

R. Clark

Colorado and New Communities

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THE STATE'S ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITIES
IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW COMMUNITIES

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by
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Gentlemen:

I would like to add a few additional remarks to explain the philosophy behind my report. Please understand that I am both a newcomer to Colorado and to governmental service, therefore, my contribution to your committee should be considered in light of those facts. Yet, despite my admittedly brief relationship with your state, I feel that I have been given an opportunity that few Coloradans will ever have to examine how the private and the public sector view the state's growth problems.

When I began this paper some three months ago I tended to accept the arguments of those who advocated population limitation policies for both the Denver metropolitan area and the state. I did so without questioning the practicality or the implications of such a policy, factors I was forced to consider as time progressed.

Countries that have attempted to limit the population of a particular city, such as the Soviet Union with Moscow, and to a certain extent Great Britain with London, have met with less than overwhelming success. Their failure could lie in the "vitality" of a city or a country. That may seem like an intangible factor that cannot be adequately defined but in fact it is not. A thriving area that attracts people and industry because of a number of positive factors, such as climate, recreation, employment, etc., cannot be stunted easily. Such is the case with Colorado.

I am beginning to have some doubts that many people within the state government and legislature really understand Colorado's popularity. It seems fashionable to criticize various "Sell Colorado" programs and undoubtedly such programs have been prominent in attracting people here. Yet I am convinced that Colorado's ability for attracting growth extends beyond any programs to sell it, regardless of how well packaged they are.

Colorado grows and will continue to grow for no other reason than the fact that it is Colorado. In visits to my own home state, I frequently discover that people are envious of me for living here. I dare say that one would find the same results in a cross section of the nation's population. The Denver Research Institute has already discovered that in their poll on tourist responses.

So it is my guess that if the Sell Colorado programs were terminated and the tourist trade discouraged, the chances of stopping growth would not be removed. The west is still the land of promises for many eastern and midwestern people despite the admitted problems of Southern California and other areas that have tempered the west's glamour with reality. While many will no longer wish to migrate to California they may still wish to come west and assuredly Colorado will receive its share.

I am not a promoter of this state's growth and like many of you I would be pleased to see a stabilization in the population. On the other hand, I completely reject any solution that would impair the right of any individual to live where he or she desires to. This country has seen many of its values questioned in the last decade or so but one that seems to be agreed upon by all is the right of mobility. Restrict mobility and you set a dangerous precedent of governmental authority that will be questioned and challenged by many.

Yet there is the problem of future growth--an alarming problem considering the state's present inability to deal with it. I can wholeheartedly back the committee's efforts to disperse future population and growth. Further, the need to protect many of Colorado's scenic areas should be a top state priority. However, the state government must accept the rather unpleasant fact that Colorado will grow very rapidly in the next several decades and that if dispersal fails to have an impact, then planned communities for the Front Range must be viewed as an alternative.

As I indicated earlier, the slowing of an area's growth cannot--or should not--be achieved through the use of threats and limitation policies. The Front Range is, to put it mildly, very popular and to expect that people in any great numbers are going to move to other parts of the state under present circumstances is folly. Thus, it should be expected that much of Colorado's future growth will come to the Front Range and that the state has a definite responsibility to plan for it.

With that in mind, I hope that this committee and the General Assembly will give serious consideration to a new communities program. I believe such a program, if properly handled by both state and private developers, could be significant in eliminating the unsavory sprawl development that is so much in evidence today.

I would suggest that Colorado is at a point in time that California was at some twenty-five years ago. We can allow ourselves to become overwhelmed by urban sprawl such as California was or we can plan for this growth in such a way as to minimize the effects of a much larger population. If we wish the latter, it will mean embarking upon a new role for state government: that of influencing and directing its own growth patterns. It is a role that Colorado can and should take.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Peter Naseth". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Peter L. Naseth

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. The Problem	1
II. The Purpose	4
III. Factors Important to New Community Development in Colorado	6
The Inevitability of Growth	6
The Problems of Population	7
Population Trends for the Future	9
Observations on These Trends	10
State Measures to Deal with Population	14
Patterns of Development	16
Some State Responses on Growth	27
IV. New Community Legislation in Other States	30
Recent State Legislation	30
The New York State Urban Development Corporation	32
V. Conclusions and Recommendations	40
Conclusions	40
Recommendations	43
Summary	55
Footnotes	57
Bibliography	63

TABLES

		Page
Table I	Population of Front Range	11
Table II	Population of Rural Counties	12
Table III	New Industry Location in Colorado	19
Table IV	Expansion of Existing Colorado Industry	20
Table V	Industrial Growth in Colorado	21

MAPS

Map I	Percent Change in Population of Colorado Counties	23
Map II	Net Population Migration of Colorado Counties	24

FIGURES

Figure I	1970's New Communities Program Costs and Public Financial Requirements	37
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I. THE PROBLEM

During the last decade Colorado was the seventh fastest growing state in the union increasing its population by over twenty-five percent from 1960. At one time, and even in some circles today, this fact would have been cause for great pride and rejoicing, such was the importance attached to growth. However, growth has brought with it problems and changes than many Coloradans view with alarm and some concern. The difficulties that plague other more densely settled sections of the country are beginning to make themselves apparent in Colorado, especially in the Denver metropolitan area -- the hub of the state.

As the seventies emerged and environmental concerns became more evident and widespread, the thinking of many citizens both in and out of public life began to change. Growth is now looked upon by many as harmful and if at all possible, something that should be avoided. Environmentalists are tying many of Colorado's increasing problems to the sky-rocketing population and warns that unless the state's growth is checked, complex problems are certain to follow.

Governor John A. Love expressed concern about growth in testimony before the Subcommittee on Rural Development of the U. S. Senate and Agricultural Forestry Committee. He said, "It is increasingly apparent that the tremendous concentration of people creates economic problems, social problems, psychological problems, and perhaps even biological problems."¹

The Colorado Environmental Commission (CEC) went a step further and warned, "If the trends are permitted to develop without change, Coloradans will, within the next several decades, have relinquished their control over the future. Colorado citizens and government will have to devote a major portion of their time to a continuous struggle to keep pace with recurring crises, at ever-increasing costs, with no time to be devoted to the improvement of the quality of life."²

The CEC's warnings are valid when examining the state's present response to these growth pressures. There seemingly are no coordinated land use or water management policies to aid in preparing for the massive influx of people that are expected to come in the next thirty years, although plans for both water and land use are presently being prepared. Furthermore, the state has failed to adopt a development plan of any kind to meet the growth problem head on. In defense of Colorado, it must be recognized that the change in attitudes regarding growth is only a recent phenomenon, and to criticize

state officials for not recognizing this is somewhat unjustified.

One of the most popular reactions to Colorado's dilemma is to urge that a "stabilization policy" regarding population be developed. The CEC argues that, "Zero population growth is an inescapable fact. The only question is when and how. Do we take steps now to set population goals and establish programs to limit our population growth voluntarily, or do we wait for natural methods to achieve zero growth?"³

When discussing population it should be noted that 48.6 percent of Colorado's increase during the sixties was the result of in-migration.⁴ Of even more significance is the fact that between 1970 and 1972, 62 percent of the population increase in the Denver metropolitan area (including Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver and Jefferson counties) was the result of in-migration. Couple this with a declining birth rate (Colorado's family size declined from 3.4 persons in 1960 to 3.1 in 1970) and it is very possible that a larger percentage of Colorado's future population increase will be the result of in-migration.⁵

This poses a vexing problem for those advocates of population limitation. If birth control should continue to gain in popularity and if families continue to get smaller, population control could mean discouraging people from moving into the state. Already one state, Oregon, has apparently taken that approach, with vocal appeals to deter people from moving into the state. It is difficult to blame Oregon for this attitude given the problems of their huge southern neighbor, California, yet there is something distressing about limiting the mobility of people in a supposedly free society.

Colorado could easily take this approach and many would recommend such a policy. Yet there are others in both government and private enterprise who question such methods -- not necessarily because they desire more growth (in many cases they do not), but because they believe in the cherished American ideal of mobility. Colorado represents a haven to many people who are tired of the frantic living in older more congested areas. To deny those who seek a "better life" here strikes many people as morally unacceptable. It should be noted that no mention of the legal questionability has been made here.

This is not to imply that the state should take no steps to direct its future population growth. The statements from the CEC final report warn that Colorado is basically semi-arid and has but a finite supply of water. To ignore such

statements would be irresponsible and dangerous to the welfare of the entire state. Certainly it is in the state's best interest to examine those policies that can order growth more efficiently rather than to allow the continuation of present haphazard "sprawl" development.

However, it shouldn't be forgotten that barring a national population policy, Colorado will probably add at least 1.5 and possibly 2.0 million new citizens by the year 2000.⁶ To disregard this eventuality is foolhardy, not to plan for it is incredible. As one consultant for a major corporation based in Denver put it, "There is no way between now and the year 2000 that you can prevent people from moving into the Denver - Colorado Springs area. It's ridiculous for us to say ... let's stop this growth. We have to plan for it."

Though this might not be a popular opinion, it is nevertheless a fairly accurate appraisal of what the state must do. If Colorado can create policies to meet the needs of two million additional people in thirty years time, it may still avoid some of the problems of other areas that neglected to plan for future growth. One planner argued that it was possible to have double the present population of Colorado's Front Range with twice the living standards that are presently available simply by better utilization of the land. This may be debatable; but what is critical to remember is that even with a much higher population than the present total, it is possible for the residents of Colorado to still maintain a high standard of living, provided there is ample planning to meet the needs of this larger population. New communities will be planned and constructed whether the state takes a role or not. Considering what is at stake, it is in Colorado's interest to involve itself in this process.

II. THE PURPOSE

The goal of this paper is to discuss some of those factors that are critical to Colorado's growth problems and then to suggest a policy or policies designed to deal with them. The consensus seems to be one of dissatisfaction with the present aimless growth in the state. The Rural Development Commission has called for a "strong state policy and direction" in order to achieve a palatable growth and said that "such direction and policy is urgently needed."⁷

The problem arises as to what length state government should go to provide for balanced and orderly growth? Here is where disagreement flourishes, partly from the legitimate fears of local governments and partly from intergovernmental rivalry. Any attempt to define the state's "role" in a comprehensive development policy is extremely difficult. Assuredly someone will be displeased.

Only a handful of states have enacted developmental legislation and of these, only New York has seriously considered the impact that new communities could have in future development patterns. Most legislation approved so far provides the foundation for new community development, but does not commit the states involved to any effective role.

Those who would discourage the state of Colorado from considering such a policy may argue that only the federal government or some large state, such as New York, has the resources and expertise to initiate and involve itself in an ambitious program such as new communities.

However, a member of one of Colorado's regional planning commissions summed it up best when he said that it was customary for governmental officials at one level to expect those at a higher level to deal with a particular problem -- in this case growth. It comes as a great shock when it is discovered later on that no one has dealt with the problem at all!

Colorado is facing sizable growth pressures that it is currently unprepared to deal with. The state should not wait or assume that the federal government will expand its own rather limited New Communities Program, instead it should create its own. Failure to take any action could lead to a severe growth crisis in the near future that threatens to destroy not only the beauty of Colorado, but also reduce the quality of life for its citizens. The critics of a new communities program for Colorado must understand not only the facts but also the limited options that are available.

The facts are that the state's population is growing rapidly and the federal government has not taken any definitive action to deal with the nation's growth problems. For Colorado the options are few: it can continue to let development occur where it may, which a growing number of people are finding unsatisfactory or it can develop policies to meet the growth problem. New communities could be a very important and useful policy in the state's overall goals.

The need for such a program has already been recognized by the Colorado Environmental Commission's final report, Colorado: Options for the Future. The commission recommended that the state create a new community development policy which would "plan and coordinate the development of new communities and new towns with other state policies on population, rural revitalization, land use and water management."⁸

The point is a good one: new community development should not take place in a vacuum. These other factors must be taken into account when determining the size, location and "shape" of a new community. This leads to some of the questions that could be asked regarding a new communities program.

For example, dispersal of future population increases and a balanced statewide economy are two goals that have gained considerable support within the last few years. Should these be the aims of a new community program? Or should new communities be placed in those areas that seem likely to receive most of the future population growth? Should such a program involve itself in rural revitalization to make these areas more attractive for industry and private developers? Can and should extensive tax incentives be used to direct future development in areas that need and want growth? Would extensions onto existing communities be more practical? What should the state's financial role be in facilitating new community development?

These are the questions that must be answered before a policy can be designed and implemented. These are by no means the only areas that are open to study, merely the ones that this paper will consider in examining the parameters of a new community development program for Colorado.

III. FACTORS IMPORTANT TO NEW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN COLORADO

In discussing a new communities program for Colorado, it is necessary to examine those factors that affect growth, present and future. The most critical factor is, of course, the large population increase that is projected for the next few decades. Also important are those factors that influence the location of industry and individuals. Like most sections of the country, Colorado's urban areas are growing rapidly and there is a mounting clamor for dispersal of population and growth into rural areas. This section will examine rural Colorado and the difficulties of new community development in those non-urban areas. It will be shown that unless there is massive rural revitalization, Colorado cannot hope to disperse its population outside the present growth areas.

Prior to the discussion of these factors, it is helpful to examine the almost universal popularity of Colorado. Growth cannot be stopped merely by terminating the "Sell Colorado" program. The state is too popular and well known. The importance of taking action quickly to meet the demands of the future cannot be overemphasized.

The Inevitability of Growth

How popular is Colorado? According to one survey, the Denver Research Institute's 1968 survey of the tourist industry, it is extremely popular.

The survey asked people which state they preferred to visit on summer vacations. For those who had previously visited Colorado, which was only one in five of all adult Americans, the state rated number one in vacation preference. For those who were not familiar with Colorado, it rated fifth.

When asked which state would be the most desirable in which to relocate, the respondents who had visited Colorado rated it second, behind only California and far ahead of Florida, Arizona, Hawaii, Washington and others. For those unfamiliar with Colorado it rated tenth.⁹

The Field Poll of California recently found that nearly one-third of that state's residents, approximately 6.5 million people, were disillusioned with the overcrowding and pollution that they found there. These people indicated a desire to leave California and their second most popular relocation choice was Colorado.¹⁰

Certainly Colorado can ill afford that number of people in the near future, if ever. Yet the DRI and Field Studies point up the growing popularity of the state, a popularity that cannot be dampened in light of the mobility and greater amount of leisure time that Americans have today. As more people visit Colorado, the greater the possibility they will want to return and perhaps to settle permanently.

A state that possesses a moderate climate and is known for its scenic wonders and recreational activities cannot be hidden. Yet, besides those factors Colorado is also popular for its favorable employment climate. Colorado's economic position vis a vis the nation as a whole is far superior. The Colorado Department of Labor and Employment reported that the state's unemployment rate for April, 1972, was 2.9 percent, less than half of the national average!¹¹

To discourage growth, Colorado probably would have to discourage tourism, since that is mostly responsible for influencing in-migration. The effects of such an act would be economically disastrous to a state that benefits tremendously from tourism, both in revenue collected and service jobs created. Even if such a policy was followed, the DRI study shows that Colorado's popularity would not be dimmed much.

The "magnetism" of Colorado should not be lost on its citizens or leaders. To many it would be a pleasant prospect if the state's growth suddenly stabilized, but the problem is that will not happen. Barring unforeseen circumstances growth in Colorado is inevitable, just as it was for California twenty-five years ago. Colorado has an advantage, however: it can learn from California's mistakes and plan for the people yet to come. The consequences for failing to do so seem apparent.

The Problems of Population

Comparisons: Colorado and the Nation. Between 1960 and 1970 Colorado was the seventh fastest growing state in the Union in terms of percentage population with an increase of 25.8 percent. This was nearly double the increase for the nation as a whole, 13.3 percent, and was a continuation of the rapid population increase which began in the fifties.¹²

While the percentage increase was 6.6 percent lower than the gain for the fifties, when it was 32.4 percent, the absolute gain in population was greater: 453,312 during the sixties versus 428,858 for the fifties.¹³ The population of the state has nearly doubled since 1940 indicating its

growing popularity as a place to live.

A comparison can be drawn between Colorado and the nation as to where population increases are occurring. The nation itself is becoming more urbanized with the passing of each decade. The Census Bureau reports that nearly 74 percent of the national population now live in cities of more than 2,500, which it defines as the minimum population necessary for a city to be considered "urban."¹⁴

Of greater importance is that over 69 percent of the nation's population now reside in 243 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMA) which are defined as areas including a central city with a population of 50,000 or more plus the contiguous counties with an urbanized population. This means that 139 million people from a 1970 national total of over 203 million live in urban centers ranging in size from 56,000 in Meridian, Connecticut to 11.5 million in New York City.¹⁵ This not only indicates the growing centralization of the U.S. population but also the continuing decline of rural America. The absolute population of the rural areas declined for the third straight decade in the sixties as agriculture became increasingly more mechanized and as the cities offered more vocational and social opportunities.¹⁶

Colorado reflects the national trends toward urbanization and out-migration from rural areas. Colorado's urban population increased by 34 percent during the sixties, the sixth highest in the country.¹⁷ Over 78.5 percent of Colorado's population live in urban areas and nearly 72 percent in the state's three SMA's. Both figures are higher than the national average.¹⁸ While the rural population of the state increased by two percent, as opposed to a decline of three-tenths of one percent for the nation as a whole, in the 1960's, the absolute population of rural Colorado was nearly 20,000 less than it was in 1950. Meanwhile, the urban population during the same period more than doubled.¹⁹ According to the Colorado Rural Development Commission, 40 counties in the state suffered from out-migration and 32 of the 63 counties lost population.²⁰

One additional point must be made in discussing the urbanization of both the United States and Colorado. Where approximately 80 percent of the net population increase since 1960 has taken place in metropolitan areas, over 80 percent of that has occurred in suburban areas of the central city.²¹ Suburban population increases in the sixties were more than four times greater than those of the central cities, 26.8 percent versus 6.4 percent. For Colorado's largest SMA, the

five county Denver metropolitan area, the figures are even more disparate. While the City and County of Denver increased by a modest 4.2 percent in the sixties, the population of its four "suburban counties" increased anywhere from ten to nearly twenty times Denver's rate! The range was from a low of 42.9 percent for Arapahoe County to a high of 82.7 percent for Jefferson County. The remaining two counties, Adams and Boulder had growth rates of 54.4 and 77.6 respectively. The population of the Denver SMA was over 55 percent of the entire state's total, a figure that is expected to grow.²²

Finally, according to the Rural Development Commission, over 90 percent of Colorado's population growth during the last half century has occurred in the thirteen counties that make up the Front Range.²³ Here again is another example of the centralization of both Colorado's population and its growth.

Population Trends for the Future

The trends discussed above are expected to continue, both for Colorado and the nation. In 1969 the Census Bureau estimated a growth of between 80 and 160 million additional people by the year 2000, with a median projection of around 100 million, a 50 percent increase in the next three decades. Realization of this projection would put the U. S. population at around 300 million.²⁴

The centralization of the nation's population would become even more concentrated than it is now if current trends continue unabated. According to the National Goals Research Staff in their report on balanced growth to President Nixon, more of the U.S. population growth over the next few decades will be concentrated in the 12 largest urban regions, including Denver. While these twelve "super cities" will contain over 70 percent of the nation's population, some 218 million people, they will occupy a mere ten percent of the land area.²⁵

As these urban centers continue to grow, the outlook for rural America is gloomy. With agriculture becoming increasingly mechanized the farm population will continue to decline both in percentage of the total population and in absolute numbers. By 2000, the National Goals Research Staff estimates that only two percent of the nation will live on farms. Obviously the day of the family farm has passed.²⁶

For Colorado, the figures are again more illuminating. The State Planning Office has projected a population of 3,814,000 by the year 2000, a 73 percent increase over 1970 which is presently 2,207,259. If the present trends of

development continue, the thirteen Front Range counties (see Table I) would garner 86 percent of the state's population, up from the present figure of 82.2 percent. The population of the Denver SMA is estimated to rise to 2,175,000 or approximately 57 percent of the state's total, a slight increase over 1970. Population increases for the state's other two SMA's, Pueblo and Colorado Springs, would also rise dramatically thus increasing the possibility of a "strip city" down the Front Range, unless the state can devise policies to divert some of this growth.

The outlook for rural Colorado also indicates growth, although the figures are deceptive at first glance. The State Planning Office projects a thirty year increase for the 34 rural counties, whose urban population was less than 25 percent in 1970, of 48.5 percent. However, one of those counties, Douglas, is a Front Range county sandwiched between the Denver and Colorado Springs metropolitan areas. The planning office has projected its growth at 494.7 percent! Deleting Douglas County would show a growth rate for the remaining 33 rural counties of only 11 percent (see Table II). Thus, barring either a federal or a state population policy, the imbalance of Colorado's population will become more severe in the next three decades.

Observations On These Trends

What does this all mean for Colorado and the nation? The population imbalance could have severe consequences for both rural and urban America: the former must deal with further economic decline and out-migration while the latter is open to a myriad of crippling problems that include pollution, overcrowding, racial and economic inequalities, congested highways, higher governmental service costs, etc. The dilemma of both the nation and Colorado was summed up by President Nixon in his first State of the Union address when he said, "Vast areas of rural America have been emptied of people and promise, while our central cities have become the most conspicuous areas of failure in American life."²⁷

The problems of both rural and urban America were brought into focus in a report by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) entitled, Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth. The report summarized the plight of the rural areas by stating, "The Nation's smaller communities outside of metropolitan areas will be increasingly bypassed by the economic mainstream and will also find it difficult to offer enough jobs for all their residents and those of surrounding rural areas. Many rural areas will suffer from a further siphoning off of the young

TABLE I

POPULATION OF FRONT RANGE COUNTIES 1970 AND 2000

<u>County</u>	<u>1970 Total Popu- lation^{1/}</u>	<u>2000 Total Popu- lation^{2/}</u>	<u>Percent Change From 1970 to 2000</u>
Adams	185,789	375,000	101.8%
Arapahoe	162,142	400,000	146.7
Boulder	131,889	300,000	127.5
Denver	514,678	625,000	21.4
Douglas	8,407	50,000	494.7
El Paso	235,972	400,000	69.5
Fremont	21,942	26,000	18.5
Huerfano	6,590	8,000	21.4
Jefferson	233,031	475,000	103.8
Larimer	89,900	225,000	150.3
Las Animas	15,744	15,000	-4.7
Pueblo	118,238	250,000	111.4
Weld	<u>89,297</u>	<u>225,000</u>	<u>152.0</u>
	1,813,619	3,374,000	86.0
State-wide	2,207,259	3,814,000	72.8
Front Range Population as a percent of state population	82.2	88.5	

^{1/} Based on the 1970 Final Population Count, published by the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

^{2/} Population projections for Colorado counties as computed by the Colorado State Planning Office were based on the 1970 census count.

Source: Colorado Division of Planning.

TABLE II
POPULATION OF RURAL COUNTIES^{1/}

County	1960 Total Pop. ^{2/}	1970 Total Pop. ^{2/}	2000 Total Pop. ^{3/}	Percent Change From 1960 to 1970	Percent Change From 1970 to 2000
Archuleta	2,629	2,733	3,000	4.0	9.8
Baca	6,310	5,674	5,000	-10.1	-11.9
Cheyenne	2,789	2,396	2,000	-14.1	-16.5
Clear Creek	2,793	4,819	7,000	72.5	45.3
Conejos	8,428	7,846	7,000	-6.9	-10.8
Costilla	4,219	3,091	2,200	-26.7	-28.8
Crowley	3,978	3,086	2,300	-22.4	-25.5
Custer	1,305	1,120	2,000	-14.2	78.6
Delta	15,602	15,286	15,000	-2.0	-1.9
Dolores	2,196	1,641	1,500	-25.3	-8.6
Douglas	4,816	8,407	50,000	74.6	494.7
Eagle	4,677	7,498	10,000	60.3	33.4
Elbert	3,708	3,903	7,000	5.3	79.3
Gilpin	685	1,272	1,500	85.7	17.9
Grand	3,557	4,107	4,400	15.5	7.1
Hinsdale	208	202	200	-2.9	-1.0
Jackson	1,758	1,811	2,000	3.0	10.4
Kiowa	2,425	2,029	2,000	-16.3	-1.4
Lincoln	5,310	4,836	4,000	-8.9	-17.3
Mineral	424	786	950	85.4	20.9
Ouray	1,601	1,546	1,500	-3.4	-3.0
Park	1,822	2,185	2,600	19.9	19.0
Phillips	4,440	4,131	4,000	-7.0	-3.2
Pitkin	2,381	6,185	10,000	159.8	61.7
Rio Blanco	5,150	4,842	5,700	-6.0	17.7
Routt	5,900	6,592	7,900	11.7	19.8
Saguache	4,473	3,827	3,800	-14.4	-0.7
San Juan	849	831	875	-2.1	5.3
San Miguel	2,944	1,949	2,000	-33.8	2.6
Sedgwick	4,242	3,405	3,500	-19.7	2.8
Summit	2,073	2,665	5,000	28.6	87.6
Teller	2,495	3,316	4,600	32.9	38.7
Washington	6,625	5,550	5,000	-16.2	-9.9
Yuma	8,912	8,544	8,500	-4.1	-0.5
	131,724	138,111	194,025	+4.8	48.5
(Without Douglas)	126,908	129,704	144,025	+2.2	11.0

^{1/} Counties with an urban population of less than 25% in 1970.

^{2/} Based on Census Data, published by the United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

^{3/} Population projections for Colorado counties are computed by the Colorado State Planning Office were based on the 1970 census count.

and able work force with a resultant greater concentration of older and unskilled among those remaining, and a continuing decline in the capacity of rural communities to support basic public services."²⁸

The Colorado Environmental Commission concurred with ACIR and added a comment about the per capita income disparities between rural and urban Colorado. The CEC's report said, "The poverty in rural Colorado is a classic for all America. In the Denver metropolitan counties, the annual average per capita income is \$3,129; the figure for the balance of Colorado is \$2,152." The Commission reported that the per capita income in two counties, Costilla and Conejos, was far below the average for even the non-metropolitan areas: \$702 and \$930 respectively!²⁹

The state, the CEC contends, has reinforced this trend in its actions. "Nevertheless as a state," the report argues, "we continue to put our colleges 'where the people are.'" We do the same with medical facilities, highways, cultural amenities, government services, and every economic aspect of our society. By example, we say to the young: "The jobs, money, education and prestige are all in the city. In short, no jobs in rural Colorado will mean that no young people can stay there."³⁰

Although the urban centers have received most of the population and economic growth, they have been obtained at a high price. ACIR concluded that while evidence was not conclusive, it was very possible that, "increased size and congestion...take a net social and psychological toll in urban living conditions."³¹

The dangers of continued population growth and overcrowding were elaborated on by Rufus Miles, Jr. Miles argued, "Population and freedom are inextricably intertwined. The larger, the more complex and the more crowded society is -- and the more its resource base is subjected to intensely competing demands -- the more numerous and restrictive are the laws and regulations, the less freedom. The less freedom, the more tension. That population growth significantly contributes to this loss of freedom and to increased tension seem self-evident."³²

Denver and the rest of Colorado are far from Miles scenario although some native Coloradans may debate this point! However, that doesn't necessarily mean that this couldn't happen and if growth continues haphazardly, Miles' statement could very well become a reality.

What is a reality is that the larger a city becomes, the more it costs for various city services, hence a greater burden on the central city taxpayer. Dr. Kenneth Watt has argued that the larger a city is, the more that city's citizen must pay per capita for police protection even though that citizen is more subject to becoming a victim of crime himself.³³

Highway expenditures follow a similar pattern. Professor R. J. Smeed, a leading traffic systems analyst, has shown that the more commuters a town has, the more highways per capita it must build. A hundred fold increase in population requires not a hundred fold increase in roadways, but a twelve hundred fold increase in roadways! This is of particular interest to Colorado and especially to its largest city, Denver. Colorado residents own and operate more vehicles proportionately than the national average which is a major explanation for Denver's air pollution problems, reportedly among the most severe in the United States. The continued growth of the Denver metropolitan area and the whole Front Range could make this problem even more serious unless alternative modes of transportation are developed and/or if future population growth can be dispersed into other areas of the state.

These are but a few examples of the counter-productive nature of growth. Many people feel and have suggested that these studies indicate that the Denver metropolitan area is beyond economies of scale on most governmental costs, i.e., police protection, power, water, waste disposal, fuel and highways. The implication is that increased size leads to diseconomies -- at what actual population figure is open to debate. Nevertheless, the larger the city the higher are both the economic and psychological costs.

State Measures to Deal with Population

In recent years concern with Colorado's expanding population has reached the level of state government. In 1972, the General Assembly approved a bill which created a Population Advisory Council to conduct research and make recommendations regarding state population problems and goals.

Some of the council's duties will be to examine the probable course of population growth, the social and economic consequences of it, the influences that govern the distribution of population within the state and the resources within the public sector of the economy that will be needed to deal with the anticipated growth. How effective the council will be remains to be seen. Since the act took effect only on

July 1, 1972, no substantive progress has been made.

Prior to the formation of the Population Advisory Council, the Colorado Environmental Commission had submitted its own list of recommendations on how the state could deal with population. One of the most potentially controversial is the recommendation urging that the "General Assembly enact legislative limitations on the growth of metropolitan areas, as a matter of statewide concern."³³

The limitation, the CEC stressed, could take the form of a population limitation, an area limitation, a time limitation on further growth, or any combination of the three. The report stressed that the tools already available, such as zoning, condemnation, purchase, and limitations on water transactions; what is needed is the consensus to accomplish the task.

The Commission also took pains to assure that such a policy would be constitutional. The limitation on the size of the metropolitan area would "not mean denial of freedom and mobility to individuals, even after the limitation has been reached. Individuals or businesses determined to locate in metropolitan Denver could rent available empty space, could purchase available space, or could wait their turn for one of the number of building permits given annually for limited growth or renewal purposes."³⁴

Such a policy does not deal with the potential for economic discrimination. The limited amount of available space, combined with a high demand would probably drive housing prices up and would effectively eliminate those who could not afford the cost of such inflated housing. Unless the state or some other governmental body placed a ceiling on rental or purchase prices on apartments, houses, and land, this policy would prevent lower income groups and perhaps even some smaller companies from settling in the Denver metropolitan area.

Another problem is that limitation on the size of a metropolitan area has never been very successful in any country that it has been tried. A professor of urban geography at the University of Denver, cited the attempt by the Soviet Union in 1935 to limit the population of Moscow at 5,000,000. The present population of the greater Moscow metropolitan area is nearly 7,500,000.³⁵ The implication is clear: if the Soviet government with all the controls available to it cannot limit the size of one of their cities, then certainly, Colorado will fair no better.

Other questions can be asked about this policy such as, what is the possibility of sprawl development around the boundaries of the metropolitan area limited by size, or would all open land between say Denver and Colorado Springs be zoned agricultural or some other designation that would prevent any kind of development to occur? If such were the case, what compensation would be given to the landowners in that area? What controls, if any, would be taken against those who would share their housing with relatives, friends or other families that couldn't afford housing in the city, but who desired to live there anyway and would be willing to pay a sum that would make it profitable for the owner? This could lead to overcrowding and a potential health hazard not to mention a psychological one. Before such a program could be instituted critical problems such as these would have to be solved.

A policy to "control" a metropolitan area's size is certainly desirable. The premise that a metropolitan area can eventually surpass its "ecological carrying capacity" is essentially correct. Perhaps size can be checked using an incentive approach combined with some controls. Whatever the answer is more research will be needed. The CEC's present recommendation appears to be unacceptable both from an economic and social standpoint. It also appears that a growth or limitation policy to be effective must originate in Washington with the federal government.

Patterns of Development

The Front Range -- Why it Grows. The Front Range, according to the Division of Planning, is comprised of thirteen counties which form a "strip" that runs down the approximate center of the state. The state's three metropolitan centers are located within its confines, Denver, Colorado Springs and Pueblo. The state's four largest institutions of higher learning are located in the Front Range: the University of Colorado at Boulder (with branches in Denver and Colorado Springs), Colorado State University at Fort Collins, Northern Colorado University at Greeley and the University of Denver, the only private school of the four.

The state government is located in Denver along with most of its governmental offices. The Denver Federal Center is the second largest federal installation in the country with only the Pentagon topping it in size. The state's major industries are all located within the Front Range with most of these in the Denver metropolitan area. The area is for the most part adjacent to the vast recreational potential that the Rocky Mountains provide. It is adequately served by the

Interstate Highway System, not to mention bus, rail and airline facilities. If the Regional Transportation District (RTD) ever becomes a working reality, some sections of the Front Range will become even more closely linked than they are now.

Thus, the Front Range is the governmental, financial, educational and cultural center of not only Colorado but of the entire Rocky Mountain region. An area with so many resources is going to attract industry and people with or without governmental promotion.

The real dilemma of Colorado is that the growth imbalance was (and is) caused by this imbalance in resources. A member of the Division of Commerce and Development, which has the role of attracting industry into the state, remarked that one reason why major "scientific" companies like Eastman Kodak or IBM (both of which have recently moved to Colorado) settled in the Front Range is because of its close proximity to the state's higher education complex. It is possible for corporate employees to continue their education without traveling long distances. Both industries are situated in areas that are removed from major metropolitan centers while still close enough to enjoy their benefits.

A consultant for another large industry who was instrumental in the company's move from the east coast to Denver elaborated on the significance of a metropolitan area: "I've been through one move where a thousand families were involved so I think I know as well as anyone in the state of Colorado what those thousand families from New Jersey, Manhattan, Connecticut and Toledo want. They want an art museum; they want a symphony. They want shopping centers, and quick transportation to their families. They want all the city services including people protection, offramps for major highways and all the things that a metropolitan community provides."³⁶

George Nez, Director of Land Use Planning for the Federation of Rocky Mountain States, extended the attraction of the Front Range into another area -- its value as an efficient large service center. Nez contends that if there is some sizable "extraction" activity such as mining or agriculture going on, the employment generation caused by that extraction will be much greater in the service center than at the actual work site. One of the reasons for this is the increasing mechanization of mining and agriculture reduces the need for considerable employment at the work site. An even more important reason is that there are a myriad of specialized services that can be obtained in a large metropolitan area, such as banking, marketing, advertising and the like.³⁷

If this holds true and if private interests should ever tap the rich oil shale fields of northwestern Colorado, the real beneficiary as far as employment is concerned could be the Front Range and not the area immediately adjacent to the mining activity. If the process is to become highly mechanized the gain in employment for the northwestern area could be minimal.

To underline the drawing power of the Front Range in terms of employment generation, some figures compiled by the Division of Commerce and Development are highly illuminating. The division classified industrial growth into three categories: (1) new employment opportunities statewide; (2) new jobs for the 14-county Front Range; and (3) new employment for the remainder of the state. (See Tables III and IV.)

Commerce and Development found that for a seven year period (between 1965 and 1971) 88.4 percent of the jobs created in new industries locating in Colorado settled in the Front Range. That percentage was even higher for jobs created by the expansion of existing industries in Colorado for the same period -- in this case it was 92.6 percent. The total jobs created in the state from 1965 through 1971 was 37,832. Of these jobs, 90.4 percent or 33,919 were in the fourteen counties that made up the Front Range as defined by the division (see Table V).

If present trends continue there is little reason to believe that the Front Range will not continue to get the overwhelming percentage of new jobs and people. To expect business and individuals to move elsewhere in large numbers is illusionary unless policies are developed to help the rural areas compete on more favorable terms. Even then it will be difficult to mitigate the attractiveness of the Front Range.

The Dilemma of Rural Colorado. Rural Colorado varies considerably from the eastern plains to the mountains in the west, yet many of the problems are the same: lack of economic diversity, out-migration of the young, a shrinking tax base, insufficient health care and deteriorating public services. It is the same list of problems that affect other parts of rural America and it seems to be getting worse.

The eastern plains are an excellent example of the problems associated with the decline of agriculture as an employer. The family farm is rapidly vanishing as an American institution as it becomes progressively harder each year to squeeze out a profit and as the out-migration of the farmer's children to urban areas increases.

Table III

New Industry Location in Colorado*
1965-1971

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Jobs created state-wide	2,733	1,138	982	1,974	4,560	2,799	3,431 (17,617)
Jobs created in Front Range	2,336	1,023	872	1,786	4,280	2,072	3,034 (15,853)
Jobs created in other areas	397	115	110	188	280	277	397 (1,764)
Percent jobs in Front Range	85.5%	89.9%	88.8%	90.5%	93.9%	90.1%	88.4%
Percent jobs in other areas	14.5%	10.1%	11.2%	9.5%	6.1%	9.9%	11.6%

* SOURCE: Division of Commerce and Development. The Front Range counties include Larimer, Weld, Boulder, Gilpin, Clear Creek, Adams, Jefferson, Denver, Arapahoe, Douglas, Teller, El Paso, and Pueblo Counties, and the Canon City area of Fremont County.

Table IV

Expansion of Existing Colorado Industry*
1965-1971

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Jobs created state-wide	1,062	3,322**	1,596	2,825	5,542	2,949	2,919 (20,215)
Jobs created in Front Range	894	3,147	1,482	2,108	4,882	2,789	2,704 (18,066)
Jobs created in other areas	168	175**	114	717	660	100	215 (2,149)
Percent jobs in Front Range	84.2%	94.7%	92.9%	74.6%	88.1%	96.6%	92.6%
Percent jobs in other areas	15.8%	5.3%	7.1%	25.4%	11.9%	3.4%	7.4%

* SOURCE: See Table III for source to this table.

** Complete information not available.

Table V
Industrial Growth in Colorado*
1965-1971

Summary of Tables I and II

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Total jobs created state-wide	3,795	4,460**	2,578	4,799	10,102	5,748	6,350 (37,832)
Total jobs created in Front Range	3,230	4,170	2,354	3,894	9,162	5,371	5,738 (33,919)
Total jobs created in other areas	565	290**	224	905	940	377	612 (3,913)
Percent total jobs in Front Range	85.1%	93.5%	91.3%	81.1%	90.7%	93.4%	90.4%
Percent total jobs in other areas	14.9%	6.5%	8.7%	18.9%	9.3%	6.6%	9.6%

* SOURCE: See Table III for source to this table.

** Complete information not available.

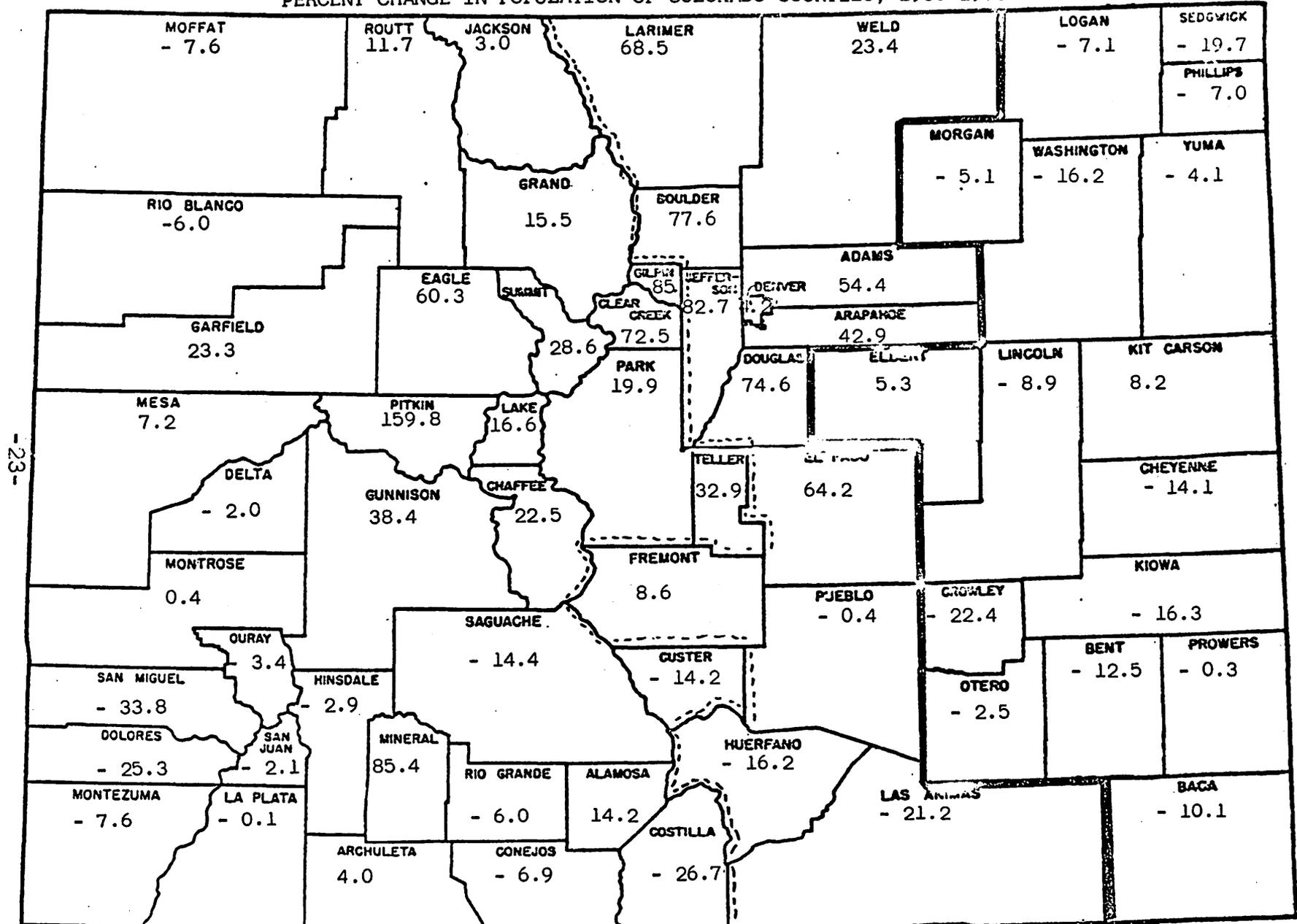
The mechanization of agriculture has had a critical effect on employment, a point vividly expressed by Donald Chambers, President of the Eagle County Farm Bureau and a rancher himself, in testimony to the Joint Committee on Balanced Population Growth. "Twenty years ago our ranch hired twelve men to run a dairy and beef herd," Chambers said. He added, "Today the ranch is larger and is run by two or three people. We have put many people out of jobs by using machinery and working longer hours. Today we feel we cannot hire labor because it usually costs more than it produces."³⁸

The effect mechanization has on the entire rural economy is widespread as Chambers points out, "...the small town grocer for example, becomes unable to sell food in volume to compete with chain stores in larger towns. Therefore, his prices are higher; and the higher the prices, the less he is patronized by local people. Eventually this grocer will close his doors and, more than likely, follow the labor supply to the city...."³⁹ The same happened to other merchants who relied on a large number of farmers to make an adequate living.

This is happening on the eastern plains as the out-migration statistics for that area show. Of the sixteen counties that make up the region only one, Elbert, showed a net population in-migration and only two counties, Elbert and Kit Carson, posted a population increase during the sixties (see Maps I and II). Elbert increased because of its close proximity to the Denver-Colorado springs area while Kit Carson's growth was the result of the "mining" of the ground water in the Ogalalla aquifer for irrigated agriculture. The problem here is that this water is to be taken faster than it is being recharged so that within twenty-five years, it is reported, there will be a depletion rate of forty percent.⁴⁰ If this practice continues the area around Kit Carson County will eventually go dry.

The remaining thirty-four south central and western counties show pockets of substantial growth, especially in the ski belt counties which include among others: Pitkin, Eagle and Summit (see Map I). This area has become a popular site for recreational development and upper income housing often at the expense of agriculture. The Colorado Environmental Commission reported that in Pitkin County, for example, there are no longer any operating farms or ranches.⁴¹ When this land is sold for purposes of building homes, not only is the farm and ranch land removed from agricultural circulation but also what little employment it generated is terminated. So the western slope growth is not balanced in that much of it is heavily dependent on tourism and recreation.

MAP 1
 PERCENT CHANGE IN POPULATION OF COLORADO COUNTIES, 1960-1970



-23-

SOURCES: 1960 Census of the Population
 1970 Census of the Population
 Colorado Division of Commerce and Development
 HASHED LINE separates western and southern counties from the Front Range.
 SOLID LINE separates eastern counties from the Front Range.

The rural areas are not growing for the same reasons that the metropolitan areas are. The higher educational facilities are not as extensive or as convenient as they are in the Greeley-Fort Collins-Boulder-Denver area. The governmental services, especially the schools, suffer from an insufficient tax base that for many counties is in a state of continual decline. Employment possibilities are limited and the wage level is often below that of the metropolitan area. Shopping facilities are not as extensive, either in offering the consumer competitive prices or a broad range of items from which to choose.

A major problem is the lack of adequate health care that many rural areas suffer from, especially in the decline of general practitioners. This is partially the result of a nationwide trend towards specialization in the medical profession but it is also the result of the popularity of the urban areas. With little or no assistance, today's country doctor serves a larger area and more people than his predecessor. Rural facilities often cannot match the extensive health facilities of the metropolitan areas. As long as these handicaps continue to exist it is going to be difficult to attract young physicians to rural Colorado.

With this staggering number of negative aspects to consider, it is somewhat pointless to expect industries and/or people to settle in many parts of rural Colorado unless the state or some other governmental entity takes positive measures to reinforce present rural towns. Colorado is like many other states with the same problem: it bemoans the decline of its rural areas but does little to alter their decay.

The problems associated with the dispersal of industries into the rural areas goes beyond the lack of facilities. There are a number of corporations that simply cannot settle in sparsely populated areas because their needs require a sizable metropolitan area. Industrial consultants argue that it is naive for many to expect a large company to move to a rural area, what with all of its requirements and especially if it's going to become the headquarters for an entire company.⁴²

Incentives such as free or low cost land and alterations in the tax structure have often been suggested as methods to attract industry into rural areas. Dwight Neill, Director of the Division of Commerce and Development, told the Balanced Population Growth Committee that several studies have shown that taxes have had little effect on the location of industry while in most cases the cost of land was not that critical either. Industry, he said, locates where it will have a competitive advantage.⁴³ Another member of the Division said, "major corporations are just not that interested in the

rural areas."

The types of industries that locate in a region such as the eastern high plains are resource types, those related to agriculture such as packing plants and canning companies. Except for these many of the remaining industries are small, hiring only a few people (seldom more than 15 or 20) who are most often unskilled. While it has been suggested that a cluster of these small industries located in a rural center could lead to a healthy balanced economy, the problems in finding seven or eight such industries are very difficult according to at least one member of the Division of Commerce and Development.

Each section of rural Colorado has its own inherent handicaps that make growth possibilities difficult, at least on a large scale. For example, many sections of the eastern plains are barren and water is definitely a problem. C. J. Kuiper, State Engineer, said, that the region is incapable of supporting a sizable amount of new growth unless water transfers from other regions take place, although parts of the South Platte River valley have potential for some development.⁴⁴ In addition, except for small reservoirs, the area lacks the recreational potential that adds to the attractiveness of a region.

One independent consultant in summarizing the chances for wide scale development in the eastern plains said flatly, "...no industry in its right mind is going to settle in Brush when it can settle in Boulder -- there is no comparison -- and the people in Brush are not going to tell you any different."

The Western Slope has its own problems, namely that much of the area is not conducive to easy access, especially in the winter when heavy snows make many of the roads difficult to travel. The transportation network, such as railroads and airlines are not as extensive and freight rates are higher making industry difficult to attract. Also, because of the high elevations, the area would have to be concerned about the types of industry that it could have without damaging the environment. However, the Western Slope does have advantages such as water with no diversions to be concerned about! The mountains open up a number of recreational opportunities, not to mention an environment that could easily appeal to people tired of the urban life style.

There is another factor to consider in discussing the possibility of large scale growth for the rural areas, the people themselves. The consensus among these people seems to be that some growth is acceptable, but the problems of the

urban areas which are often a by-product of growth are to be avoided. It appears that many rural Coloradans view growth as a necessary evil.

Darrel Smith, a consultant working on the eastern plains region for the Land Use Commission, remarked that people in that area feel very strongly about the types of development that occur in their area. "They say," Smith recalled, "When it comes we want it on our own terms...we're not going to let just anyone come in."⁴⁵ He also pointed out from his interviews that it was very difficult to determine how much growth they wanted.

Former state legislator, Robert Schafer of Boyero, agreed and admitted that he wasn't sure that rural communities wanted extensive growth, although they also didn't want to "die on the vine." Urban problems were uppermost on his mind when he remarked, "Confine the sores of population, pollution, etc.-- work on them there (meaning the metropolitan areas), but don't scatter the sores."⁴⁶

This concern about too much growth or the wrong kinds is just as prevalent on the Western Slope. When asked how the residents of western Colorado would respond to the placement of a sizable new community, a member of the Division of Commerce and Development said that he didn't feel the people there would like the idea very much. Thus, rural opinion about growth seems to be: Some is needed but not so much that it will cause the same problems that plague Denver and other metropolitan areas of Colorado.

Some State Responses on Growth

The state is slowly beginning to respond to the growth imbalances in Colorado. While no definitive development policy has been considered, some positive steps towards redirecting growth and development patterns are being initiated.

The 48th General Assembly created the Rural Development Commission and gave it the responsibility to "identify and study the basic causes of economic concentration in urban Colorado and (the) deterioration in rural Colorado." Thirty-two individuals were selected to sit on the commission representing every geographical area of the state. Seven task forces were set up to examine intergovernmental relations, freight rates, transportation, rural financing, education, tourism and rural housing. The Commission is coordinating its work with several federal agencies and receives financial assistance from one, the Economic Development Administration.⁴⁷ Its goal is to advise both the Governor and the General Assembly on a course of action that will improve the economic opportunity throughout the state."⁴⁸

In an attempt to alter industrial development patterns, Governor Love in November, 1969, ordered the Division of Commerce and Development to redirect its activities for industrial promotion to areas outside of the Denver metropolitan area. The General Assembly elaborated on the Governor's order by redefining the purpose of the Division to "promote the economic development of the state and particularly those rural and less populated areas of the state which desire to encourage such development...to stimulate the growth and prosperity of commerce, agriculture, industry, labor and the professions within such areas of the state." (emphasis added) The revised authority and responsibility of the director included the "Coordination and stimulation of, and assistance to, the efforts of governmental and private agencies engaged in the planning and development of a balanced economy for Colorado."⁴⁹

In the area of local planning, the state through the Division of Planning, has assisted many regions in setting up planning commissions and councils of government. These programs are run at the local level and are financed in part by the participating governmental units with matching federal funds (the applications for federal local planning assistance are reviewed by the Division of Planning). Each one of these local planning commissions has at least one full-time professional planner.

The consensus seems to be that some of the regional planning commissions have been unable to make any noticeable progress. For one thing, regionalism of any kind is often looked upon with less than glowing enthusiasm by many counties that see it as a threat to their autonomy. A planner from one region said that the counties would dutifully send the planning commission a preliminary plan or a final plat on a proposed subdivision and yet, if the planning commission recommended that the subdivision be rejected, the county commissioners would usually ignore them and approve it anyway.

Regional planning commissions will not be accepted overnight, but in some areas where economic problems are becoming more critical they could become significant. The Lower Arkansas Valley Council of Governments (LAVCOG) in southeastern Colorado is an example.

LAVCOG has proposed the combination of the, "funds and resources of six counties, four cities, 21 incorporated towns and 14 unincorporated towns to promote and develop at least two regional industrial parks as a cooperative venture to provide attractive developed industrial sites in order to secure additional employment opportunities...." LAVCOG would

purchase and develop the land with these combined funds which would be generated from the creation of a "specially applied mill tax." The plan, the organization claims, has the backing of the governmental units in the area.⁵⁰

The LAVCOG proposal is significant in that the counties, towns and municipalities in the area are beginning to realize that economic development can be more likely achieved through a cooperative system that pools resources rather than through ruinous competition.

The LAVCOG plan also suggests that these regional planning and economic development commissions could be instrumental in aiding developers with new community construction and perhaps combined resources could be used to build roads, schools, sewage disposal systems, etc. The state should certainly encourage this regional cooperative system with either increased funding and/or technical expertise, whenever needed.

How else can the state promote the revitalization and development of rural areas in order to achieve a more balanced growth and location pattern? Hugh H. C. Weed, Jr., Executive Director of the Department of Local Affairs, told the Balanced Population Committee that, "A cooperative statewide development program utilizing the Divisions of the Department of Local Affairs (Planning, Housing, Local Government and Commerce and Development), can make local communities more capable of responding to new demands for change and expansion so that industrial, recreational and commercial growth will be stimulated and made easier. A package program developed among these agencies and other departments of state government might be an effective means of attracting federal funding to assist non-urban areas."⁵¹

To put it simply, if the state wishes to change the factors that affect where individuals and corporations locate, it will have to expend considerable amounts of manpower and money. This is necessary if a dispersal and/or new communities program that that includes all areas of the state is ever to be successful.

IV. NEW COMMUNITY LEGISLATION IN OTHER STATES

Only a handful of states have entered the field of new communities; and for the most part in a limited fashion. This could be the result of a reluctance by most to enter an area that could require large amounts of money. More likely it is the feeling that such a program can best be handled on the federal level.

Unfortunately, the federal government's Urban Growth and New Community Act is not as extensive as it might be. Presently, the federal government will guarantee bonds, debentures, notes or other obligations issued by private developers and public land development agencies. The guarantee for any one community cannot exceed fifty million dollars.⁵²

Public service grants can also be made available to public land development agencies, or to a state or local body, "in whose jurisdiction a new community falls, to provide essential new community development period not to exceed three years."⁵³ Special planning and supplementary grants are also, at times, given to public and private developers.

Recent State Legislation

Some states are moving to provide at least a framework for new community development. Other states, according to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), provide property tax relief to developers during land assembly. This is done under the provision called "preferential farm assessment" which "allows land that is in the path of urbanization but still in agricultural usage to be assessed at its agricultural value rather than at its market value."⁵⁴

The framework measures include California's law which requires the approval by a local formation commission before a redevelopment agency can proceed with land assembly and planning for a new community. The formation commission is a county-based agency that supervises local governmental boundaries, "including annexation and incorporation proceedings and special district formation."⁵⁵

While Maryland's Community Development Administration (MCDA) is part of a larger department primarily concerned with home financing, it performs some duties that could fall under the category of new community development. For instance the CDA can acquire real property for implementing community development projects. The property is primarily open space or undeveloped land which the state improves through the installation of streets, sewer and water lines and other public facilities.

ties. These projects also include housing accommodations, a substantial portion of which must be for families of limited incomes. The projects can also include commercial, educational, cultural and other facilities of a community nature.

The MCDA can also acquire land for new community projects which is not open or undeveloped. The goal here is to attempt to rehabilitate old structures and to build new ones as the situation demands. This facet of the program is subject to local approval. The MCDA finances its operations through the issuance of revenue bonds which do not constitute a debt of the state.⁵⁶

Arizona and Kentucky have passed similar legislation to facilitate the creation of new towns. Kentucky's New Community Districts Act which was approved in 1970, grants a nonprofit corporation the right to file a petition with the clerk of a county for authorization of a new community district. The corporation must have control "by deed, contract or option, of 75 percent of the land to be included in the district which would contain at least six square miles of contiguous territory." If the county court finds the petition acceptable it can order the establishment of a new community district.⁵⁷

Arizona's 1970 law likewise requires a petition which must be given to the County Board of Supervisors for approval. Some differences from the Kentucky law include the provision that no General Improvement District can be located within six miles of any incorporated city or town unless that city or town consents to the formation of the district.⁵⁸ Arizona also provided for a State Community Development Council within the act that has among its duties the right to approve or reject applications for establishment of General Improvement Districts.⁵⁹

Arizona also gives their Improvement Districts bonding power when there is "a declaration of the necessity for improvements." If a particular improvement or project only involves or benefits a certain area, then only the voters of that area can vote on whether or not to issue bonds. If the improvement benefits the entire area then all of the voters within the district are eligible to vote on the question.⁶⁰

Kentucky tries to promote "private initiative" by exempting all housing restrictions and building codes from the district. This provision attempts to promote both innovation and experimentation for construction of housing. The district can also acquire, through condemnation rights, portions of land within the district for public uses such as schools, roadways, parks, open space and utilities.⁶¹

Otherwise the two laws are similar in that both states require the proposed district to either include a "statement on criteria for a development plan" (Kentucky) or the inclusion of "a comprehensive plan of the proposed development" (Arizona) as one of the stipulations for approval of the district. Each state provides for the election of a Board of Directors or Commissioners to govern the district (although the first board of each new community district in Kentucky is appointed by the governor, thereafter they are elected) with many of the same powers that a municipality would have.

Finally, the districts in both states can become municipalities; in Kentucky when the district reaches a population of at least 3,000 and in Arizona, upon the verification by the County Board of Supervisors of a petition for incorporation. The petition in Arizona has to be signed by at least two-thirds of the real property holders and there must be no fewer than five hundred people in the district.

A General Improvement District in Arizona can also be annexed by a city or town, "if any portion of the exterior boundary of the district is contiguous to a portion of the boundary of an incorporated city, upon the expiration of eight years after the establishment of the district...."⁶²

Yet the most innovative and far-reaching of all of the new community legislation was the creation of the Urban Development Corporation by New York State in April, 1968. This act went beyond providing just a framework for urban development and new communities. It could serve as a model for other states that are facing growth problems that require better solutions than are presently being employed.

The New York State Urban Development Corporation

The Urban Development Corporation (UDC) when created, was charged with improving the physical environment for low and moderate income families by not only developing and financing housing, but by also improving the job opportunities for these income groups. It was created because the efforts by the private sector, in the words of the state legislature, were not sufficient to provide this "healthy" physical environment.

To make it effective, the legislature gave the UDC a considerable list of powers to meet its goals. First of all, its jurisdiction is statewide and over 75 percent of the population of the state live in areas where UDC is actively engaged.⁶³ In these areas UDC has begun or completed construction of 55 housing developments and eight commercial, industrial and civic projects with a total estimated development cost of over \$683 million.⁶⁴

Secondly, the UDC has the power to acquire land by the right of eminent domain ("which is customary and indeed necessary for public development agencies," states Edward J. Logue, the President of the UDC). Logue notes that the corporation has not had to use this power in the first three and one-half years of its existence, although he admits that the knowledge of its potential use was doubtless significant in some of its land acquisitions.⁶⁵

Thirdly, the UDC has the right to overrule not only local building codes but zoning ordinances as well. The latter is included to combat those municipalities that would practice "exclusionary zoning policies." Generally the powers have been used with "avowed or tacit" support of local governments and only rarely, President Logue says, against the opposition of local government and then only after consultation with local officials.⁶⁶

Fourthly, the UDC has the full range of development powers which include the "ability to acquire land, hire architects and engineers, choose builders and developers, arrange subsidies, issue building permits, make mortgage loans, conduct closings and perform other related services including advancing front money for these purposes."⁶⁷ This enables the UDC to reduce development time schedules to less than one-third that of longer established agencies.

Fifthly, the financial resources of the UDC are considerable. Its original bond authorization was for a billion dollars and \$250 million of this was sold in 1971. Another \$250 million are expected to be sold in 1972.⁶⁸ The projects being developed now will exhaust the first bond authorization making it necessary for the corporation to seek another authorization for a second billion dollars.

UDC has also received since 1968, \$12 million in appropriations from the state legislature and another \$55.5 million in interest free loans for "start up" costs.⁶⁹ However, it is intended that UDC will eventually finance all of its basic operations out of income from rents, fees for various services and sale of property from leases and other sources. Another asset of the corporation is that it is exempt from local, real property taxes.

Finally, the UDC has administrative flexibility and the cooperation of other state departments in meeting its responsibilities. Realizing that fast growth can often make a central organization too large and ponderous, the UDC has created subsidiaries where it has a large volume of business. For example, there are two subsidiaries in New York City (one at Welfare Island, and the other in Harlem) and another in Rochester.⁷⁰

Of considerable value is the working relationship the corporation has with other state departments. This was provided for in very clear language that was inserted into the original act. It states, "Upon request of the corporation (the UDC), any state agency is hereby authorized and empowered to transfer to the corporation such officers and employees as it may deem necessary from time to time to assist the corporation in carrying out its functions and duties under this act."⁷¹ Further coordination is promoted by having the state commissioner of commerce, the state superintendent of banks, the state superintendent of insurance and the director of the office of planning coordination as four of the UDC's nine directors.⁷²

The public sector was also given a role in the corporation. The governor appoints a Business Advisory Council to advise and make recommendations to the corporation with respect to development policies and programs and to encourage participation in projects of the corporation by the private sector of the economy, including members of the council and firms and corporations with which they are affiliated."⁷³

Yet it is the corporation's approach toward future growth that could be a valuable lesson for other states debating the merits of such an organization. Presently, UDC is developing three new communities: one in the suburban Buffalo town of Amherst (which will cushion the impact of the new State University of New York at Buffalo campus that should cause rapid growth); Lysander, near Syracuse, which is planned for 18,000 people; and Welfare Island, a "new-town-in-town" in New York City that will also house approximately 18,000 people. Construction on the latter two projects has already begun.

However, this is just a start for UDC. It is proposing a program aimed at placing one-third of the state's population increase of the seventies and eighties and two-thirds of the growth in the nineties in new communities. If accomplished, over two and one-half million people by the year 2000 will be living in communities that presently do not exist.⁷⁴

A closer examination of the New York situation reveals some interesting parallels to the growth problems of Colorado. As of April 1, 1970, 18,190,740 people resided in the Empire State, over eight times the population of Colorado.⁷⁵ Yet, New York's size in land area is only half that of Colorado and its projected population increase for the next three decades could be from two and one-half to three times greater than Colorado's, representing at least five million additional People.⁷⁶

However, New York is similar to Colorado in that the bulk of its population lives and works in a few metropolitan areas. In New York's case this includes: Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica-Rome, Albany-Schenectady-Troy, Binghamton and New York City. Approximately 15.6 million people or about 87 percent of the state's total population reside in these seven metropolitan regions which make up 20 percent of the land space.⁷⁷

These urban centers would also receive the majority of the growth in the decades to come just as will the Front Range receive nearly all of Colorado's future growth. Therefore, New York State is very much concerned with its future population increase; both in the size of this growth and also in the effect it could have on the state if nothing is done to plan for it.

In all the metropolitan areas, except for Binghamton, the growth is following the "contours of the major river valleys and plains" which form a relatively flat corridor that extends across the entire state. This corridor, the UDC reports, contains much of New York's most pleasing scenery and its prize agricultural land.⁷⁸

"If present development patterns continue," the UDC warns, "a map in the next century will show a continuous urban pattern along this long corridor, where the outer rings of each metropolitan center will have interlocked to form a 375 mile chain of basically indistinguishable highways, shopping centers, and housing subdivisions."⁷⁹ While admitting that not all of this development will be bad, the UDC still contends that this pattern will lead to the specter of megalopolis or what they conclude to be "a congested, unattractive, unpleasant, and unworkable environment."⁸⁰

Thus, as unlikely as it may seem, Colorado and New York State face essentially the same problems; a sizable population increase, a threat to scenic and agricultural land, the possibility of continuous strip cities and an untenable environmental situation. However, New York State is taking some definite action to prepare for the future by planning for it.

The thirty-year program mentioned above to house 2.6 million people is of course the primary goal. The major benefits of such a program include not only an orderly and planned growth pattern, but also an enormous saving of land that would be "saved" from sprawl development. The UDC estimates that about 144,000 acres of land could be saved in the '70's alone and over 842,000 acres for the three decades

remaining in the twentieth century. At a saving of \$1,500 per acre this represents a total cost saving of \$1.25 billion between new communities and conventional sprawl development!⁸¹

The program's flexibility will be promoted by dividing it into three, ten year stages. This way at specific points in time the program's scope can be adjusted to a "reevaluated statement of the state's needs." The UDC feels that there must be an opportunity to learn from earlier stages built into the program because of the relatively undeveloped state of new community construction.⁸² Certainly experimentation will be necessary and changes in policies probably inevitable. The corporation feels that a rigidly defined program would not be the best method in pursuing new community development.

UDC has already projected a program to fit the needs of housing a half million people in new communities during the decade of the seventies. These communities, the UDC states, "would vary in size and type according to their location and primary economic purpose."⁸³

An early segment of the program would be devoted to acquisition of some 64 thousand acres to house roughly 5,000 people per square mile (which is similar to the densities of new communities today). UDC claims that a "good proportion of the land would be set aside for parks, recreational areas and greenbelts. The cost they estimate will be roughly \$100 million at an average cost per acre of between \$1,500 and \$1,600. (See Figure 1.) However, this cost would be "more than recovered," according to the corporation, through sale or lease to private developers of the improved land.

The second major outlay in the program would be land improvement and provision of public facilities. Land improvement, UDC says, would consist of "installation of water supply, waste removal and transportation facilities," and would cost an estimated \$573.3 million. The public facilities would include education, protection, public health, recreation areas, and open space and would cost an estimated \$846.9 million. The third major cost would come from administration, planning, design, engineering and feasibility studies. These would cost an additional \$304 million bringing the total cost to the public sector during the seventies to slightly over \$1.8 billion.

The UDC states that a \$1.5 billion bond issue would be needed to cover the public costs for the decade. According to UDC estimates, a cash flow analysis indicated that the program investment is self-liquidating because of the sale of

FIGURE 1

1970'S NEW COMMUNITIES PROGRAM COSTS & PUBLIC FINANCIAL
REQUIREMENTS

500,000 Person Program
(1970 Dollars in thousands)

COST CATEGORY	COST	COST	COST
1. COSTS			
PUBLIC COSTS			
Land		\$100,000	
Land Improvements			
Transportation	\$ 258,500		
Waste	205,000		
Water	<u>110,000</u>		
TOTAL Land Improvement		573,500	
Public Facilities			
Education	607,400		
Community Centers	11,300		
Protection	4,100		
Public Health	89,100		
Public Parks, Rec- reation & Open Space	135,000		
TOTAL Public Facilities		846,900	
Administration, Planning, Design, Engineering, Feasi- bility & Contingency		<u>304,080</u>	
TOTAL Public Costs			\$1,824,480
PRIVATE COSTS			
Housing	4,400,090		
Commercial Facilities	453,000		
Industrial Facilities	784,925		
Churches & Clubs	60,000		
Power Facilities	325,000		
Private Health	25,000		
Private Recreation	30,000		
Administration, Planning Design, Engineering, Feasi- bility & Contingency	<u>1,215,600</u>		
TOTAL Private Costs			<u>7,293,615</u>
TOTAL PROGRAM COSTS			\$9,118,095

Source: Urban Development Corporation, State of New York

land for development (which will provide a surplus), and the completion of public facilities permanently financed through federal, state, and local programs. Thus, the bond issue could be retired gradually beginning in the fourth year with total repayment accomplished in the tenth year.⁸⁴ State purpose funds to be appropriated annually would cover the costs of the rest of the program -- interest payments that are estimated to be \$320 million for the decade.⁸⁵

UDC listed ten initial steps that are necessary to begin a new communities program in the state. They include: (1) legislation for establishment of a state program for new community development; (2) authorization of funds for land acquisition and development; (3) creation of a public development process with maximum involvement by the private sector; (4) establishment of a new communities site selection process; (5) review and coordination of state programs related to new community development; (6) encouragement and sponsorship of research and development of new urban systems and construction technology; (7) assurance of an adequate labor force; (8) incentives for industrial development; (9) management training and finally; (10) federal support of new communities development.⁸⁶

In arguing for legislative approval of this expanded new communities program, the Urban Development Corporation said that the plan was not only desirable, "but feasible, reasonable and practical."⁸⁷ UDC states that there is no "satisfactory alternative" to a new communities program except for conventional sprawl development, and this hardly qualifies as an acceptable alternative. Besides, the corporation concluded, "the total development cost of housing people in new communities is less than...conventional sprawl development."⁸⁸

The lesson for Colorado in this brief summary of the UDC plan is that, proportionally, its growth problems are just as formidable as those of New York State. However, Colorado currently has no mechanism to meet these future demands. A program like the one New York has proposed could serve as a model for Colorado. Whether the model is adopted in its entirety matters little, the goal should be to develop a program that fits the needs of the state.

By now it should be clearly apparent that a "laissez faire" approach to urban development is no longer an acceptable alternative. While the Los Angeles metropolitan area is always used to point up the bankruptcy of unplanned development, the reality is that virtually every urban area in the United States is plagued by it. A consensus must be formed to accept the fact that conventional methods of dealing with growth problems must give way to innovative new approaches, such as the UDC proposal.

It is time, as one man put it, "to design cities as an act of will, rather than as a grand accident." Colorado must accept that along with the fact that the state will shortly be receiving another two million or so people to its borders. It has a responsibility to see that these new arrivals in addition to its existing citizenry are well provided for.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The following conclusions are based on two and one-half months of research. In any study where time prevents a full range of views from being aired, any conclusions given must be presented with some caution. However, the following statements attempt to reflect the preponderance of opinions from both the personal interviews and the material researched.

Conclusions on Population

1. The population of Colorado will continue to grow at a rapid rate above the national average in the next three decades.
2. Barring a successful dispersal policy or some federal population policy, the overwhelming majority of Colorado's growth in both population and employment will be in the Front Range.
3. The state has no moral or legal right to enact population limitation policies anywhere in Colorado. This includes the Denver metropolitan area where it has been suggested that the size of the city be limited. Such a policy would be economically discriminatory and would require a number of unwieldy controls to carry it out. It would set a dangerous precedent in a country that prides itself in the individual's right of mobility. This is not to suggest that development be allowed everywhere in the state. There are some sections of Colorado especially in the mountains that should be protected from all or certain types of development. The possible use of "selected" statewide zoning to protect these areas should be considered.

Conclusions on Rural Colorado and Dispersal

1. Rural Colorado, with the exception of the popular mountain areas, will for the most part continue to decline unless the state and/or the federal governments take extensive action to revitalize it.

2. Until rural revitalization becomes a reality, there can be little hope that there will be dispersal of Colorado's growth. Under the present conditions, it would be unfair to place barriers on industry or individuals desiring to move into the Front Range. Rural Colorado simply does not have the amenities or service in many of its areas to attract and accomodate development. It cannot be expected that an industry or an individual will move to an area that is unable to meet their needs. A rural revitalization program will have to offer a "package plan" of sorts that attempts to deal with many of the needs that effect location. Only then can dispersal be achieved.
3. Dispersal of growth can also be achieved by dispersal of employment opportunities, various amenities, etc.
4. It appears that rural citizens want growth, but not too much and only that which will be "acceptable." Rural Coloradans must accept that they cannot have sizable growth without acquiring some of the problems that are inherent with it.

Better Coordination Among State Agencies Dealing with Growth Problems. The inability of agencies to work together on important issues plagues every level of government. A cursory examination found little evidence of effective interaction among some state agencies grappling with Colorado's growth problems. The Executive Branch is in the most advantageous position to promote better working relationships among departments, divisions and commissions. It is doubtful if coordination will come about without direct, executive leadership.

Regional Planning and Service Authorities Should Be Promoted as Important Tools in Strengthening the Economic Viability of the Non-Metropolitan Sections of Colorado. Regionalism needs more support than it has received in the past in Colorado. Interviews with consultants reveal that many counties pay only lip service to regional planning commissions. It cannot be expected that many of these counties will enthusiastically back regional planning if such an entity draws from the counties' own powers. Yet, if the narrowness

that reflects some of the decision-making on the county level is ever to be eradicated (or at least reduced), the state must promote regional planning and regional service authorities.

Regional service authorities or economic development districts could be very important to the future of much of Colorado, especially the rural areas. The combining or "pooling" of county and municipal fiscal resources could be instrumental in attracting growth to areas that are in need of it. Not only do those areas benefit but also the state from the resulting dispersal.

Regarding New Communities

1. The state needs to develop a new communities program. New communities could combat sprawl, save land, money and lead to a more efficient growth pattern. A comprehensive new communities policy such as the one New York has developed would require a sizable initial outlay by the state. However, such a program if handled successfully, could become self-supporting. The critical issue is the cost to society in terms of money and a lower quality of life if nothing is done and will be far greater than the cost of any new communities program.
2. Additions to existing communities appears to be more feasible than the construction of complete new towns. The state should identify those rural towns that have "growth potential" and consider those for new community additions.
3. If dispersal fails to "balance" Colorado's future growth more evenly, new communities will still be needed for the Front Range. These communities should be planned to accomodate alternative types of transportation. Perhaps a working relationship could be developed between the Regional Transportation District (RTD) and whatever agency that handles new community construction.

The State of Colorado Needs to Design a State Development Plan. New communities can handle only a segment of new growth. The state needs a development plan that integrates all the factors that affect growth. These would include land use and water management policies, rural revitali-

zation, transportation, regional planning, air pollution, energy, minerals, etc. The plan should be flexible enough so alterations could be made when necessary.

Recommendations

In discussing the potential value of a new communities program for Colorado, the need to be concerned with other aspects that relate to the state's growth problem becomes readily apparent. Thus, these recommendations can fall under two groupings: one that is concerned solely with suggesting a possible new community program and the second group that deals with other growth related factors that could be important to the success or failure of a new communities program. All of these recommendations are intended to be viewed as a combined "package" of policies to deal with development and could be further looked upon as part of the framework for a statewide development plan.

Regional Planning. The General Assembly should provide legislation requiring every county and municipality to join a regional planning body. Such legislation could further provide that each development proposed in a county or municipality be reviewed by a regional planning commission before the county commissioners approve or reject such a development (the 1972 General Assembly passed a bill ordering counties to submit preliminary plans from subdevelopers to state and local governmental units for review).

The state could further provide additional funds to regional planning commissions for added staff and expansion of operations. The goal of the state should be to promote regionalism, especially among those counties that are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain an adequate level of services with a declining tax base. Only through attractive surroundings and a decent level of services can a rural county hope to attract growth away from the urban areas. The time has come where a regional system may be the better device to provide for such environmental up-grading.

Rural Development. The Rural Development Commission's study on rural Colorado will produce a much more comprehensive list of proposals than this paper can. Some of the factors that are important in aiding rural revitalization (and could also be important to any new communities or towns that may be placed in rural areas) include:

1. To set up a program to train either general practitioners or para-medics especially for rural areas.

While there is no such program within the University of Colorado Medical Center, tuition breaks are given to those medical students who train for a career as a general practitioner in a rural area. The need for better health care in rural Colorado is imperative if its decline is ever to be reversed. People will most likely not settle in an area that has too few doctors or inadequate health facilities. Certainly large or middle sized corporations take medical care into account as one of the factors in their location. The State of Colorado, combined with the federal government, must design a program to improve rural health care quickly.

2. Expansion of educational resources.

The State Board of Community Colleges and Occupational Education has argued for this need. The board points out that both urban and rural areas of the state "still lag in providing equal opportunity to those who can benefit from post-secondary education, be it an academic transfer program or an occupational program."⁸⁹

The board suggests a strengthening of the community college system by dividing the state into geographic service districts that would provide the post-secondary occupational programs mentioned above. The concept of the plan is to have a community college designated as an area vocational school in each of the districts.⁹⁰

Among their responsibilities, the State Board for Community Colleges and Occupational Education would "be given the authority by the legislature to phase in programs and colleges as the needs arise in the area."⁹¹ This flexibility would enable the state to offer those programs that would reduce the need for an individual to go elsewhere for training. While this program would serve the entire state, its value to rural areas is particularly important.

The board further states that a community college could, "...designate attendance centers within their district which will provide a comprehensive offering of occupational, academic transfer and continuing education as the need is identified in the community college district." The programs could be taught in existing facilities, "such as high schools, four year colleges, business store fronts, etc."⁹² This would avoid a heavy cost outlay for land and construction of buildings.

Also, consideration should be given to the idea of dispersing any additions to Colorado's universities. In New York State and California there are extensive networks of branch campuses of each state university system. Perhaps long range needs will require the same for Colorado's university system, especially since the state's three largest public universities (the University of Colorado, Colorado State University and the University of Northern Colorado) will have enrollment ceilings that they cannot exceed.

Some thought has been given to the use of tuition waivers and other financial aids for students who live in rural areas. The aim, of course, is to get these students to go to one of the community or state colleges in the non-metropolitan areas, thus taking some pressures off the already overburdened state universities.

This policy presently is being used and it is significant that the state appropriation for student scholarships and aid (which are forms of tuition waivers) has risen nearly three million dollars in the last two years.⁹³ A state legislator said, however, that the tuition waiver idea "has not been too successful" while a member of the Joint Budget Committee was only a little more optimistic, by saying that it was too soon to tell whether the idea would work or not.

The problem in attempting to keep rural students from the main campuses was pointed out by Dr. Norman Dodge of the Commission on Higher Education. Dodge said that if a rural student wished to major in a field such as engineering he would have to go to Boulder or Fort Collins out of pure necessity.⁹⁴ Obviously then, tuition breaks alone will not be sufficient. A possible area of study for the Commission on Higher Education could be the elimination of the duplication that exists today with Colorado's higher educational facilities. Instead of a number of colleges and universities competing in certain disciplines, a system of specialization could be developed so that one campus would specialize in some areas while another would specialize in different areas, and so on. This may be totally unworkable, but the elimination of the costly rivalry, that often persists today in Colorado's universities and colleges, seems like an acceptable idea.

The strengthening of rural state colleges or the construction of new four year institutions could also benefit rural communities and the region around them. It is no secret that many industries prefer to settle near a university or college to accommodate their employees in the pursuit of their education. Moreover, the college or university provides a cultural center that is of immeasurable value to a city and a region. Rural areas need the stimulus that a four year institution can provide and perhaps it is time that the state seriously consider the possibility of constructing new four year colleges in rural Colorado or strengthening its existing non-metropolitan state colleges to make them more attractive to the students who are now passing them by.

3. Decentralization of state and federal agencies into rural areas.

Another stimulus to rural Colorado is to place state or federal agencies into rural towns (or possibly in new towns as an initial employment base). The General

Assembly should authorize a study into the feasibility of such a program and encourage the federal government to participate. A member of the state government confessed that many of the state agencies located in Denver could be just as effective in rural areas. However, he continued, many state employees would object to being assigned away from Denver.

The implementation of state and/or federal decentralization could have a side benefit which is generally not considered: the possible easing of tensions or suspicions on the part of some rural residents towards "big" government. The feeling seems to persist that government, state or federal, does not represent or understand rural citizens. The location of an agency in a rural area may alter the opinions that both state employees and local residents have of each other. Perhaps working relationships could be improved. Certainly it would bring various facets of both state and federal government "closer to the people."

These are just three programs that can be considered for rural Colorado; undoubtedly the Rural Development Commission will elaborate on these and suggest many more. The point again of these rather generalized proposals is that growth cannot be expected to locate heavily in rural Colorado without a considerable fiscal and organizational commitment on the part of state government.

STAB--State Technical Action Board. Interaction among state departments is necessary in order to make state government more efficient and effective. The creation of a State Technical Action Board (STAB), made up of department heads and their key assistants to discuss state problems, goals and implement coordinated programs would be a start in securing this interaction.

If new communities legislation becomes a reality the several state departments will be needed to determine the parameters of such a program. To allow a new communities program, or any similar effort, to be designed and implemented by a single department or agency would be irresponsible. Such

program requires all kinds of expertise as the state commands.

However, STAB would cover the whole range of state activities rather than just concentrating on only a few facets. The complexity of government today requires such innovations because programs of one department can have effects on the other. Departments of state government do not work in a vacuum and STAB would help mitigate this tendency that doubtless exists.

The format of STAB should be the concern of the governor or his appointee who would preside over the board's activities. It should meet often enough to assure that each department is fully aware of what the others are doing and attempting to accomplish.

Some studies could be initiated to see if joint actions between departments on certain projects could be initiated (or improved). Surveys could be used to determine whether or not departments are working on similar programs that could be improved by their collaboration. STAB could also be instrumental in shaping and monitoring a state development plan. This board, if handled correctly and entered into in the proper spirit, could promote a camaraderie and a working relationship that would be immeasurably helpful in meeting the intergovernmental problems of the state in the years to come.

Creation of a Boundary Control Commission. A boundary control commission would have the power to create and alter boundaries of municipalities, counties and other political subdivisions. It would also serve as mediator in annexation struggles between cities attempting to annex a common piece of territory. The commission would be valuable in delineating the boundaries of potential new communities. However, its primary aim would be to strengthen the goal of regionalism and areawide government through "rational" boundary decisions.

Creation of an Office of New Communities. An office of new communities should be created and placed within the Department of Local Affairs, but its working relationship would encompass many of the state departments. Its duties should be broad enough to deal with many of the problems that have been discussed in this paper. Its primary goal, however, would be to coordinate the state's role in developing and facilitating new communities. These communities could be either self-sufficient new towns or extensions of existing cities with growth potential.

A single state entity dealing in new community development and construction would be of considerable aid to private developers who often must deal with a number of agencies, each providing a particular type of service or facility. Dowell Naylor, Executive Vice President of Maumelle Land Development, Inc., a new community developer, feels that the state role should extend beyond the elimination of red tape to include particular kinds of analysis that the state can best provide. A developer, he feels, needs a state agency where he may, "secure an analysis of the regional impact that the proposed community may have on the region."⁹⁵ Thus, a new communities office could be of value in not only aiding the developer with various centralized services but also in indicating where growth is and is not practical or desirable.

Some of the possible roles and powers that this office of new communities might have are:

1. A site selection committee.

This committee should attempt to choose areas that lead to the dispersal of future population growth around the state, but which should always be realistic enough to expect that a developer may not wish to make a sizable financial commitment in an area that is far removed from colleges, universities, good medical care, cultural and recreational facilities, etc. Here again the state must disperse these amenities and needs before it can hope to achieve the dispersal of population.

Nevertheless, a site selection committee could still be helpful, if the locations for new communities were reduced to Front Range considerations only. Planned new towns on the Front Range could save many acres of land that are presently being lost to sprawl development. It could also prevent the danger of a strip city that is very possible if unplanned growth continues. In selecting or rejecting sites for future cities, the committee should examine such factors as water, traffic, environmental considerations, local tax structure, nearness to institutions of higher education, land use, etc., in coming to a conclusion.

2. State liaison office for private developers.

While the site selection committee may answer some of the needs of the developer, a liaison office could deal with all of his problems and needs. It is important that governments offer as much help as possible to the developer because of the high stakes that both have in seeing orderly planned communities.

Few people realize the enormous private financial risk when a developer enters the new community field. Often the length of time a developer must wait before he can show a profit runs into years. This can discourage many from making the plunge as Bernard Weissbound, the President of Metropolitan Structures, Inc., stressed at the Princeton University Conference on New Towns. Weissbound confessed that, "Long range investments may not be too attractive for business because the dollars they get fifteen years from now will be less than those dollars invested fifteen years earlier. Therefore, it is unlikely that the business community will become that actively involved in new community development without strong governmental participation."⁹⁶

The liaison center could reflect that "strong governmental participation" by acting as the state clearinghouse for developers on the services that the state offers along with its "minimum requirements" for new community development. The liaison center could also serve as an intermediary between the developer and local officials on whatever problems may arise. It should be sympathetic and understanding of the developer's commitment while always stressing the state's own interests and goals. This office should be crucial in the preliminary development of new communities and in setting up good state-developer relations which are essential.

3. Power to acquire land by condemnation.

This is a power that is available to the New York State Urban Development Corpora-

tion and most other urban renewal type agencies. Such a power will make it easier for the state to purchase land from owners who may try to use it for speculative purposes. If these reluctant owners were made to realize that the state could condemn their land they would be more willing to sell it at an equitable price. While this may seem heavy-handed the need to combat speculative policies regarding land is imperative. This is especially necessary in the Front Range or any area where growth pressures are acute.

4. Power to remove all housing restrictions and building codes.

This power is of course part of Kentucky's New Communities Act and is helpful in encouraging experimentation and innovation in the construction of housing. The Office of New Communities could invoke this power whenever it felt that it could be of value in reducing housing construction costs, or if it could improve the quality of housing. Perhaps the state and the private developer could together determine what modifications on housing restrictions and building codes would be necessary to facilitate development and construction. The goal is, of course, flexibility.

5. Assurances by developers to include parks and open spaces in their design.

While the state can encourage innovation by waiving regulations in one area it must demand commitments from developers for inclusion of other traditional facets of communities such as parklands and open space. The state could provide money for purchase and/or development of these facilities; but if not, the burden must then fall upon the developer.

6. State construction of "infra-structure" needs.

In order to spur on possible reluctant developers, the Office of New Communities

could construct the skeleton needs of a town -- the roads, sewer and water lines, sewage disposal systems, schools and if necessary, aid in setting up police and fire protection. All these actions would be contingent on securing financial assurances from industries and developers to build either factories, office buildings or housing (or all three) for the projected new community.

The Office of New Communities could provide help either to local governments or the developer in securing federal and state grants for the construction of some of these facilities. Dowell Naylor of Maumelle Land Development, Inc., felt that the state should help the developer coordinate and plan the development of these infra-structure needs. That could be an additional point to consider regardless who (the state or the developer) finally constructs these facilities.

7. Tax and resettlement incentives.

An Office of New Communities could have the power to grant tax incentives and moving allowances for individuals, corporations and developers involved in new community developments. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR) has offered some suggestions that may be worth further study.

For low income persons ACIR suggests, "a federal-state program of resettlement allowances for low income persons migrating from labor surplus areas to medium size communities with definite employment opportunities (in this case it could be new communities)." ACIR argues that a combined moving and resettlement payment support would "overcome the impediment to mobility" that often plagues lower income groups.⁹⁷

For developers, ACIR recommends that the state should defer property tax on new community development. Actually, the state would "temporarily reimburse developers for local taxes that they would pay on

property in a new community (which) would ease the financial strain on private developers during the early stages of new community development without undermining the local tax base." As the developer begins to recoup his original investment through sales and appreciation of property he could then pay back the state those deferred costs.⁹⁸

For industry and corporations, tax incentives could be tried -- although it was mentioned earlier in the report that taxes do not appear to be an important factor in where a corporation decides to locate. Perhaps a "tax holiday," where all taxes are waived, could be initiated to divert industry into rural new towns and communities. Under this method a corporation could be given the first few years (the length depends upon the state) as a grace period without any taxation -- a positive incentive for locating in a particular area where growth is desired. Many people, including legislators, would probably dislike such a plan, but if dispersal into less populated, and popular, areas is desired, innovative measures will be necessary.

Tax incentives could also be given to individuals who would be willing to move out of a metropolitan area into a rural new community or expanded existing community. This could come in the form of a waiver of his property tax or state income tax for the first few years. Here again the state, if it wishes, can be as generous as it wants to be in order to achieve dispersal and growth of other areas besides the Front Range.

8. Research and development committee.

Any new community development program will require much experimentation -- simply because it is such a new field. The tax proposals mentioned above would require study as to their effectiveness; so would innovative suggestions on various construction materials and community designs. An Office of New Communities could benefit from such a permanent "laboratory" that could examine

suggestions in these areas for their possible usefulness. Experimentation would attempt to cover every facet of new community development.

Such a committee could be comprised of private interests as well as public. Both sectors will be needed in order to determine what "experiments" will be of the most value in new community planning, design and construction.

9. Personnel and planning.

Finally the UDC's power to "borrow" employees from other state departments would be necessary to the success of an Office of New Communities in Colorado. With expertise required in areas ranging from highways to housing and from health to education, this office must be able to utilize personnel from other state departments. Also, the UDC's Business Advisory Council concept would be applicable for Colorado. The need for input from the private sector cannot be stressed enough.

As for planning, the volatile nature of new community development would probably make it necessary to alter plans frequently. Planning should be very flexible and extensive reviews of the program should be undertaken from time to time to see if changes are required. The possibility of mistakes should be accepted as customary for any program fraught with uncertainties.

A State Bond Bank Should be Created. Such a program as the one outlined above will cost money. The need for a financial arm is necessary if the state wishes to take an active role. The question is how should such an extensive program be financed? Should it come primarily out of the General Fund or through the issuance of revenue bonds? That is a question best left up to the General Assembly and/or the Governor, if and when the basic tenets of the program should ever be approved. As it stands now there might be a need for a constitutional amendment to make a Bond Bank proposal legal in Colorado.

The amount of the bond issue will depend on the extent of the new communities program. If the state should

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Colorado, Environmental Commission, Colorado: Options for the Future, Final Report, (March, 1972), p. 9.
- 2 Ibid., p. 1.
- 3 Ibid., p. 12.
- 4 Ibid., p. 7.
- 5 Colorado Legislative Council, Colorado Population Projections, (June 21, 1972), p. 2-3. These figures are from two population studies; one prepared by the Denver Regional Council of Governments (DDRCOG) and the other by Wilbur Smith and Associates, for the Colorado Department of Highways. DRCOG, in examining the high level of in-migration determined that the area of favorable economic performance and physical attractiveness were primarily responsible. They concluded that the rate of in-migration would probably remain constant or increase slightly in the next thirty years.
- Smith and Associates cautioned that while Colorado's population growth due to natural increase would probably decline slightly, the state's large percentage of young persons would be (for the most part) forming households and would probably have families. Thus the population gain due to natural population increase should taper only slightly.
- 6 Colorado Legislative Council, Population Changes and Projections for Colorado, (June 25, 1971), p. 4.
- 7 Colorado Rural Development Commission, A Position on Policy for Growth and Development, Special Interim Report, (February, 1972), p. 6.
- 8 Colorado Environmental Commission, Colorado: Options for the Future, Final Report, (March, 1972), p. 62.
- 9 Colorado Legislative Council Committee on Balanced Population Growth, Minutes, Appendix B, July 30, 1971, pp. 2-3.
- 10 State Representative Richard D. Lamm, An Alternative Future for Colorado, p. 7.
- 11 Colorado, Department of Labor & Employment, Colorado Manpower Review, Volume IX, Number 4, (Denver, 1972), p. 3.

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- 1 Colorado, Environmental Commission, Colorado: Options for the Future, Final Report, (March, 1972), p. 9.
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- 10 State Representative Richard D. Lamm, An Alternative Future for Colorado, p. 7.
- 11 Colorado, Department of Labor & Employment, Colorado Manpower Review, Volume IX, Number 4, (Denver, 1972), p. 3.

- 12 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Number of Inhabitants - United States Summary - 1970 Census of Population, p. 20.
- 13 Ibid., p. 59.
- 14 Ibid., p. 32.
- 15 U.S., Domestic Council, Committee on Natural Growth, Report on National Growth, p. 17.
- 16 Ibid., p. 15.
- 17 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Number of Inhabitants - United States Summary - 1970 Census of Population, p. 31.
- 18 Ibid., pp. 32, 34.
- 19 Ibid., p. 70
- 20 Colorado, Rural Development Commission, Toward a Better Life, (January, 1972), p. 1.
- 21 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports; No. 37, Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population in Metropolitan and Non-metropolitan Areas, (June 24, 1971), p.1.
- 22 Colorado, Legislative Council, Population Changes and Projections for Colorado, (June 25, 1971), p. 3.
- 23 Colorado, Rural Development Commission, Toward a Better Life, (January, 1972), p. 1.
- 24 U.S., National Goals Commission, Toward Balanced Growth, p. 38. This median figure could be adjusted if fertility rates continue to decline.
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- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., p. 41.
- 28 Ibid., p. 44
- 29 Colorado, Environmental Commission, Final Report, Colorado: Options for the Future, (March, 1972), p. 9.

- 30 Ibid., p. 49.
- 31 U.S., National Goals Commission, Op. Cit., p. 44.
- 32 Ibid., p. 40.
- 33 Final Report, Colorado, Environmental Commission, Colorado: Options for the Future, (March, 1972), p. 52.
- 34 Ibid., p. 53.
- 35 Interview with Prof. William Howard; June 27, 1972. Prof. Howard also mentioned the attempts of Great Britain and France to redistribute their populations. Neither country however has been able to prevent their largest cities from increasing in size.
- 36 Interview with Hank Perry, Consultant for the Johns-Manville Corporation, July 10, 1972.
- 37 Interview with George Nez; Land Use Director, Federation of Rocky Mountain States, Inc., June 21, 1972.
- 38 Colorado Legislative Council, Committee on Balanced Population Growth, Minutes, (October 20, 1971, p. 2.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Final Report, Colorado, Environmental Commission, (March, 1972 p. 15.
- 41 Ibid., p. 24.
- 42 Interview with Hank Perry, Consultant for the Johns-Manville Corporation, July 10, 1972.
- 43 Colorado, Legislative Council Committee on Balanced Population Growth, Minutes, (July 30, 1971), p. 4.
- 44 Interview with C. J. Kuiper, State Engineer, Division of Water Resources, (July 10, 1972).
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- 46 Letter from Robert Schafer, Former State Representative, July 7, 1972.

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p. 221.
- 72 Ibid., Book 65, Part 1, Section 6254, P. 200.
- 73 Ibid.
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- 80 Ibid., p. 15.
- 81 Ibid., p. 59.
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THE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

The preceding report was completed by a WICHE intern during the summer of 1972. This intern's project was part of the Resources Development Internship Program administered by the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE).

The purpose of the internship program is to bring organizations involved in community and economic development, environmental problems and the humanities together with institutions of higher education and their students in the West for the benefit of all.

For these organizations, the intern program provides the problem-solving talents of student manpower while making the resources of universities and colleges more available. For institutions of higher education, the program provides relevant field education for their students while building their capacity for problem-solving.

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