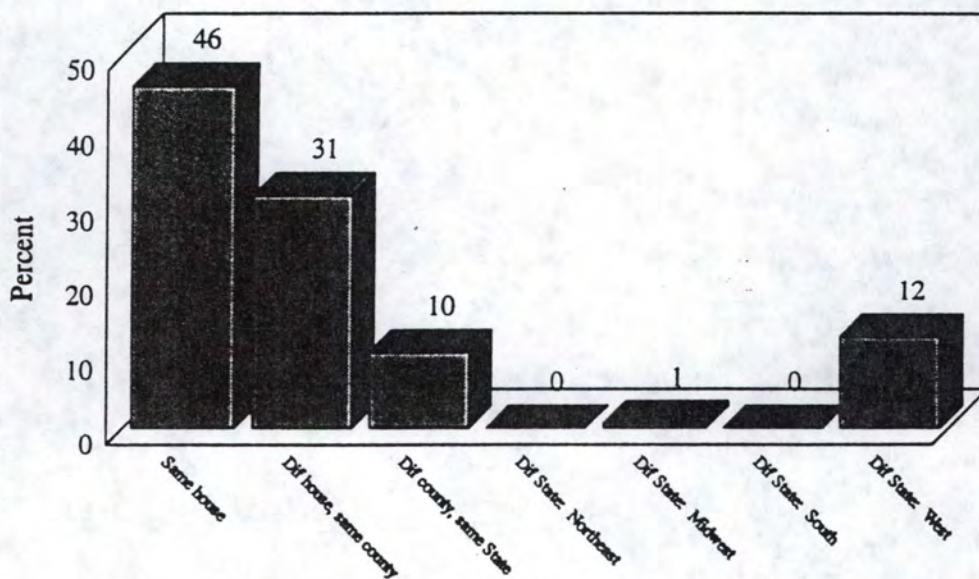
Finally, outfitted trips down the Middle Fork of the Salmon have an impact on the visitor sector in North Fork/Gibbonsville. When such trips have completed their run, they must return along the North Fork road. This involves a busload of visitors and they make use of the businesses in the area. However, the merchants indicated that they had a difficult time capturing this part of the visitor flow. One respondent said that most of the customers have very little money that is not packed away on the top of the bus, and therefore have little to spend. Many indicated that they would be open to arrangements with outfitters to provide contracted services on a regular basis. This would keep more income in this area.

Figure 98: Total Population by Age, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area



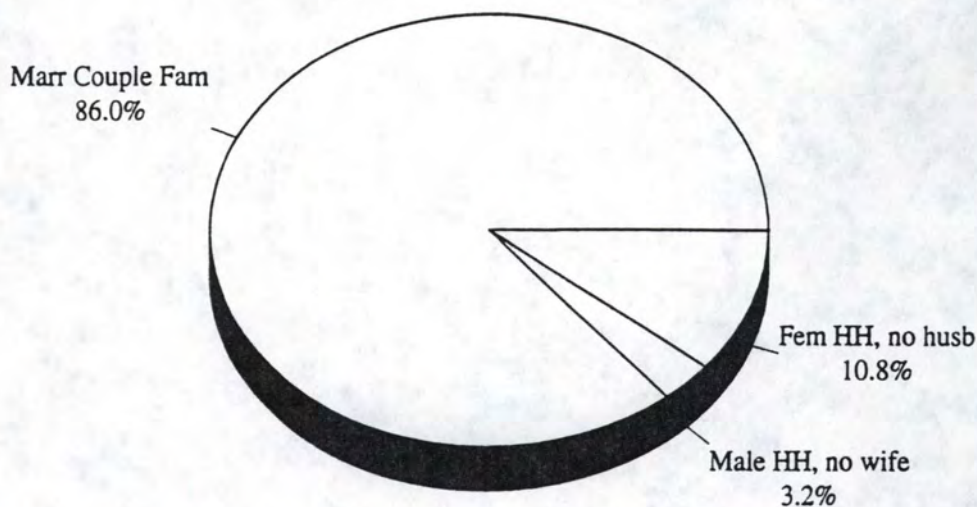
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 99: Residency Status 1985-1990, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area



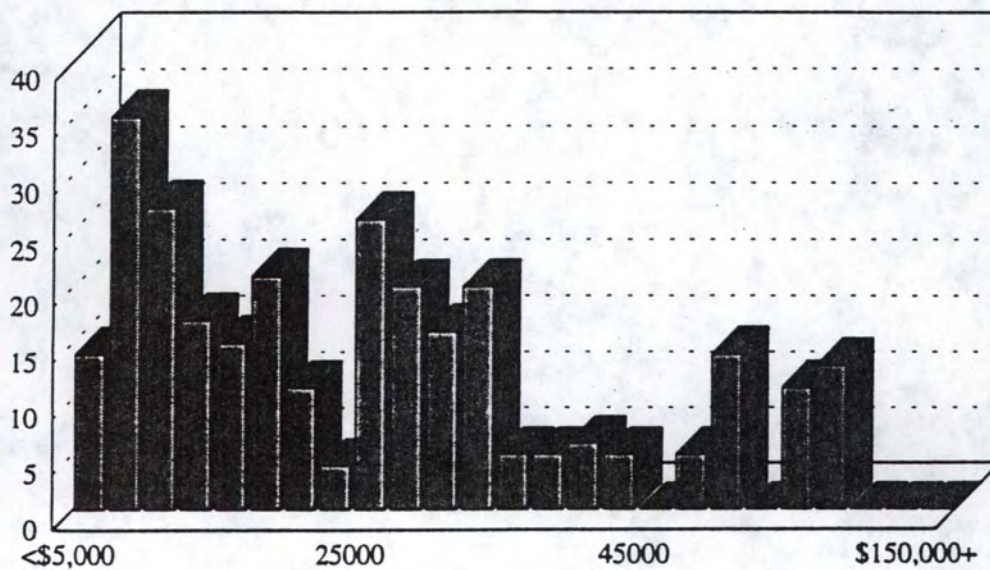
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 100: Structure of Families w/ Own Children <18, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area



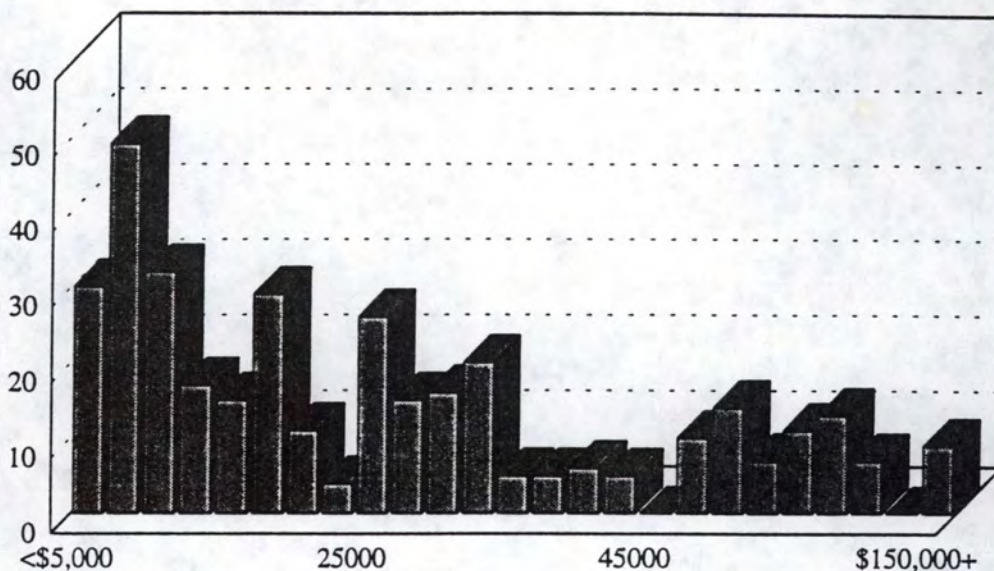
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 101: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area



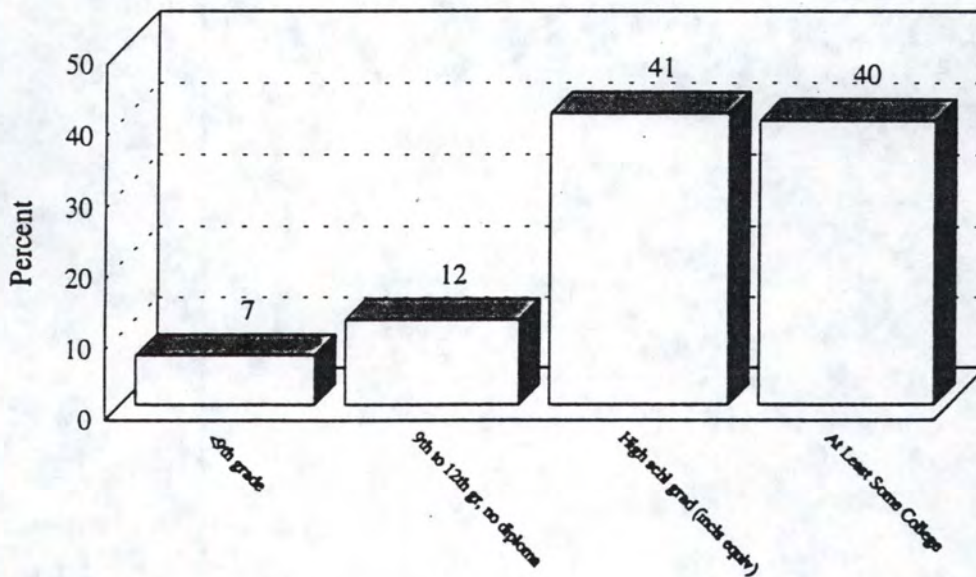
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 102: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area



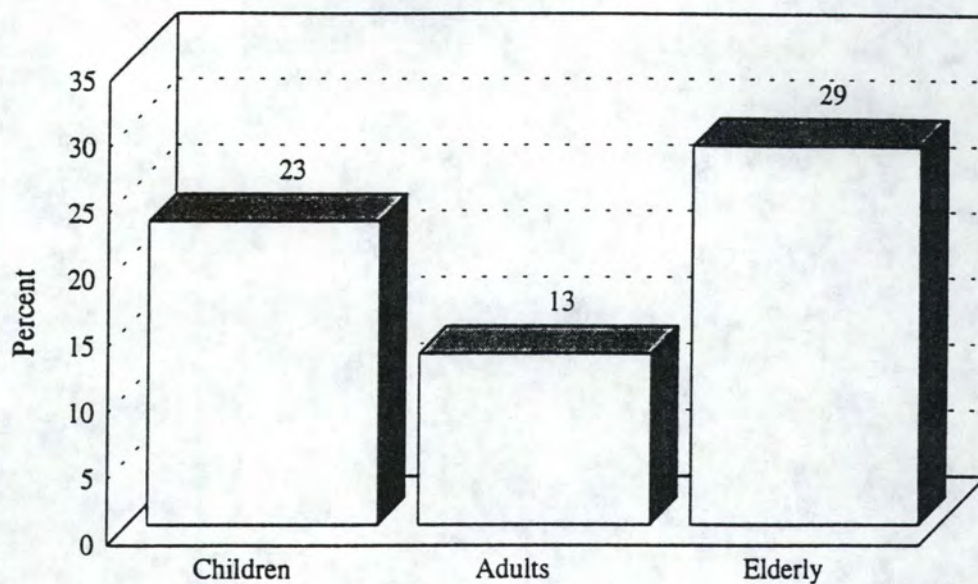
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 103: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area, 1989



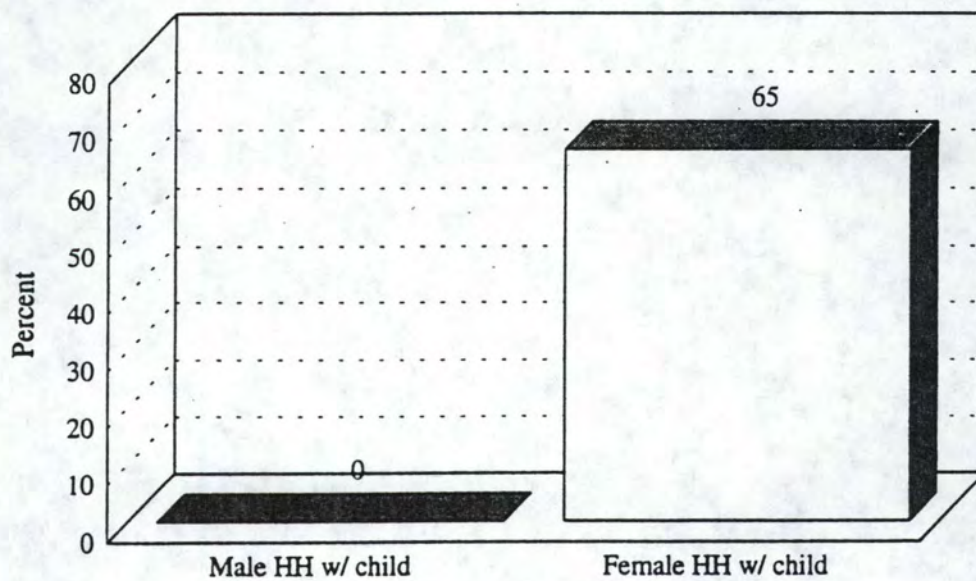
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 104: Percent of Population Below Poverty Level by Age Category, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area, 1989



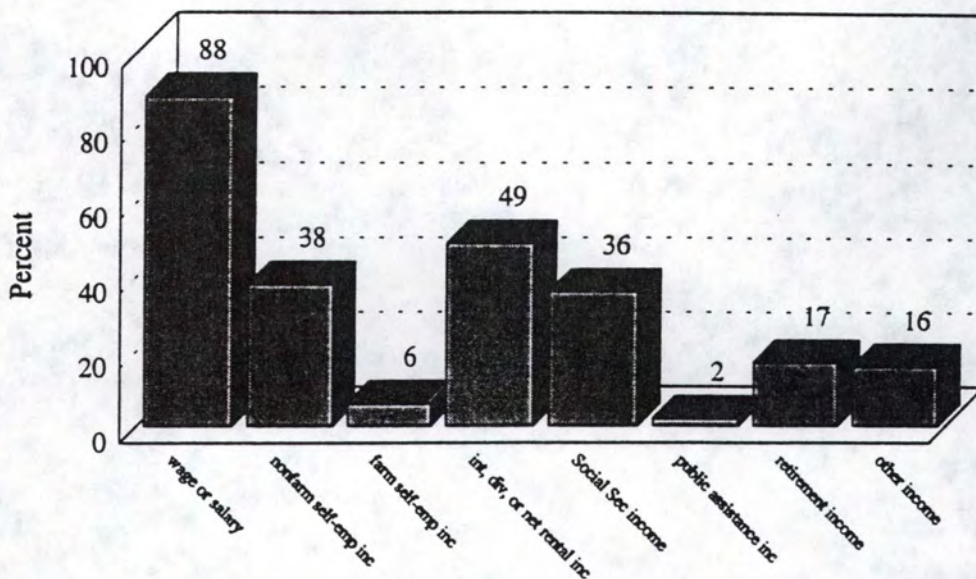
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 105: Percent of Households with Children Below Poverty Level, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area



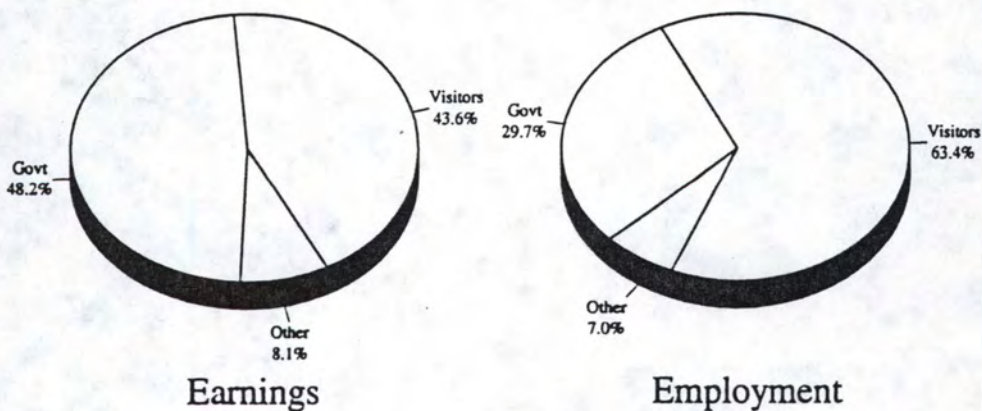
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3a on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 106: Source of Household Income, North Fork/Gibbonsville Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 107: North Fork/ Gibbonsville Economic Base



OEI = Other Equity Income (Soc Sec, retirement, incommuters, etc.)
 Source: Custer Lemhi Economic Model

5.9. Salmon area

The study area of Salmon is constructed from the Salmon and Forney Divisions of the U.S. Census, minus the two areas used to construct the North Fork/Gibbonsville area. This translates into the area around the city of Salmon, north to and including the Carmen area, west into the mountains (this is the Forney Division), south toward Tendoy, and up river until just before Elk Bend.

5.9.1. Population Estimate

The Census estimate for the Salmon area was 5009 people. The population of the city of Salmon is graphed in Figure 108. The population had risen to about 3000, peaked around 1980, and had returned to about 3000 by 1990. The distribution of the area population by age is presented in Figure 109. This distribution is similar to others in the study area. As this area is home to the bulk of the population of Lemhi County, it is not surprising to see a strong resemblance between the county figures and those for Salmon. Figure 110 displays residency status for the period of 1985 to 1990. About 78% of the people in the Salmon area lived in the same county in 1985 as in 1990. About 20% of those living in the Salmon area moved there from somewhere in Idaho or the West during that time. Respondents understood this to be a partially a result of retirees moving into the area from around the West.

5.9.2. Families and Households

There were 1412 families in the Salmon area in 1990. As can be seen in Figure 111, almost 81% of families with children under age 18 were married couple families. Of the remaining families with children, almost 16% were headed by single females, and over 3% were headed by males. This is a fairly high number of households headed by females for the study area. The income distribution for families in the Salmon is presented in Figure 112. The majority of the families in this area had incomes near or below \$25,000. The income distribution of the 2061 households in the Salmon area is presented in Figure 113, and it is

almost identical to the distribution of family incomes, except for the lower portion, where there were more households.

5.9.3. Education

Figure 114 presents educational attainment figures for the Salmon area. Some 35% of the community were high school graduates, and 39% of the population attended some college. About 26% of the people in this area did not graduate from high school.

Enrollment in the Salmon School District from 1971 to 1991 is given in Figure 115. Basically, enrollment has fluctuated between 1200 and 1500 students over that period. The upswing in mining is responsible for the increase in enrollment during the early 1980's and the subsequent decline in after 1984.

5.9.4. Poverty

The percentage of children, adults, and elderly (65+) living in poverty in the Salmon area is presented in Figure 116. About 32% of the children in the Salmon area lived beneath the poverty level in 1989, along with 16% of the adults and 5% of the elderly. Looking at Figure 117, of the households with children headed by females without a spouse present, 92% lived below the poverty line. This is an extraordinary proportion for any area. The lack of full-time employment contributes to this situation.

5.9.5. Local Community and the Economic Base

In Figure 118, the sources of household earnings for the Salmon area are presented. About 89% of the households had wage or salary income. About 45% of the people had income from interest, dividends or net rental income, 49% had Social Security income, 26% had retirement income, and 21% had nonfarm proprietor's income. The importance of interest, retirement and Social Security income points to a significant retirement community.

Figure 119 outlines the economic base for the Salmon area.¹¹ There is little doubt that this economy is diversified. In addition, the economy looks different from the vantage point of earnings than it does from the perspective of employment.

Regarding earnings, the various sectors provide a virtually even split. Visitors account for almost 20% of the earnings, but very close behind is timber, followed by agriculture, mining, and the government sectors. This split is somewhat different for employment. The number of jobs generated by visitors jumps to almost 25% of the total, with agriculture rising to almost 23%. Timber and the federal government are responsible for the largest remaining job totals.

It is not surprising that the economy of Salmon is the most diverse in the study area. Salmon largely serves as a trade center for many of the communities in the area. With this diversity there exists a battleground of competing narratives, each vying for a sort of communal hegemony over the others. The three community narratives used throughout this discussion all clash, and this conflict is played out on the streets of Salmon.

Like virtually every other community in this study, Salmon has a long history of ranching, mining, and timber. These activities have been carried out around Salmon for over 130 years. As the economic base model portrays, these sectors still have significant economic impact. However, the economic base figures indicate that the visitor sector had the most economic impact among the nongovernmental industries. In reality, guided recreation has been occurring in this area since the early part of the century. Transportation and increasing incomes has opened the West to vacationers at an increasing rate since the Second World War. Society's interest in recreation and its ability to "play for pay" have produced the situation we now see in Salmon.

Shared or common economic activities have been cited throughout this study as being vital to the reproduction of a community narrative. All three community narratives exist in Salmon, and all function concerning how best to use the public lands that surround Salmon. However, the diverse balance that exists in the local economy creates a situation where no

¹¹Also see Appendix Table A9

one narrative can accurately be said to alone characterize the area. This situation will be analyzed within the separate narratives.

The narrative of customary use drives many of the respondents involved in mining and timber. They held the belief that extracting minerals and removing timber were basic communal rights on the public land. These activities have been going on around Salmon since the discovery of gold at Leesburg in 1866. During this study both industries were experiencing difficult times. The mining sector was finishing a period of exploration. This accounts for the majority of the mining jobs portrayed in the economic base. Companies hold most of the patented mining claims in this area, either through ownership or lease. Exploration dollars then went to local construction companies, hotels, wholesale and retail merchants. A merchant indicated in some detail how the volume and type of shoe sales changed when exploration crews came through town. This surge in business led to a pattern of sales markedly different from that of the visitor season. Hotel operators indicated that mining crews were often regular customers for long periods. One opinion held that uncertainty about the political future of mining on public lands had caused many companies to slow down exploration in the U.S., and seek cheaper resources overseas. Respondents indicated that the possible revision of the Mining Law of 1872 makes the future for mining uncertain. Nonetheless, some mining activity continues and it will occasionally produce jobs in the Salmon area. The question is how many jobs and for how long.

That mining should continue in the area was never disputed among those working in that sector. Respondents held a strong belief that curtailing mining would ruin an historical vestige of hard work that produced a commodity indispensable to society. Cycles in the mining industry make it difficult for a person to make a life-long living and stay in one place, but those involved in mining found this to simply be a fact of life.

There was a strong opinion that the family controlled mining claim held an important place in communities such as Salmon. These claims numbered in the thousands, and were seen as an important tie not only to the land, but to the heritage of the community. Many of these claims were said to be worked by families each year. In addition, respondents indicated

that exploration efforts included the payment of about \$250,000 in rent to claim holders in the Salmon area. The history of mining and the ties to the land that history provided to the community were often mentioned by respondents.

Similarly, timber held a level of importance to certain respondents in the community. Much like mining, timber was viewed as an important part of the community's narrative because it was an historically important activity. Timber is important to the local economy because of the mill in Salmon, the beam plant, trucking firms, and post and pole employment. Most timber related firms are locally owned. This places Salmon in a situation where the major timber employment resources in the community are not owned by outside firms. Rather, the profits remain in the community, and the ability of the "owners" to cut and run is limited.¹²

This is not the only issue, however. This ownership situation ties the existing timber base to the community because it is a vital dimension of the local control of resources. This engenders a sense of that the community has a tangible right to take part in resource decisions about timber. When mills are locally controlled, they present a socially important tie to the public lands that feed them. The companies are not simply extracting resources from the local public lands and taking the money elsewhere. Local people have an economic, social, and community tie to the timber through the control over the local firms. Being able to continue in the timber industry is not simply a matter of feeding the bottom line of a timber company. Rather, it becomes an integral part of feeding Salmon's understanding of itself as a community that relies on this resource for its economic and social survival.

The green signs in the windows of local businesses declaring their reliance on dollars from the local timber industry tells a story that transcends simple economics. The way of life that is logging is an identity to many of the respondents in this study. This was the strongest outpost of a community narrative built on communal rights to resources. Respondents held the dual beliefs that theirs was a sustainable industry with a long history of stewardship, and that logging was culturally important because it taught people how to balance the needs of the

¹²Recent experiences with Champion in Montana are a good example of what is unlikely to occur in Salmon.

forest with the needs of the society. When the work ethic was added to this, the way of life argument became complete. Respondents resisted the suggestion that they had anything less than a right to log in and around their communities. The logging community held strong beliefs that timber served as a primary example of a right that had been built on years of customary use and that to take that use away was a violation of a social contract between the community and the rest of society. This is best signified by the frequent question respondents raised: "how do you get a wood house if you want no logging?"

Ranching shares a community narrative that is based on customary use of local resources. It differs, however, in that two of its major resources, water and grass, have a legal structure formalizes their use. The use of grazing and water resources evolved over time, and current water rights and grazing permit arrangements reflect this evolution. As mentioned above, agriculture followed the miners into the Salmon area. Many of the respondents in this study can trace their ancestry back to this era, and ranching remains a primary occupation for many of these families. Again, the community narratives that come from this heritage are quite similar to that of the customary rights narrative. It is the addition of the legal structure that differentiates the two.

In Salmon, the economic importance of the cattle industry is balanced with the other major sectors. Merchants were all well aware of the degree to which their businesses relied on ranches. With no exceptions, merchant respondents saw the cattle industry as vital to their survival. This obviously varied between businesses, with wholesale firms having the strongest linkages. An interesting point was frequently made: all the respondents who were ranchers spoke of buying locally. They all felt that supporting the businesses that support you was a vital aspect of their operations. Only when something was not available, or you happened to see it while on another errand, did you buy elsewhere. This strong social tie was part of the ranching narrative about how a community should function. This was particularly interesting given that the calves produced in this region are mostly sold well outside the area, with a heavy trade occurring with the Midwestern feedlots. This extra-local trade, coupled with this socially supported propensity to consume locally, makes the ranching sector an

efficient source of income for the Salmon area: more money that comes into Salmon from the cattle industry is likely to stay here.

It is this commitment to community that characterizes the ranching sector throughout the study area. In Salmon, this takes on many dimensions. For example, it was quite common for respondents to relate histories of branding parties built around grazing associations that had been going on for generations. This is related to the overwhelming belief among ranchers that you help a neighbor in need even if they are not the most popular people around. Respondents indicated that sharing labor, equipment, and expertise was simply the way things were done. One ranch family, fairly new to the area, received unheard of support from their neighbors and the community when one of their relatives was severely injured during a visit. This was an often cited example of how ranches contribute to the social fabric of communities.

The community narrative surrounding ranching also included a strong belief in the responsibility to manage resources responsibly. Many arguments are occurring about what constitutes responsible management, and these are arguments not to be solved here. Nonetheless, respondents in the ranching community associated their communally legitimated legal rights to resources with a responsibility to steward those resources well. Examples in the Salmon area included the decision by Lemhi River irrigators to volunteer water to maintain stream flow in the event it was need to protect salmon. One respondent talked at length about the cost of fencing his access to the Lemhi River so his cattle would not reduce the cover for water fowl along the banks. These were cited as examples of a quid pro quo of sorts between the ranchers and society.

Ranchers also believed that life on the ranch made a contribution to the local society by raising children to work hard and contribute to their communities. Some respondents drew parallels between the prevalence of ranch families and that immigrants thought of Salmon as "good place to raise kids." This assumed association was based on the assertion that ranches were not simply open space, but rurality meant that people worked the land as well. Thus, a community that lacked working ranches lost some degree of its rurality, and the children

could not stay busy enough to keep out of trouble. One respondent indicated that he wanted to raise his family with so much work that they knew responsibility "before they could spell the word." This stemmed from the firm belief that ranch life taught responsibility on many levels, and these levels all contributed to the building of strong communities. This association was definitely seen as being at risk if the ranches were to disappear.

A major threat to the continuance of ranching in the Salmon area comes from market pressure on land prices. This is the most acute version of this situation in the study area. Bottom land along the Salmon and Lemhi Rivers has become too expensive to warrant its purchase for ranch use. Accordingly, ranches that are sold are being cut into parcels for housing.

This presents a whole set of issues concerning ranching as a way of life and how it interfaces with the nonranching public. The issues revolve around the assumption by many respondents that problems were addressed by working things out face to face, and making good on the agreed terms. This is not always the case when neighbors do not share your community narrative. One set of respondents related a series of stories concerning an irrigation ditch and the homeowners who have come to live along part of the ditch. Irrigation customs have been built over generations, and are a set of highly organized communication rules for the allocation of water. Ranchers were partially amused and partially alarmed at the unwillingness of new homeowners to inquire about these rules. Another issue was the driving of cattle on the roads. Those not used to the movement of cattle along two lane roads might find the pace somewhat slow. This situation, along with dust, flies, and smells add to tensions already inherent in trying to carry on production agriculture as local housing densities increase.

This conflict between the communal arrangements of ranchers and the actions of their new neighbors is again an example of a clash between two community narratives. The communal/legal rules of the rancher are legitimated within the community of that shares the accompanying narrative. That the community increasingly includes people who do not share this narrative is the genesis of conflict. Recall that this narrative is characterized by an extra-

local source of legitimation through larger societal processes, with the locus of control over resources being vested in non-local legal structures. In short, the communal rules that characterize the mining, timber, and ranching dimensions of an area like Salmon are not part of this narrative.

This is not to say that this narrative has no place in the community. Rather, its place is not well defined like the other narratives. Some respondents indicated that because they held different values than those inherent in the other narratives, they felt that their voice would not be heard in the community. In addition, one respondent pointed out that communal decision making about resources is not a communication process; instead it is a set of rule-like understandings that are very difficult to challenge.

Respondents living within this community narrative placed a high premium on the conservation of resources as the foundation for the quality of life. This is the point of conflict with the other narratives. Most voiced an opinion that emphasized the social importance of industries that have historically been active in Salmon, but also included the notion that these industries should adhere to a set of rules that more closely resemble what the larger society expects. There was a fundamental questioning of the ability of local community narratives to produce resource management decisions that met these societal expectations. Respondents did not question that most people in the community wanted the same ends; they did question the means being advocated to achieve those ends.

One of the primary goals within this narrative was the protection of the quality of life in and around Salmon. Here the narrative agreed with the others that open land and the rural nature of the community must not give way to suburbia. As with the other narratives, none of the respondents could adequately solve the paradox of private property rights versus the community's desire to maintain the ranches. Many respondents indicated that this was one of their primary concerns for the future in Salmon.

As Fortmann (1990) points out, conflict arises when customary rights clash with formal legal rights. In Salmon, the community narrative that focuses on the conservation of resources as the foundation for the quality of life relies on a set of values that find their

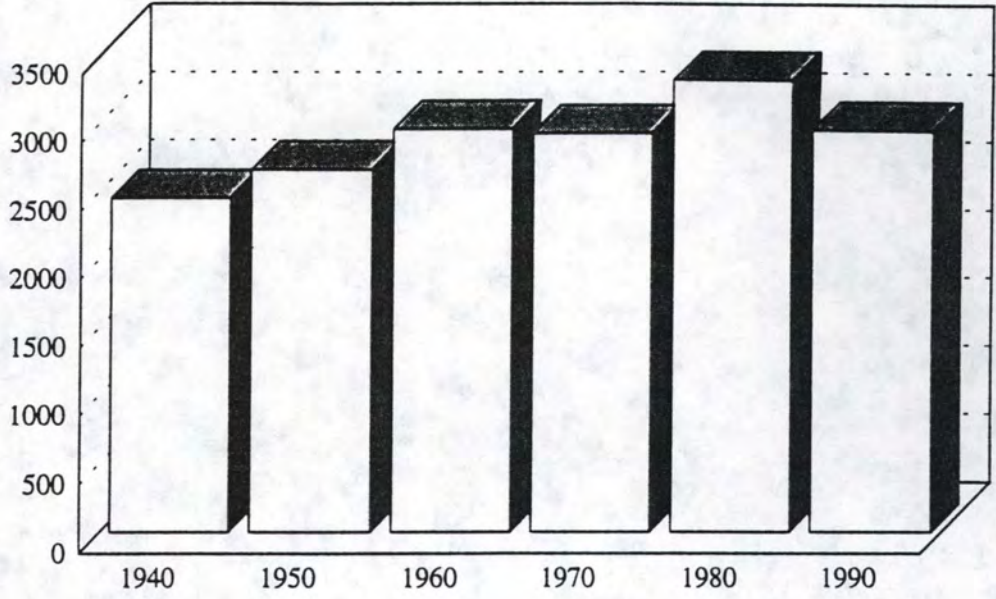
expression in formal rights. For example, most respondents believed that visitor recreation on public lands constitutes a use that should be recognized as being equal with other uses of the land. When asked about how to resolve conflicts about competing uses for the same resource, most respondents voiced the opinion that traditional uses had been privileged too long and needed to make room for recreation. Recreation by the local community is certainly viewed by all as a customary right. Conflict arises, however, because recreation as a business does not have the legitimacy of a customary right.

This is the heart of the matter. An examination of the economic base table for Salmon indicates that 20% of earnings and 25% of employment in the area are linked to visitors. Many merchants indicated that while visitors accounted for upwards of 40% of their business, they viewed this as "gravy" or "icing on the cake." Moreover, many of the outfitters and guides indicated that many of their wholesale purchases went to Idaho Falls, Missoula, and even Boise because they felt that they could not negotiate reasonable terms with local merchants. This was usually the case for outfitters who were not long-standing members of the community. The amount of earnings and employment linked to visitors in Salmon would be substantially higher if this business was not leaking out of the community. And, none of the merchants said they could afford to lose the business of visitors. If you cannot afford to do without it, is it really "gravy?"

This situation is a result of the lack of legitimation for recreation as part of the community's understanding of itself. The visitor industry comes, largely, from within the narrative that views it as a formal right, rather than a customary right. Those respondents relying on formal rights maintained the attitude that the quality of life in Salmon was worth preserving, and though they saw grave differences of interpretation over how to do that, there was room for a convergence of viewpoints. One respondent indicated that "tourists are coming, like it or not" and now was the time for the community of Salmon to blend the notion of a healthy recreation economy into the long-standing economic foundations of timber, mining, and ranching.

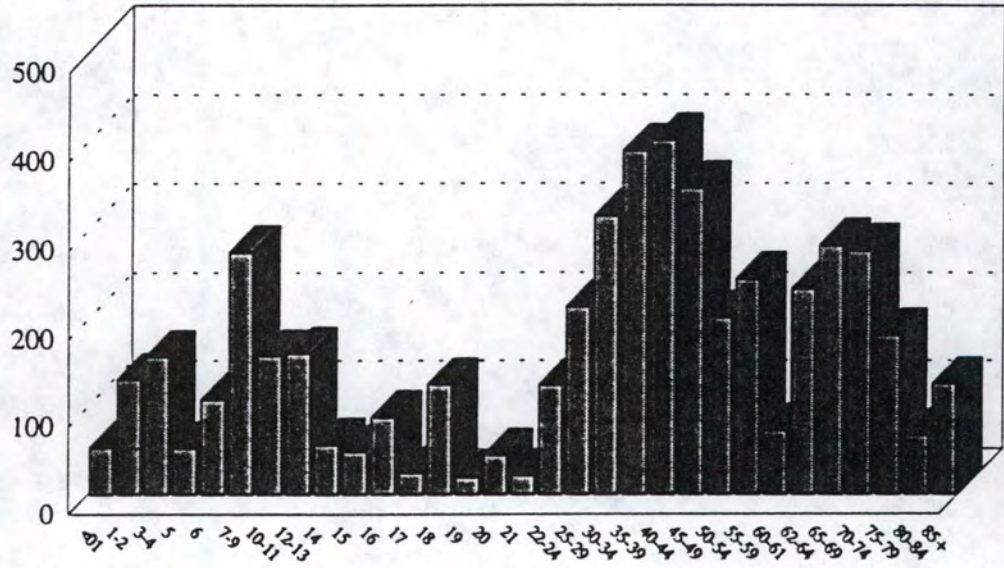
Finally, one last analysis is offered for what has been a very skeletal discussion of a complex set of issues. The one dimension of all of these areas that is truly at stake, regardless of points of view, is an inestimable pool of local knowledge. Intertwined in and among ranchers, miners, loggers, outfitters, merchants, and other people are incredible understandings about how the natural world functions around each community. To lose this pool of understanding, which was built on the very custom of these communities' ancestors, in a conflict over who gets what would be a social impact of tremendous proportions.

Figure 108: Population of Salmon 1940-1990



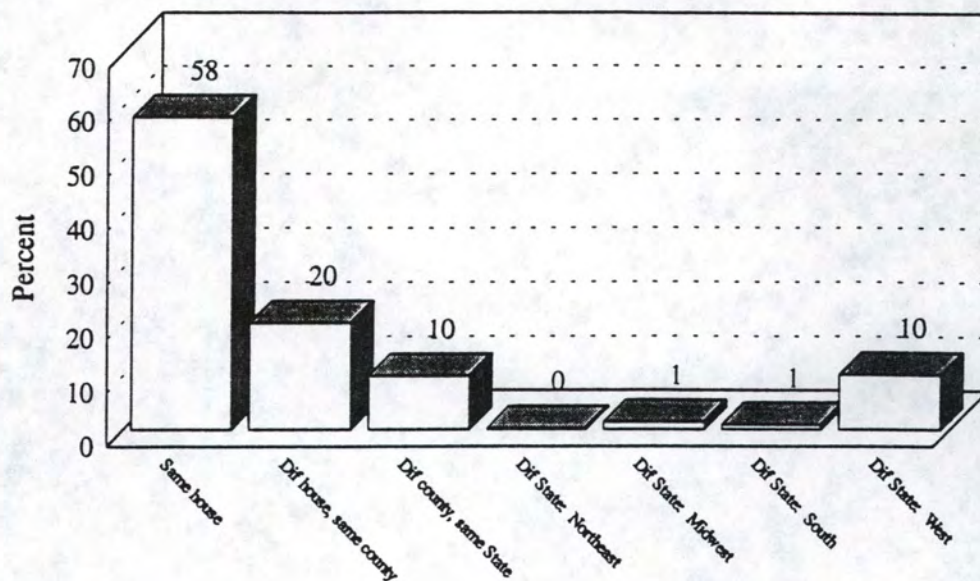
Source: Census of Population and Housing, various years, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

Figure 109: Total Population by Age, Salmon Area



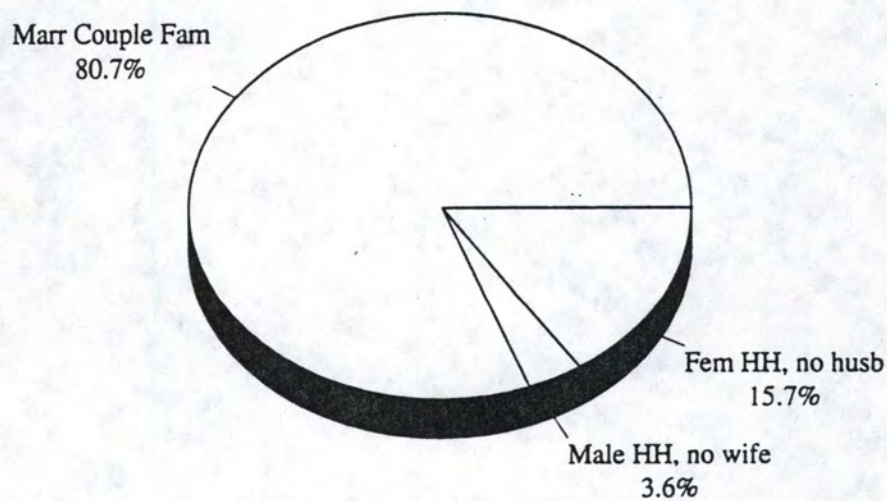
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 110: Residency Status 1985-1990, Salmon Area



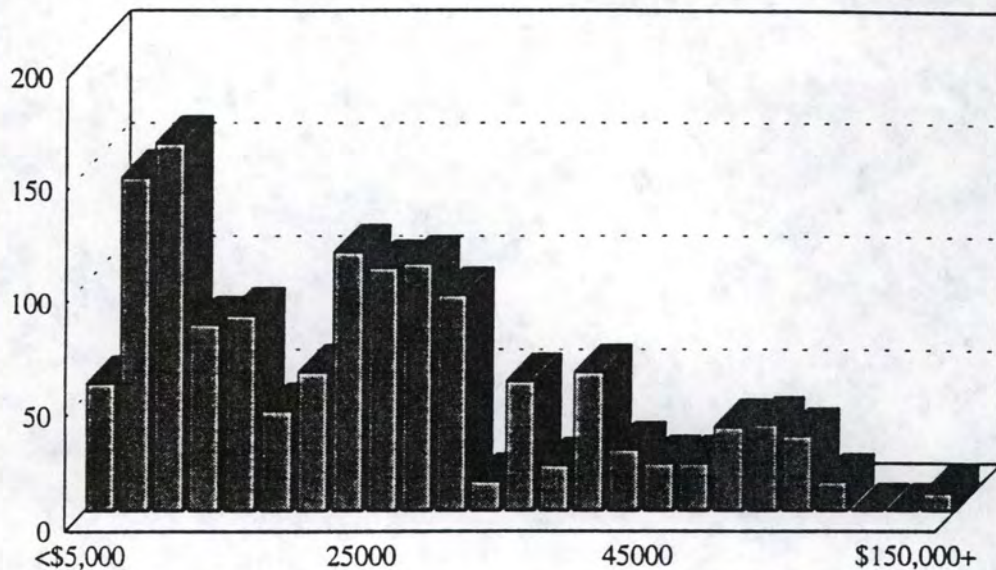
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 111: Structure of Families w/ Own Children <18, Salmon Area



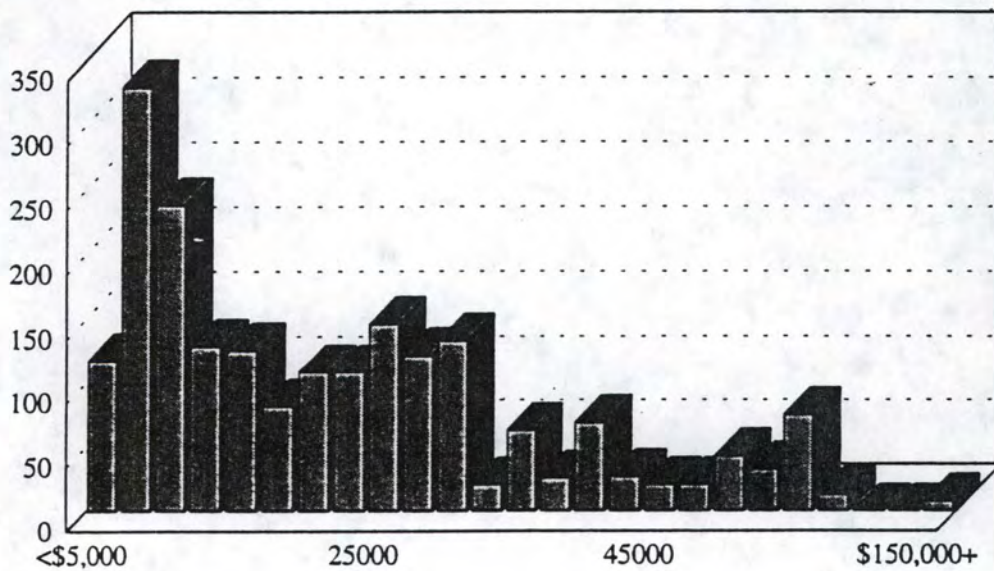
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 112: Distribution of 1989 Family Income, Salmon Area



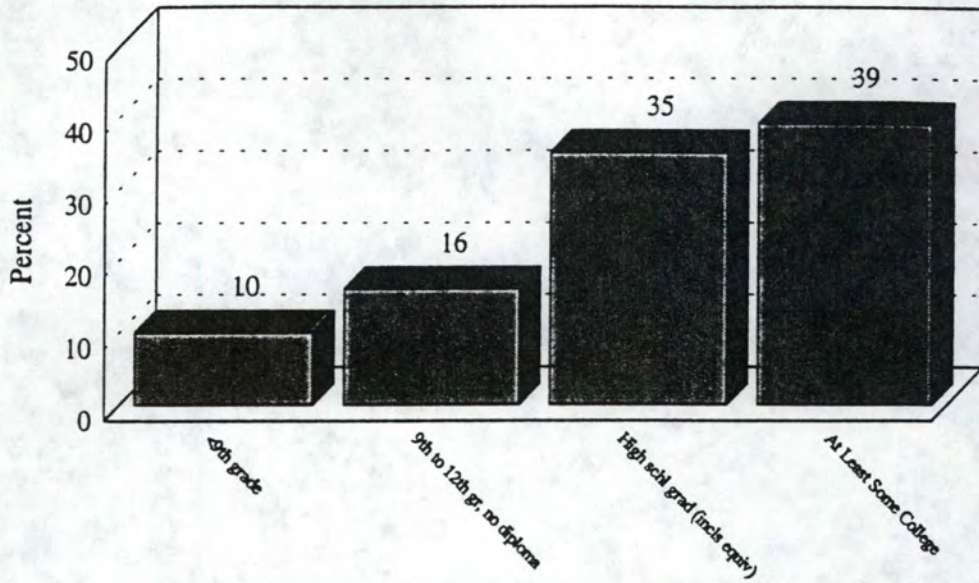
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 113: Distribution of 1989 Household Income, Salmon Area



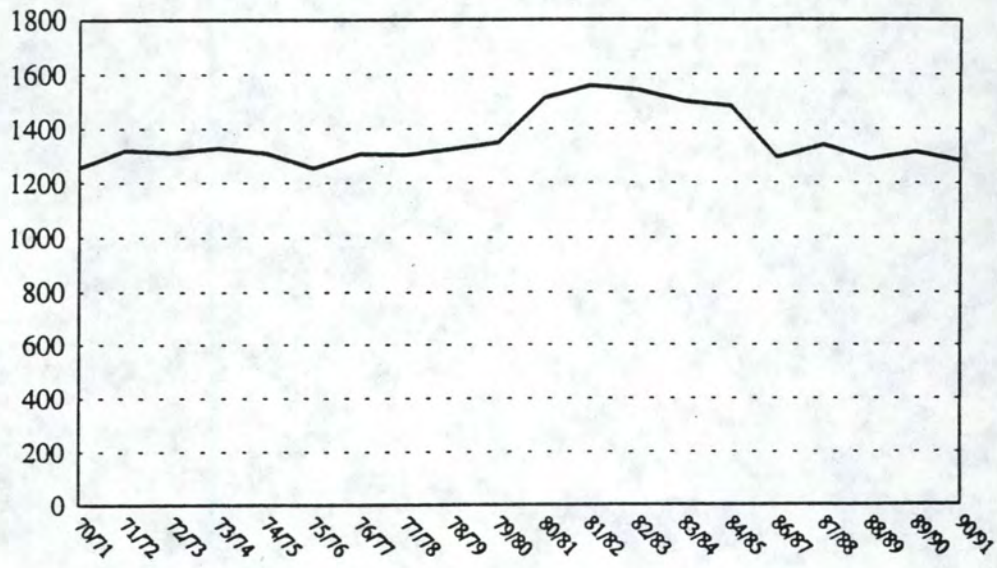
Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 114: Educational Attainment of Persons 25+ Years of Age, Salmon Area, 1989



Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Summary Tape File 3A on CD-ROM [machine-readable data files]; Bureau of the Census. Washington, D.C., 1992

Figure 115: Salmon School District #291 Enrollment, 1970-1991



Source: Salmon School District #291