

FORT MCMURRAY:
ONE OF CANADA'S RESOURCE
FRONTIER TOWNS

BY

JAMES NWANNUKWU KERRI

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DEDICATED TO:

REV. WALTER AND MRS. BARBARA McLEAN AND FAMILY --

GREAT CANADIANS WHOM I ADMIRE

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James Nwannukwu Kerri
Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg
Canada
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements.	
Table of Contents.	
Figure I Map of Province of Alberta.	18
Figure II Map of Town of Fort McMurray.	21
Figure III Line of Authority Graph.	42
 <u>Chapter One: Introduction</u>	 1
-Objectives and Framework for Analysis	1
-Relationship to Existing Literature and Research	
-Methodology.	
-Definition of Basic Terms.	
 <u>Chapter Two: The Town's Physical and Historical Development.</u>	 17
-Introduction.	
-Location, Climate and Vegetation.	
-Physical Layout of the Town.	
-Population.	
-History of the Town.	
-History of the Town's Local Government.	
-Reflections on the Historical Trends.	
 <u>Chapter Three: A Description of Three Fort McMurray Institutions</u>	 33
-The Economic Situation.	
-The Political Structure of the Community	
(a) Local Government Administration.	
(b) Provincial and Federal Government Departments and Agencies.	
-Voluntary Associations.	
 <u>Chapter Four: Relationship Analysis and Summary Conclusions.</u>	 71
-The Economy and Population Growth.	
-The Economy and the Town's New Political Status.	
-The Economy and Local Government Finance.	
-Voluntary Associations in Seven Functional Roles.	
-Summary Conclusion.	
 -Appendixes	 97
-Bibliography	103

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVES AND FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS:

This thesis is based on the study of the town of Fort McMurray in Alberta as one of Canada's Resource Frontier Towns. This study covers mainly the years 1963 to the summer of 1969. However, events preceding this period will be referred to as necessary background material. The principal focus of this thesis is to show that there is a relationship between:

1. The economic situation -- one of a predominantly single industrial enterprise -- in Fort McMurray which evolved as a result of the presence of the tar sands and the plant
2. The political structure of the community
and
3. The types and activities of selected voluntary associations in the town.

In other words, the thesis intends to show the

interdependency and interrelationships of the town's three institutions, namely: the economic, political and the voluntary associations.

To do this the following framework for analysis and presentation has been adopted. The first part (i.e. chapter two) deals with the historical and physical features of the town. This will consist of a historical account of the emergence of the town and the development of its local government, and a description of the spatial layout of the town. The second part, which appears as chapter three, is devoted to an analysis and description of the community and a sample of the voluntary associations in the town. The third part, which appears as part of chapter four, deals with the structural and functional relationships between the three institutions discussed in the second part. Here the emphasis is on those aspects of these institutions that derive from and are dependent and related to one another. That is, given the economic situation, what can be said about the type of political structure and voluntary associations that emerged in the town. The fourth part, which appears at the end of chapter four, is a summary of the arguments presented.

RELATIONSHIP TO EXISTING LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

This particular project is part of a broad and long term programme of the Center for Settlement Studies of the University of Manitoba. The Center's programme deals with the study of single enterprise communities in Canada's Resource Frontiers, and is aimed principally at (i) identification of factors influencing life in such communities and (ii) designing of specific projects within this area. Under this programme, various projects are at present in progress or nearing completion. Dr. John S. Matthiasson, an Assistant Professor of Anthropology, under whom the field work for this thesis was carried out, has several projects in which he is attempting to analyse single enterprise communities to test this principle.

However, there are other research projects being done outside the Center that are related generally to the present thesis. Ira M. Robinson (1962) provides a good summary of the study of towns on Canada's Resource Frontier up to 1962. He maintains that one of the most distinctive features of Canada's settlement

pattern has been the creation of completely new towns, located beyond the settled areas of the south, each built around a single resource-based industrial enterprise.

Robinson traces the development of the concept of new towns on Canada's Resource Frontier. During the world wars and shortly afterwards, resource development in Canada tended to follow the line of expansion of existing industries and hence the towns around which these industries are found. However, from 1950 the emphasis has shifted gradually to the development of previously unexploited resources in the North; because of the discovery of new resources in several places. Notable among these was the discovery of an economic way of extracting oil out of the tar sands around Fort McMurray. Most of the towns sprang up in places where there was nothing before or where there were only sparsely settled and unorganized settlement. Therefore, there arose in these places the need to provide for the building and construction of new towns to accommodate the workers and their families, as well as all those who found themselves there, either as part of the service industry or as part of the governmental

agencies. About 46 such new towns came into being between 1945 and 1957, and each were built around a resource-based industrial enterprise (1962:1-3).

At the beginning, most of these settlements consisted of camp and bunk houses and attracted mostly the unskilled and unattached males. Later, however, due to increases in the need for more permanent employees and more qualified and skilled personnel, more permanent towns were built and were operated mostly as company towns where the single enterprise acted as landlord, town council and sole employer. This meant that the employees were substantially dependent on the company for the satisfaction of most of their needs. As the need for more specialized and skilled personnel increased, due to the emergence of larger and more complex industries, the towns that emerged, had to provide facilities that would attract workers who are used to the towns and urban areas of the south. This newer set of employees were no longer easily satisfied or attracted by company towns, as they wanted made available to them all the facilities and services they used to enjoy in the southern cities and towns. The company towns also exhibited poor labor-

council-employer relations because the company ran most of the facilities. These problems acted to stimulate both the company and the government to realize the need for the planning of such communities.

This realization has led to the planning and building of such towns as Fort McMurray, "to house skilled workers and their families who will expect not only to be well paid and participate in responsible local government, but also to be supplied with housing accommodations, shopping facilities, and other urban amenities comparable to those they were used to in towns and cities in the south" (Robinson 1962:6). It is in the mainstream of such demands and policies that the town of Fort McMurray grew up, starting especially from 1963. Robinson (Ibid.) was also quick in pointing out, that although most of these towns are built as "model" communities they each came into being at their present level purely and simply as an economic necessity. This is also true of Fort McMurray.

In another instance Oswald Hall (1957:243), writing on Elliot Lake in Ontario, maintains that the local people in this single enterprise mining town, were not taking advantage of the aids available from the political

centers and that the political centers were not doing much to bridge this gap. This point bears relevance to the case of Fort McMurray, where, conversely, the people are highly aware of what they can get the provincial government to do for them and where the provincial government has been showing considerable interest in the progress and planning of the town.

Edward Derbyshire (1960:72) provides some further insight into the study of single enterprise communities. He carefully points out the relative instability of such settlements as well as the existence of an internal association among some of the residents. These residents are those who expect that a more defined social structure will emerge as the town acquires more stability within its population.

The Queen's University Institute of Local Government Report prepared for the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (1953:1-3), is another contribution to the study of single enterprise communities in Canada. The report lists what it considers to be the characteristics of single enterprise communities in Canada, and to account for how these characteristics differentiate these communities from the general run of Canadian towns.

The main feature of such towns is the predominance of the major industry and the dependency of the towns on such industries. However, the report states that the once all-powerful paternalistic company dictatorships, common to the history of single enterprise communities in the first three decades of the present century, have all vanished. The causes are multifold but among them may be mentioned the counter-balancing power of the labor unions, the church, the provincial government, and also the impersonal nature of the present day large-scale industrial corporation in which ownership is separated from management. This does not mean, as will be seen in the case of Fort McMurray, that these companies are no longer powerful, but that their influence has been checked by these countervailing forces (1953:251-53).

The above references are, however, only a selective review, for there are many more studies that have been omitted mainly because the thesis is brief and is not intended to be a survey of the studies done in this area. Rather the emphasis here is on the town of Fort McMurray.

METHODOLOGY:

The data obtained for this study were substantially collected through field work in Fort McMurray and an earlier visit to Edmonton, the provincial capital of Alberta. This field trip was aimed at a much wider and broader programme than the topic of this thesis. Here, therefore, only those aspects of the field work that are related to the theme of this thesis will be specifically spelled out. There are four such aspects.

The first has to do with my stay in Edmonton. The time spent in Edmonton amounted to approximately seven working days. This period was spent mainly trying to collect documented account of the historical evolution of Fort McMurray and its local government. Much of the data obtained in this respect came from government departments and agencies, especially the Department of Municipal affairs, which at the time had two of its senior administrative officers as members of the administering body of Fort McMurray.

A second aspect of my field work involved formal interviews. In relation to the theme of the present thesis, the following aspect of this part of my field

work is relevant. I had six formal interviews with the heads of six different voluntary associations. In addition, I had an interview with the whole of the executives of one of these six voluntary associations. In each of these interviews I asked questions to obtain the following information:

1. When was the association formed?
2. Who was responsible for the formation and initial idea?
3. What were the activities since it was formed?
4. What were the objectives?
5. What is the organizational structure?
6. What is the membership like over the period it has been in existence?
7. What are the sources of finance?
8. What is the association's relationship to other units of the same sort or to any other units within or outside the town?

I also had six interviews with six members of the town's board of administration. In each of these interviews, I was interested in finding out the following:

1. How the member got into the board?
2. What organization he represents or what type of work he does?
3. What his activities within the board has been?
4. What his relationship to other units are?

In another direction, I interviewed the Secretary-Treasurer of the town and four officers working under him. In this connection, I wanted to find out the following:

1. The organizational structure of the local government and its functions.
2. The relationship of the local government to the great Canadian Oil Sands, the provincial government agencies and other units in the town.

Formal interviews were also held with heads of seven provincial and federal governmental departments in the town, to find out the following:

1. The activities and functions of these

departments.

2. The people to whom they direct their services.
3. Their relationship to other units in the town.

In still another direction, four formal interviews were held with executives at the Great Canadian Oil Sands Ltd., the Athabasca Realty, the Catalytic and the Empire Development Ltd., to find out the following:

1. The organizational structure of these units.
2. The type of economic activities and services involved.
3. Their relationship to other units in the town.

In carrying out these formal interviews, each person interviewed is regarded as a unit of interview and in some instances were spoken to formally on more than one occasion. Usually most of the interviews lasted for over one hour and were held either in offices or over coffee, etc.

A third aspect of my field work had to do with the collection of available reports and related documents of both governmental and non-governmental agencies including voluntary associations. This was done very extensively although in certain cases permission was not granted and therefore data was not obtained. In some cases only restricted access was granted. For instance, only the terminated personnel files of the major industrial enterprise were made available. On the other hand, all the minutes of the meetings of the town board of administration were made available. Also, the voluntary associations were very helpful in allowing me access to their files and minutes.

The fourth aspect of my field work had to do with living in the community for four months as a participant observer, interacting with the people and attending a variety of events and celebrations. These usually took on the average of six hours a day and in some cases I had gone with them for a whole weekend of continuous and uninterrupted interaction. This role as a participant-observer, was an important research tool as it enabled me to see the town both as an insider as well as an outsider.

DEFINITION OF BASIC TERMS:

A few of the terms and concepts used are here defined. Others will be defined, to show the sense in which they are being used, as they appear in the text itself.

Although there is no consensus over the definition of the term "community", yet it appears commonly in the literature of various disciplines; especially those of sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics, and political science. Hillery (1955; 111-123) summarizes most of the attempts made at defining this term and tries to ascertain the extent of agreement and disagreement. He concludes that the majority of the definitions include the following as important elements of a community: area, common ties and social interaction. Community is, therefore, for the purpose of this paper defined as a social unit or units put together and consisting of persons in social interaction within a geographic area and having one or more additional common ties. Following this a "single enterprise community", is defined as any social unit that is predominantly dependent on one major industrial concern for its survival and

maintenance on that level of social development.

A sociological definition of the concept of voluntary association will be adopted here. In the sense in which it is used, it is defined as "any private group, voluntarily and more or less formally organized, joined and maintained by members pursuing a common interest, usually by means of part-time, unpaid activities" (Laskin 1962:7). It must be pointed out, however, that it is difficult to draw a clear line of distinction between a voluntary and non-voluntary association, because every association has some element of volition in it. Here, this concept will be limited to all those associations as defined, that are predominantly voluntary. A more detailed review of the literature on the structure, function and typologies of voluntary associations is given in the third chapter. Here however, it must be mentioned that the thesis has added another dimension to the role of voluntary associations--that of mediation. How this mediating role has emerged in Fort McMurray voluntary associations is given some considerations.

Following Marion Levy (1952:389) economic allocation is defined as the distribution of the goods and services making up the income of the social unit of Fort McMurray and of the goods and services making

up the output of this social unit among its various members and among this social unit and other social units with which it is in contact. From the same source (Ibid.:468), political allocation is defined as the distribution of power over, and responsibility for the actions of the various members of the social unit concerned--and in this case the members of the town of Fort McMurray.

CHAPTER TWO: THE TOWN'S PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION:

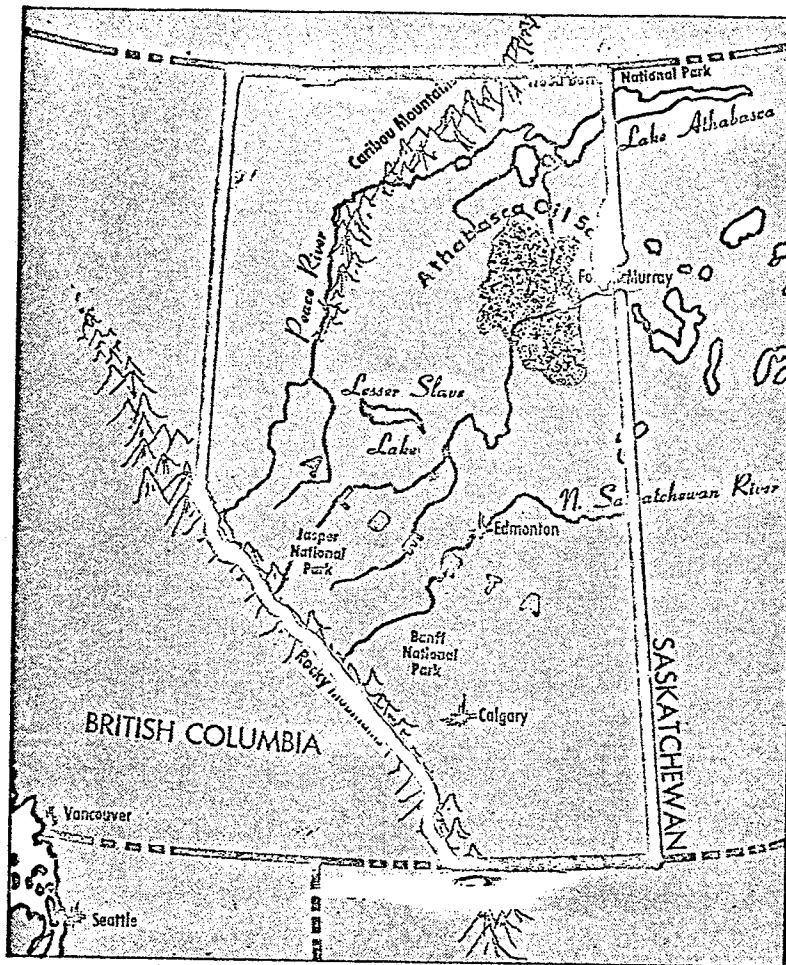
The town of Fort McMurray was relatively unknown to many people a few years ago, despite the presence of the rich resources provided mainly by the tar sands. From this relative isolation, it suddenly burst into prominence during the latter part of the first half of the last decade, due to the establishment of the Great Canadian Oil Sands' plant twenty miles north of the town. It is this sudden development and the consequent growth of the town that led to our interest in this community.

LOCATION, CLIMATE AND VEGETATION:

Located in the Province of Alberta in Canada, Fort McMurray is at the confluence of the Athabasca and Clearwater Rivers, and is approximately 260 miles northeast of Edmonton, (Alberta's provincial capital), 50 miles west of the Saskatchewan border,

FIGURE I *

Map of the Province of Alberta showing the location of the Town of Fort McMurray.



* Adapted from The Oil and Gas Journal, October 23, 1967.

and 220 miles south of Alberta's northern border (Wisembaker 1968:6).

The climate is characterised by a transition from the prairie to the northern climatic regions. The summers are pleasantly warm. The average daily temperature in July fluctuates from 60 to 65 degrees Fahrenheit throughout. The amount of precipitation, much of which falls in the warm season, places the area in the subhumid to dry region. Average annual precipitation ranges from 14.0 to 17.3 inches (Field Notes--see also Appendix I). The town is surrounded by a vegetation region that is classified by the Department of Lands and Forests, as the "Green Zone". Muskeg, slough and swamp growth cover a large part of the area on the second prairie level plain. In the river valleys and on well-drained hillsides, heavy growth of poplar, spruce and jackpine is common.

PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF THE TOWN:

The town is bounded on the west, north and east by two rivers: the Athabasca and the Clearwater; and on the south by steep slopes rising 200 feet above

the valley floor. The development of the town, covering a significant area of the valley, falls into three main clusters (See Figure II):

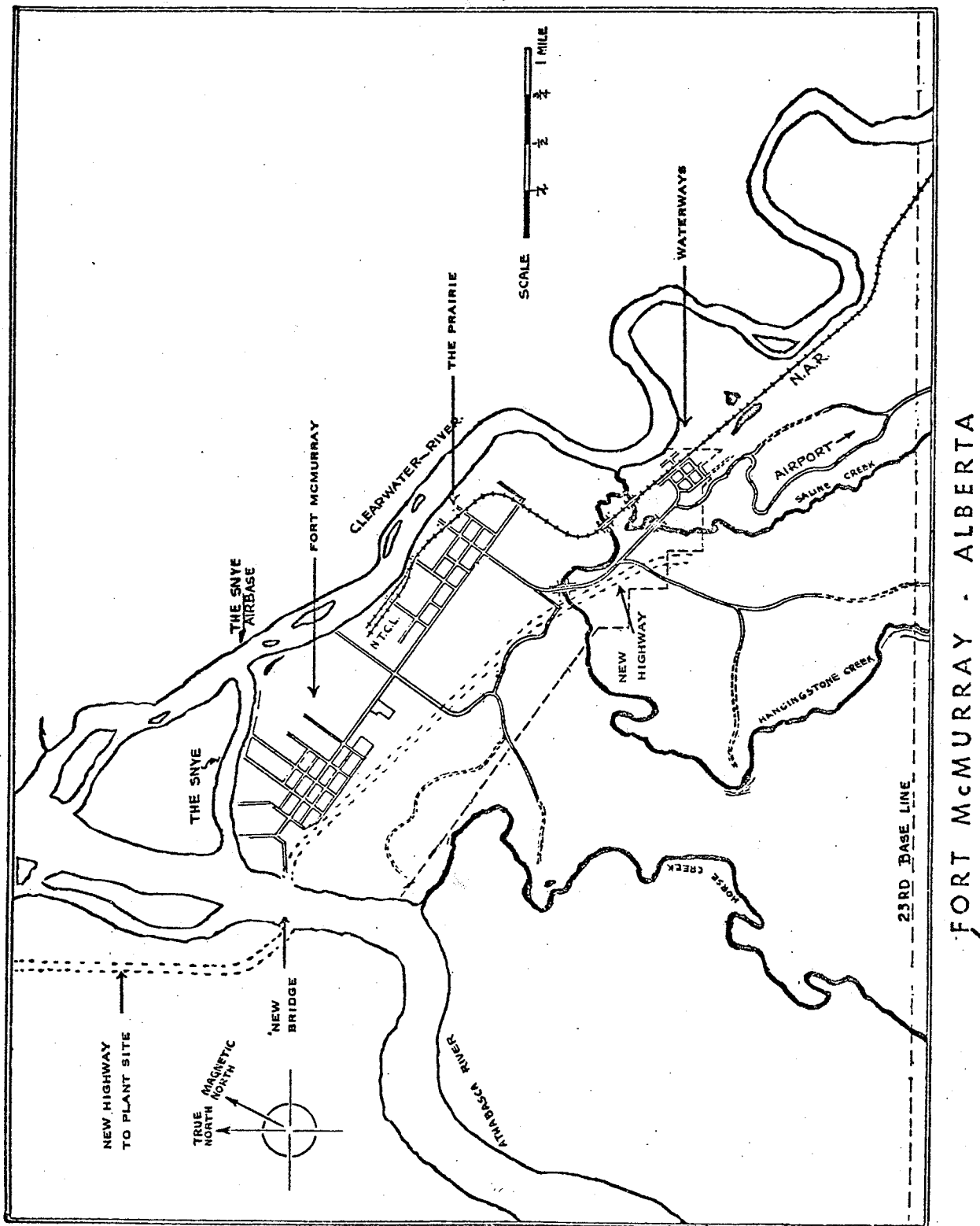
1. the northwest
2. the southwest
3. the prairie.

At the northwest is the original settlement containing the largest population concentration and two, the old and the new, commercial centres as well as a set of poor dilapidated buildings and shacks where most of the low income or unemployed Indians and Metis find accommodation, or simply squat on Crown Land. The northwest is an area where modernization contrasts sharply with the slum.

At the southeast is the smaller settlement of Waterways, which, before its amalgamation with Fort McMurray a few years ago, was a separate village. The southeast has the railroad station, a number of old fashioned houses, shacks and shops and a fish packing plant.

The distance between the northwest and the southeast sections of the town is about three miles.

FIGURE II *
Map of the Town of Fort McMurray.



* Adapted from Survey of Fort McMurray prepared by the Government of Alberta, Department of Industry and Development, August: 1965.

Midway between these two ends is the dock area on the Clearwater River, where warehouses and barge facilities are found at the end of the rail tracks. This area, locally known as the Prairie, a name that has been associated with it because it is the most flat area of the town and the area where the wind usually is most easily felt by the pedestrians, also has a transportation company, some offices, stores, school buildings and a loose collection of houses. Spreading from the northwest into the Prairie and slightly extending into the southeast, is a set of modern accommodations (houses, duplexes, apartment blocks and trailers) built by the Athabasca Realty, a company set up by the Great Canadian Oil Sands, to take care of the housing needs of its employees and those in its affiliated companies. On the whole, the town covers a total area of 2,535.18 acres with approximately 712.4 acres of developed area.

POPULATION:

Who then lives in these 712.4 acres of Fort McMurray developed area? The most recent population figure for the town are based on the December 1968--

January 1969 census conducted by the Town's Council. This census gives Fort McMurray a total population of 5,930 people. A breakdown of the total on the basis of sex, age, occupation, employment and marital status is given in Appendix II. Here, however, let it suffice to say that the population of the town from its inception, has always been on the increase, but never, in its almost one hundred years of existence, has it grown as it did with the coming of the Great Canadian Oil Sands, between the years 1963 and 1967. Table I shows the population figures and increases from 1951 to 1968.

TABLE I
POPULATION GROWTH FOR THE TOWN
OF FORT McMURRAY^a

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1951	926
1956	1110
1961	1186
1964	1804
1968	5930

^aSource: Alberta Department of Industry and Development.

Two factors account for the population growth in this town: migrations and growth through natural increases (excess of births over deaths). The historic economic importance of the town as a centre for fur trading and water transportation accounts for the gradual movement of people into the town from the villages and settlements in the Athabasca region. However, within the last few years, the high rate of migrations to the town from within the province and also from other parts of Canada, United States and overseas started in 1964, when the Great Canadian Oil Sands began its surveys for the establishment of the plant. The establishment of almost 1,000 permanent employees at the plant (Great Canadian Oil Sands 1969 interviews), who came with their families or brought their partners, added tremendously to the increase caused by earlier migrations of construction workers, in a more permanent fashion. Increase in businesses and in types and number of governmental departments and agencies during this period also added to the growth. From January 1964 to June 30, 1969, there were a total of 755 births registered in the town and a total of only 101 deaths (the annual death and birth rates are shown in detail in Appendix

III). These figures show a large gap between the birth rate and death rate and account for growth through natural increase (Fort McMurray Agent for the Bureau of Statistics 1969:Interview).

One of the major affects of the sudden rise in population was the increased demands for public utilities and services, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. The most immediately felt demands had to do with water supply, electricity and gas, sewage and paved streets, a highway connecting the town to Edmonton in the south, and an expanded airport and air service. An all-weather highway started late in 1964, was completed in 1966 and during the summer of 1969; starting from the town and extending south, a total of 25 miles of this road was tarred. A new airport terminal building was quickly completed in 1964 with a hard surface runway 6,000' x 150' and radio and weather aids. In addition to improved and expanded telephone, rail, electricity and gas services, the years 1964 to 1967 also saw the construction of many streets and avenues within the town limits. Two sewage lagoons, one at each end of the town, each

with outfall lines to serve a population of 5,000 meant that there are sewage facilities to accommodate 10,000 people (Department of Industry and Development 1965). All these innovations and expansions were therefore a result of the increase in population, as a consequence of the economic situation created by the establishment of the plant.

HISTORY OF TOWN:

Settlement in the area surrounding the community that is today referred to as Fort McMurray, began in 1790. Of course, before this time the area had been traversed by early explorers and fur traders, (Fort McMurray Town Council undated:1). It was in 1788 that Peter Pond, a fur trader and explorer of the Northwest Company, had spotted the Indians caulking their canoes with the tarry oil that oozed out of the sand. Later, in 1790, Peter Pond established a settlement at the point where the Clearwater River joins the Athabasca River, and called it the "Fort of the Forks". In 1821, the Fort was taken over by the Hudson's Bay Company when this company was

amalgamated with the Northwest Company. It remained so until 1840 when a smallpox epidemic, which reduced the local Indian population, forced the Hudson's Bay Company to close it down (Moir 1963:11).

In 1870, after 30 years of abandonment, the Fort was rebuilt by the Hudson's Bay Company at a location fairly close to the present business district. The task was undertaken by H. J. Moberly of the Hudson's Bay Company, who named the Fort after J. D. McMurray of the same company. From that time on, the settlement became known as Fort McMurray. At that time all the freight coming into the McMurray region was brought north from Edmonton to Athabasca landing, and then conveyed in scows down the Athabasca River to Fort Chipewyan. During this period and early 1900s, fur trading was the principal activity in the Fort McMurray area; and to this day, furs are still being bought and sold at Fort McMurray (Moir 1963:11, Gessel:correspondence, and Fort McMurray Town Council undated:2).

Fort McMurray is also noted as a "boom" town. Jack Peterson (1929) recalls the wild real estate boom at Fort McMurray immediately prior to the First World War as a result of the discovery of vast

deposits of bituminous sands. Individual lots, which previously were of no value, were sold at over \$1,000 each. Later, when the excitement and speculations caused by this discovery died down, lots, which were bought for \$15,000 were being sold for taxes at the rate of \$8.00 a lot. The cost of transportation prohibited any immediate idea of an economically feasible way of exploiting the sands. The local population and the migrants returned to their old occupations of fishing, trapping and trading with emphasis still on furs. Another very short-lived boom came as a result of the discovery of salt deposits. This resource was also found at the time to be uneconomically exploitable and so was abandoned.

During the period, 1925-1929, the coming of the railway caused another flurry. However, to the disappointment of the residents, it was discovered that the rail head was to be at Waterways because this location provided the necessary link with water transportation to the Arctic. Before and after the Second World War, Fort McMurray had also served as the air base for western Canada. This

base was manned by many American military personnel and their presence for sometime boosted business in the town (Field Notes).

With the increased interest in the oil sands in the 1950s and with the later discovery of an economically feasible way of extracting the oil, Fort McMurray faced its most successful boom which came with the construction and establishment of the plant. This last boom practically put the town on its present level of growth.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

Local government in Fort McMurray started in 1947. Before this time, it was being administered directly by the provincial or federal governments or, as was the case before the Confederation, under the charter of one or more of the trading companies. It was on May 15, 1947, that a ministerial order authorized the creation of the village of Fort McMurray. Shortly thereafter, a nominating meeting held on the 23rd of May, 1947, led to the election of the town councillors, and to the holding of the first meeting of the council at the beginning of June, 1947

(Department of Municipal Affairs Gazette, May 15, 1947). Fort McMurray remained under village status for a brief period. On January 15, 1949, it became a town by a proclamation dated the same day. The village council took over as the town council until March of the same year when a new election was held to elect a mayor and six councillors (Government of Alberta Proclamation, 1949).

Fifteen years later, in 1964, the town was converted into a "new town status" by an Order in Council of the Government of the Province of Alberta (dated June 12, 1964). By this act, the town of Fort McMurray became known as the New Town of Fort McMurray (Alberta Government Gazette June 30, 1964). The implications of the new town status are mainly financial, as by this new status the council's borrowing limits for capital development are increased to enable the town to get funds for development during a period of unusual expansion--unusual in the sense that the development and expansion for the town came rapidly because of the establishment of the Great Canadian Oil Sands' plant and the upsurge of population that this brought to the town. However, since most of the funds came from the provincial

government or were guaranteed by them, the town came under a board of administration which replaced the town council. This board is composed of two members from the provincial government and two members from the residents of the town who are appointed by the provincial government in consultation with the town.

During 1968, the board was expanded to include three more members; thereby increasing its total membership to seven. Two were still appointed by the provincial government. The other five were elected. The first election took place in October 1968 under this new arrangement. Despite the expansion, however, the town was still to be guided by a body of provincial ministers, acting as the highest advisory board to the town, connecting the town to the provincial government,

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORICAL TRENDS:

The historical background of Fort McMurray indicates that there is a connection between the political development of the town and its economic potentials. This is due in large part to the town's economic significance in three areas:

1. water transportation
2. fur trading
3. oil sands production.

In the first place, its significance as a fort in the 1800s was due largely to the fact that it was situated at a point from where explorers and traders sailed down the Athabasca River to the coast. Other settlements in the region that were not significant as a port did not attain this status, at the time. As a regional centre for water transportation, it became more prominent because the fur trading activities in the area added to its economic dimension and its political significance as a fort. It remained so for a long time until the discovery of the oil sands which added another dimension to its economic importance. The political consequence of this later economic stride is evident by the town's attainment of "village" status in 1947, "town" status in 1949 and finally "new town" status in 1964. Its continuous growth since then is also accounted for on the same basis as the succeeding chapters will further explore.

CHAPTER THREE: A DESCRIPTION
OF THREE FORT McMURRAY INSTITUTIONS

The emphasis in this section is on a structural-functional description of three separate but related social aspects of the town. These are:

1. the economic structure
2. the political structure
3. voluntary associations.

These three aspects were chosen mainly for two reasons. First, the nature of a single enterprise community as indicated above, implies among other things, that a local government unit, here referred to as a community, is economically dependent mainly on a major industry for survival at that level of growth. This dependence is a basic factor for designating any community as being one of a single enterprise. Secondly, the historical line of development of the town indicates a close connection between the economic importance of the town and its political evolution. This has been mentioned above in the last subsection of the preceding chapter. The concept of voluntary association is introduced here because it draws its

distinguishing characteristics from the economic and political structures as well as relating these two aspects especially in its mediating role. All these are further elaborated in the text.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION:

The Province of Alberta at its northeastern part, some 250 miles north of Edmonton, its provincial capital, is estimated to contain some 626 billion barrels of oil in the Athabasca oil sands, which extend over 30,000 square miles. These oil reserves are said to be equal to half the world's known conventional oil accumulations; which were recently estimated at 1.3 trillion barrels (Athabasca Adventure, July 1968).

The first mention of the Athabasca oil sands was made by Peter Pond in 1788 (see above), but it was not until towards the end of the last century, that the Canadian Geological Society conducted a survey to determine how much oil sands were available along the Athabasca. In 1897 the sands were drilled for the first time. From 1939 onwards, S. C. Ellis of the Canadian Federal Department of

Mines and Dr. Karl A. Clark conducted surveys and experimented with the oil sands for several years. Clark and his group developed a process to separate the oil from the sand, but because many things had come to a stand-still during the depression, there had been a set-back in the research being done to discover the possible ways of extracting the oil economically. However, despite these set-backs, in 1937 the Abasand Oil Ltd. established a plant at a place that was a mile and a half away from the town; but this plant was destroyed by fire in 1945. In 1944, a hot-water separation plant was built at Bitumount in Alberta by Can-Amera Oil Sands Development and Royalite Oil Company. Although they had a fifty million dollar project their plans never materialized for mainly economic and mechanical reasons (The Oil and Gas Journal, 1967).

The 1950s, however, brought in an era of tremendous interest in the oil sands. Before the turn of the sixties most of the areas had been leased because it had become known that the problems of an economically feasible way of extracting the oil were being solved (Ibid.). This was the state of affairs when the Great Canadian Oil Sands (henceforth referred to

as GCOS), came into the picture. The GCOS, which was incorporated in 1953, up until 1962, had engaged itself in engineering studies aimed at the construction of a feasible commercial plant which the Alberta Government would approve under its tar sands policies (Ibid.).

The Alberta Government has a board, known as the Alberta Oil and Gas Conservation Board, which reviews all applications and proposals for the extraction of oil and gas in the province. This board is charged with the responsibility of protecting the province's conventional petroleum industry from the effects of the tar sands production. It was this board which, in 1962, approved a GCOS application to undertake a commercial project at the site 20 miles north of the town. The original permit was later, in 1964, extended to cover a daily production of 45,000 barrels; because a capital fund of 191 million dollars was required. The construction of the plant started in September 1964 and was completed in July 1967. In November, 1967, production started.

The commencement of production brought into full force the organizational framework of the GCOS at the plant. Although the GCOS has its Head Office in Toronto, at the plant the overall direction rests with

an Executive Vice-President and Director, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one for mechanical and the other for process. The removal, extraction and processing of the tar sands are carried out directly by the GCOS at the plant site, but the company has a group of other affiliated companies and contractors responsible for carrying out other functions and activities associated with the plant. By 1969 there were about 500 employees directly under GCOS (Field Notes).

The Catalytic is one of the affiliated companies at the plant. It is under contract with GCOS for the servicing and maintenance of the equipment and the total physical structure of the plant belonging to the GCOS. This company has about 44 employees directly under it, and these employees are accorded the same privileges, in terms of housing in the town, as the GCOS employees. The Catalytic deals with its employees through their national or provincial Trade Unions; whereas those employees under the GCOS, who are not in the managerial hierarchy, are treated as a bargaining association.

The Empire Development Company (previously known as Mannix Company) has a contract from the GCOS for

the removal of overburden and for replacement of the sand. They accepted the contract in 1967 and by 1968 had about 160 employees. Another company at the plant is Cardwell Supply, which is responsible for providing purchasing and warehousing services to the GCOS. They have been on this contract since 1967 but currently the GCOS has given them notice for the termination of their contract in 1970. GCOS will take over the duties formerly performed by Cardwell and phase these activities into their own operation.

The Athabasca Realty Company Ltd. is a separate real estate company set up by the GCOS for its employees, and those in affiliated companies at the plant. The company, by 1969, has four types of units: 205 trailers (rentals only), 80 duplexes (rental only), a 24 suite apartment block (rentals only), and 438 individual houses (subsidized sales only). Application for any of these types of units are made at the plant through the GCOS administration and is limited to only plant employees. The Company usually makes a down payment of \$3,000.00 or \$2,600.00 on behalf of their employees who wish to buy a house. This payment becomes part of the employee's benefit after ten years. The purchaser of a house is paid back the principal

and all authorized additions, if he leaves the company before a ten year period. The Athabasca Realty holds the mortgage on the houses with the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, but after ten years the purchaser holds this mortgage directly with the GMHC and can sell the house in the open market if he so desires. If an employee is disabled or dies and he or his dependents can continue payments, they can retain ownership.

Outside the plant the other part of the town's economy rests with other service industries of various sizes. These range from small scale retailers, barbers, shopkeepers, etc. to more elaborate enterprises like the Simpson-Sears, banks, Hudson's Bay, etc. In addition there are a group of professionals like lawyers, builders, etc. Gessell (1969) estimated that these service enterprises increased by almost 300% since 1963. This increase is in the main due to increased demands for goods and services resulting from the increase in the population during this period.

As a result of the presence of the plant employees and these other businesses and non-commercial organizations, the town's labour force is characterized

by four main groups (based on my field observations 1969). These are:

1. white collar supervisory, managerial or clerical personnel
2. non-commercial personnel
3. industrial workers
4. local small scale businessmen.

The first group includes all the clerks, managers, supervisors, engineers, and other professionals associated with the plant or the other commercial enterprise. The second group consists of civil servants, teachers and nurses and other employees of governmental departments, corporations or agencies. The third group--industrial workers--includes the welders, smelters, construction workers, as well as other general labourers. The fourth group--the businessmen--includes all the locally established small-scale private enterprise owners in the town. This group consists of barbers, retailers, tailors, electricians, hotel owners, merchants and traders.

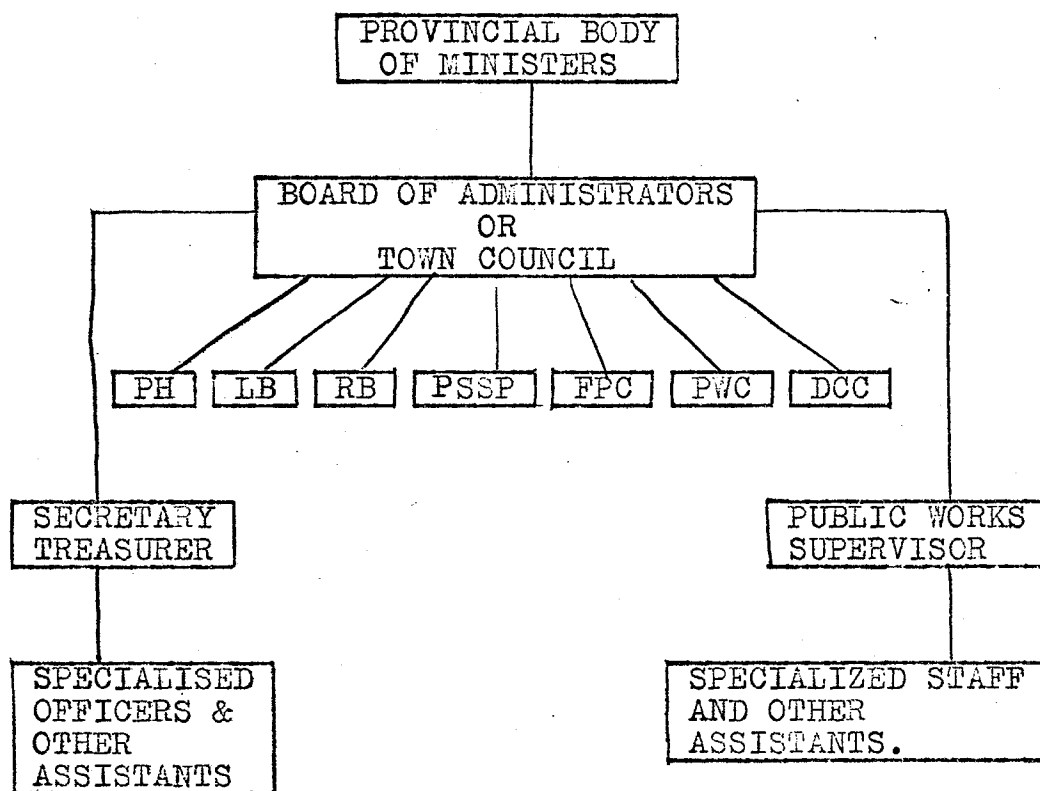
THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY:

This subsection will deal with the political

structure of the community in two parts:

- (a) Local Government Administration
- (b) Provincial and Federal Governmental Departments and Agencies.

(a) Local Government Administration--Under the "new town" status, Fort McMurray has a governing body of provincial ministers as, at least in theory, the highest decision-making body. However, in actual fact, the responsibility, authority and control rests with the town's Board of Administration--a quasi elected council with a Chairman who acts as the Mayor of the town; although he is not referred to as such. The Board of Administrators consists of five members elected from the town, and two members appointed by the provincial government. The Chairman of the board is elected out of these seven members by the board members. The board also has a Deputy Chairman elected in the same manner. Everything that calls for governmental action is discussed by the board,

FIGURE IIILINE OF AUTHORITY GRAPH INFORT McMURRAY LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

except where the jurisdiction comes under the provincial or federal government authorities.

The board has, in turn set up a number of committees and boards to take care of some of its functions. There are:

1. the Public Housing Authority (PH)
2. the Library Board (LB)
3. the Recreation Board (RB)
4. the Preventive Social Services Programme
Advisory Board (PSSP)
5. the Finance and Personnel Committee (FPC)
6. the Public Works Committee (PWC)
7. the Development Control Committee (DCC).

The Public Housing Authority is responsible for running and administering the Low Rentals built jointly by the town and the provincial government and assisted by the federal government. This board has representatives from the provincial and federal governments and the Deputy Chairman of the town's Board of Administration as members.

The Library Board has the responsibility of running the library at the Civic Centre. Members of

the Library Board are appointed by the town's Board of Administration which has its chairman as an ex-officio member.

The Recreation Board, appointed by the town's board, has the responsibility of advising the town board on all matters related to recreation. The town board has two of its members as members of the Recreation Board.

In addition to the boards mentioned, there is the Preventive Social Services Programme (PSSP), Advisory Board, appointed by the town board, which has two of its members as representatives. The PSSP Advisory Board advises the town board on all matters related to the PSSP and makes suggestions as well as conducting briefings.

The Finance and Personnel Committee is an executive committee of the town board, consisting of three members of the town board as the only members. This committee deals with all financial and personnel matters related to the town board. The Public Works Committee is also an executive committee, consisting only of two board members, and charged with the responsibility of all matters of public works related to the board. The Development Control Committee

consists only of two town board members and undertakes the implementation of all development controls set up by the board.

Closely at par with the boards and committees is the administrative unit of the local government responsible to the town board and headed by the Secretary-Treasurer in one part and by the Public Works Supervisor on the other part. The administrative unit is not a decision making body but consists also of four directors--the director of PSSP, the director of recreation, the juvenile officer, an an inspector of works--as well as a number of secretarial, clerical and technical assistants.

The Secretary-Treasurer is a full-time public servant, hired by the town board, and responsible for the implementation of all decisions of the town board, as well as acting as the accounting officer for the collection and disbursement of all the town's finances. He is assisted by an Assistant Secretary Treasurer. The Public Works Supervisor is also a full-time public servant hired by the town board. He supervises all public works undertaken by the town directly or through contractors. He is also the overall supervisor for maintenance of physical facilities under the town's care.

The Director of the PSSP is responsible for directing, co-ordinating, implementing and organizing all matters related to the PSSP. She works in close co-operation with the PSSP Advisory Board. The Recreation Director is hired by the town board on the recommendation of the Recreation Board. The Recreation Director is responsible for the implementation of decisions of the Recreation Board which have been approved by the town board. He co-ordinates, organizes and supervises all matters related to recreation in the town. The job of the Juvenile Officer, in his words, "is hard to define", except that the town board expects him to deal with matters related to juveniles in all respects. As a result, the Juvenile Officer is mainly concerned with helping young people, between the ages of 12 and 20 to acquire new skills and hobbies. The inspector of works is involved in the regulation of the use of land and its development within the town limits in order to achieve an orderly and economic development of land.

Considering the fact that Fort McMurray has only a population of 6,000 and a little over 20 years

of local administration experience, its local government network is quite elaborate. This is accounted for by two factors. The first of these is the provisions of the Alberta Provincial Government for granting various statuses to settlements in the process of rapid growth, and for generally encouraging, through legislation, the assumption of increased autonomy over local affairs by local units. In the second place, Fort McMurray has been fortunate in having the economic potentialities to attract a fairly good number of migrants with a relatively higher degree of involvement in local politics than is the case in other surrounding settlements. In the same direction, the fact that wages are high in the town has meant increased revenue for the council. With fairly sizeable income, an elaborate administrative net-work was bound to emerge.

(b) Provincial and Federal Governmental Department and Agencies--One of the distinguishing characteristics of the governmental departments and agencies in Fort McMurray, is that they operate in an environment where the overwhelming influence of the GCOS, a profit oriented organization, is mitigated by such non-profit oriented organizations. This leads to the

question of to what extent governmental role can act as a political check on the economic influence of the GCOS on the community. In other words, it can even be asked how the economic weight of the GCOS has acted to bring about these political units. It is in the light of these that seven such political units are here discussed:

1. Department of Community Development
2. Department of Public Welfare
3. Department of Manpower and Immigration
4. Department of Indian Affairs
5. Department of Public Health
6. The Attorney General's Department
7. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The establishment of a branch of the Department of Community Development in Fort McMurray in 1964 was as a result of pressures brought about by (i) the upsurge of the population, (ii) the economic disparity created by the establishment of the GCOS and (iii) the request of the Nistawoyow (Indian-Metis) Association of Fort McMurray (field notes, observations and interviews). A further exploration

of these three factors follows. The upsurge of the population brought the problem of relocation of families who are unable to obtain adequate housing; presumably for such reasons as low income, unemployment, physical disabilities. This problem has involved the Community Development, since its inception in 1964, with the question of low rental housing, which at the time of Field Work, consisted of 42 unit duplexes designed to provide accommodation at low rents for those in poor housing and low income brackets. Before the GCOS boom, the problem was not acute but with the disparity, the GCOS created by building new modern units, the poverty and inadequacy of the old houses and shacks were more prominently exposed. In Fort McMurray, since most of those in the low income brackets and in poor housing happened to be Indians and Metis, it is not surprising therefore that the Nistawoyow Association made a formal request for the establishment of a branch of the Department of Community Development in the town.

Community Development service in Fort McMurray is also involved in a joint government-voluntary association economic venture. This is the Housing

Co-operative established by the Federal and Provincial Governments in co-operation with the Indian and Metis Association of Fort McMurray (officially known as the Nistawoyow Association). This co-operative was set up to help Indian and Metis own their own homes (Interview with Community Development Officer 1969: Field Notes). The GCOS had made it possible for some of the Indians and Metis to earn a substantial amount to be able to afford a steady monthly payment on loans taken from the co-operative to build houses. The co-operative is formed and managed by the Nistawoyow Association. However, the funds are loaned to the co-operative by both the provincial and federal governments. The co-operative in turn loans out this money to Indians and Metis who make applications to them and whom they consider credit worthy. The department of community development is involved to the extent that they offer advise and technical services to the co-operative, usually on request.

In another sphere the Community Development deals with the problem of unemployment. Because of the improved economic situation created by the GCOS many people had come to Fort McMurray in search of jobs. Some of these were not able to get jobs, and some that were in construction jobs at the beginning found

themselves unemployed as the rate of construction jobs available phased out. Community development in Fort McMurray, therefore, became involved in advising the unemployed on how to get jobs, and by referring them to the Manpower Department. They also intervene in certain labor disputes and attempt to educate the unemployed, particularly the Indians and Metis in on-the-job situation (Ibid.).

Another government department that has been in the town since the upsurge of the population, is the Department of Public Welfare. This department administers various forms of public assistance to unemployable people who are out of jobs but are actively seeking employment, people with inadequate income, unwed mothers, transients in the process of settling in the community, old age people and neglected children. The department spent in addition to other expenditures:

--\$23,258.56 in 1966

--\$33,805.76 in 1967

--\$55,912.70 in 1968.

The establishment of the plant and the consequent increase in population accounts, in large part, for an increase in the number of cases this department handled. Usually a period of sudden economic

transition, as was the case with Fort McMurray, attracts a good number of job seekers. These people have found the services of the department very useful (interview with the head of the Fort McMurray Office of the Department of Public Welfare:Field Notes).

The Department of Manpower and Immigration in the town is mainly concerned with placements, mobility and training. The establishment of the plant put Fort McMurray in a high wage range and because of this, Manpower Department does little to move people to better wage areas. However, the plant had called for specialized skills and this has involved the Manpower Department in training programmes, usually carried out through the Adult Vocational School under the Alberta Newstart Programme. During the period from September, 1968 to September, 1969, the department placed 120 people in training in basic skills and academic upgrading. The department has been able to place many more people in jobs in the town than in the plant, because most of the employment at the plant is done through the unions or the GCOS office in Edmonton. It is only when these two channels cannot supply their manpower demand at the plant, that the department provided labor for place-

ments. For example, during the month of April, 1969, the department placed 60 people in jobs at the plant (Interview with the Head of the Fort McMurray Office of Manpower and Immigration:Field Notes).

During the construction period and the early phase of the establishment of the plant, many Indians in the surrounding villages and settlements had migrated to Fort McMurray in search of jobs. This trend led to the establishment of the Department of Indian Affairs in the town, to deal with the employment and relocation of Indians. The Department, therefore, arranges accommodation for, advances loans to, and provides temporary and permanent housing for Indian migrants. The department estimates that they deal with about 90 Indians in the town and in Anzac, a nearby village some thirty miles south of Fort McMurray (Interview with the Head of the Fort McMurray Office of the Department of Indian Affairs:Field Notes).

The Department of Public Health subsidizes the Fort McMurray General Hospital, which was opened in August, 1966. Prior to this, the only hospital in the town was being run by the Roman Catholic Church. However, with the increases in the population, and the pressures of the town council and residents, the

General Hospital was built. The hospital in 1969 had 34 beds and 60 staff members (Interview with the Hospital Administrator:Field Notes).

Until 1965, Fort McMurray did not have a resident magistrate. With the increase in court cases, resulting mainly from the upsurge in population, pressure was put on the Attorney General's Department to appoint a resident magistrate. The court, therefore, assumed responsibility for dealing with criminal and civil offences, as well as acting as the Citizenship Court and the Juvenile and Family Court. In 1968 for instance, the court tried a total of 1,032 cases (Interview with the Fort McMurray Magistrate:Field Notes).

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is under contract with the town council to police the town and enforce federal, provincial and municipal laws within the town limits. The records of the court and the police had indicated a rise in the number of cases handled starting from 1964--this of course was expected because of the rise in population. However, no correlation was established between the type of cases and the type of residents in the town (Interview with the Police Corporal in

in Charge:Field Notes).

The presence of many governmental agencies in the town are therefore summarily accounted for by four factors:

1. the increase in the town's population as a consequence of the town's economic expansion
2. the political pressures and demands of the local government unit
3. the pressures exerted by the town's residents, individually or through associations
4. and the response of the federal and provincial governments to establish regional offices in Fort McMurray, which already because of the Railway and the plant was assuming the position of a regional centre.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS:

Voluntary associations are increasingly becoming one of the most striking characteristics of modern towns and cities. Serving usually a set of functions outlined below, they have been formed to meet certain needs arising specifically out of the

urban environment in which the members find themselves. However, very rarely have their role as institutions of mediation been recognized. The need for restructuring of social relationships during a period of rapid change and/or growth, is closely followed by institutional conflicts which voluntary associations help to mitigate. In Fort McMurray, the rapid economic growth and expansion had called for adaptation to new conditions and a considerable restructuring of social relationships, in which voluntary associations played a significant role.

There is a considerable amount of literature in sociology and anthropology on the structure and function of voluntary associations. Here a selective and brief review of this will suffice to give us a fairly good insight into the operations of voluntary associations.

Little (1964), Rose (1954) and Gordon and Babchuk (1959), to mention only a few, have attempted some classification and typology of voluntary associations. Little has two types of classifications. In the first place he classifies voluntary associations into (1) tribal unions--ie. associations based on membership of the same ethnic group, (ii) friendly

societies--ie. associations limited to mutual aid and benefits; (iii) occupational associations--ie. associations of professionals, businessmen and traders and (iv) entertainment and recreational associations. In the second place using the traditional-modernized dichotomy (pp. 337-340) Little classifies associations into (i)--those concerned with traditional activities in the broad sense of the word; (ii) traditional-modernized associations--those concerned with traditional activities that have been deliberately modified to suit modern purposes and (iii) modernized associations--those wholly modern in organization and objectives.

Rose (1954:52) classifies voluntary associations into (i) expressive groups--those acting to express or satisfy members' interests relative to themselves and (ii) social influence groups--those formed to achieve some condition or change in society beyond the membership.

Gordon and Babchuk (1959:22-29) suggest a typology of voluntary associations based on three concepts: (i) the degree of accessibility of membership--in this case classifying associations into those with high accessibility and those with low accessibility; (ii) the status conferring capacity of the association

--ie. the capacity of the association to bestow prestige or to be associated with prestige which accrues to the members; and (iii) functions of the association under three headings: (a) instrumental functions (ie. functions which take place outside the organization or seek to maintain a condition or to bring about change which transcends its immediate membership); (b) expressive functions (ie. functions which provide the framework for immediate and continuing gratification of its members, through activities confined and self contained within the organization); and (c) instrumental-expressive functions (ie. those functions that incorporate both functions self consciously).

In Fort McMurray it was observed that most associations were formed as "social influence" groups. Of the six associations used here five have the interest of the community at large as their stated objective and only one, the Nistawoyow Association, can be partially regarded as an "expressive group". However, the Nistawoyow Association in the Gordon-Babchuk sense, in spite of the fact that it is basically an expressive group does perform instrumental functions by providing its members a means of adjusting to the new industrial economy, as further

elaborated in the next chapter. This point is supported for instance, by the association's activities through its co-operative housing projects, by which members gainfully employed at the plant are given loans to build houses.

Except also for the Nistawoyow association which is basically ethnic in membership, the rest of the six examples used are either "friendly societies" or "entertainment and recreational associations". The Chamber of Commerce, of course, can be classified as an "occupational" association. However, all the six examples are "modernized" associations since they are wholly modern in organization and objectives. It is even safe to argue that the Nistawoyow Association is wholly modern in organization and objectives for two reasons. First, they have no structural relationship to any of the traditional band organizations existing in the surrounding settlements and villages. These other band and village associations are invited to Nistawoyow activities and events just like any other association in the town. The band and village associations do not have any formal representatives in the Nistawoyow Association. The formation of the Nistawoyow Association because it was initiated by

residents in the town was not influenced to any significant degree by the band and village associations. Secondly, because the associations focus is on the promotion of the interests of the members within an industrial situation its activities and objectives have in the main revolved around non-traditional aspects of their life except for some occasional events like handicrafts displays. The association for these reasons is better described as modernized although it is not wholly divorced from some traditional factors.

In the delimitation of the functions of voluntary associations several authors have made very significant contributions. Hamer (1967:83-91) mentions the political, educational and motivational implications of voluntary associations. According to him, voluntary associations act as points of articulation with political units on various levels (Ibid. 83), and while acting as sources of feedback information media voluntary associations also perform educational functions (Ibid. 87-89). In another instance, Little, (1964) attributes political, educational, economic, integrative and psychological functions to voluntary associations. He, for instance, regards voluntary

associations as one of the ways through which other institutions are developed to meet the demands of an industrial economy and urban way of life (Ibid. 340-343). Anderson sees voluntary associations as providing new occasions for the meeting of class segregated groups, and in showing preeminence in mobilizing social forces which is shared only with political bodies (1962b:1023, 1959:205-73).

However, in none of the literature was any reference made to the mediating functional role of voluntary associations. This paper has, in addition to pointing out the other functions and roles of voluntary associations in Fort McMurray, added a new dimension by mentioning the mediating role of associations. It was observed that in Fort McMurray, voluntary associations emerged as a medium through which conflicts between two segments of the town's population--the GCOS employees and the businessmen--are minimized and mitigated. These they do by bringing them together in situations and co-operative efforts, where the interest of the community at large predominates and overshadows their sectional interests. By so doing, the tensions and conflicts are minimized.

In presenting an account of voluntary associations in Fort McMurray, I have been necessarily very selective, due to the limitations imposed by the length of my field work and space in this paper. Six voluntary associations have therefore been selected for the above reason and on the basis of the availability of information.

An association of GCOS and affiliated companies' employees, the Tar Sands Recreation Association was formed in October 1967. This association has as its main objective the provision of recreational facilities and entertainment for its members and their families during their leisure hours. With a total of 180 members in 1968 and an annual fee of \$6.00 per member, and the revenue from the commissions payable on all the vending machines in the plant site, the association has a total annual income of \$12,000.00. Since its inception, the association has devoted a substantial part of its income in sponsoring and finally aiding, as well as organizing various activities ranging from sports to social. Their largest contribution so far is a \$10,000.00 pledge towards the building of an indoor swimming pool. They have also organized a "buying club". This was done because the members complained about high prices at the shops

in the town. This club, after sometime, was no longer very active, not only because prices were a little stabilized but also because members were no longer interested in buying things in a large scale, as required by the buying club (Interview with the President of the Tar Sands Recreation Association: Field Notes).

The role of the Tar Sands Recreation Association should not be underestimated. In the first place, it is indirectly an arm of the GCOS, although formally it is expected to be independent of it. Its main source of income is the GCOS, which by right has the authority to collect all the commissions on the vending machines at the plant, but gave up this privilege to the association. Secondly, the association plays a significant role in encouraging leisure activities as a way of relieving the boredom that the residents frequently complain of. By so doing the association is aiding the company in keeping its employees satisfied in these respects. The organization of the "buying club" has also economic implications in that it acted to bring down prices in the town.

There is also the Knight of Columbus, with

membership limited to practicing Catholics over 18 years of age. Although the Catholic Church has been in Fort McMurray since 1911, the McMurray branch of the Knight of Columbus did not start until 1965, signifying again the indirect effect of the population upsurge. The stated objective of the association is broadly aimed at the "good" of the community. With a total membership of 44, an annual membership fee of \$12.00 per person and their occasional bingo profits, they had in 1968 an income of about \$5,000.00. Using this income they have tried to achieve their objective by organizing summer camps for the youths, provided support for needy families and aided other related activities (Interview with the President of the Knight of Columbus 1969:Field Notes).

The Kinsmen Club, a non-denominational service club aimed at providing service to the community at large, was started in Fort McMurray in 1965 by a group of migrants who had been Kinsmen in other towns. By terminological definition this association is also aimed at providing kin relation for people who are not necessarily related kinship wise. With a total membership of 30, they raise funds through raffles and fees charged at various events. At the time of

field work, they were carrying on an extensive campaign to raise funds for the building of an indoor swimming pool in the town, and had given financial assistance to youth clubs as well as organizing winter carnivals and blueberry festivals (Interview with the President of the Kinsmen Club 1969:Field Notes). By aiming at providing such facilities like the swimming pool the Kinsmen club play an essential role in helping its members and others adjust to their new environment. One of the principal issues in the local papers during my time of field work was the lack of adequate recreational facilities, especially that of an indoor swimming pool that can be used during the four seasons of the year, regardless of climatic conditions.

A Cosmopolitan club, under a country wide service club of the same name, was started in Fort McMurray in August 1968, with 25 active members out of a total membership of 125. With a stated objective of service to the community, the Cosmopolitan Club has been involved with the building of a series of playgrounds and the organization of July 1st Celebrations in the town, as well as carrying out a "walker fund" campaign through which they realized almost \$10,000.00 (Interview with the President of the Cosmopolitan Club 1969:Field Notes).

The Board of Trade was formed in Fort McMurray in 1919 but it was not until 1955 that it was changed to the Chamber of Commerce. This association not only stands out as the town's most influential pressure group but also remains one of the very few associations that was formed prior to the setting up of the GCOS. In 1964, for instance, all the candidates to the town board supported and sponsored by the Chamber, were elected. With a stated objective aimed at the improvement of the community as a whole, the Chamber have organized a clean up campaign and have been pushing for the increased development of various recreational facilities. With membership limited to only businessmen and company representatives, this association has played a part in bringing together GCOS executives and local businessmen with far-reaching consequences (Interview with the President of the Chamber of Commerce 1969:Field Notes.)

Another very influential association, that has been a very strong pressure group in the town, is the Nistawoyow Association--an association of Indians and Metis of the town. Formed in 1964, it expresses the impact of the GCOS on the native people of that region. Before the coming of the GCOS, there were significant numbers of Indians and Metis in the town,

but they were relatively unorganized; most probably because they were not faced with such a multitude of forces as they now are since the establishment of the plant and the consequent great upsurge of the population. Two other factors, in addition to the pressure from the population upsurge, acted to stimulate the Indians and Metis in Fort McMurray. The new industrial set up led to increased job opportunities and so the need for securing employment became one of the paramount interests of the Indians and Metis that they felt can best be tackled if they have some sort of an organization. Secondly, the Indians and Metis became exposed to higher competition for housing and accommodation than was the case during the pre-industrial period. In order to minimize this problem, they felt also that some organizational effort was necessary. Furthermore, the new situation had exposed them to new dimensions thereby making them aware of higher educational, technical and professional training as well as the need for better medical and recreational facilities. With a total membership of about 30 people in 1969, the objectives of the association are, generally,

the improvement of the community and the welfare of the Indian and Metis people through the promotion of various activities (Minutes of the Nistawoyow Association, and Interview with the Association's executive committee). It is to be noted that their objectives as they are set down are really broad and diffuse, and this may have been done to give them room to operate in several spheres.

Some general remarks about the voluntary associations in Fort McMurray can be made at this juncture. The consideration here was devoted to six voluntary associations namely:

1. The Tar Sands Recreation Association
2. Knights of Columbus
3. Kinsmen Club
4. Cosmopolitan Club
5. Chamber of Commerce
6. Nistawoyow Association.

These six associations have, directly and indirectly, demonstrated their concern for general community development and welfare and have involved people from practically all segments of the community. By so doing they have thus brought these people

together and this has acted to minimize the conflicts and differences between various segments of the population. How these have acted to minimize conflicts and differences, with more specific examples, are given in the next chapter.

These associations, on the basis of the specific-diffuse dichotomy, are all functionally diffuse (ie. their functions as well as their stated objectives, as described above, are more or less vaguely defined and delimited. However, on the basis of types of functions they perform they can be put into the following table. Here the emphasis is on the types of functional roles that they predominantly perform, rather than simply a listing of the various functions they each perform.

In the next chapter how each of these features are performed by these associations will be dealt with under seven sub-headings.

TABLE IIFUNCTIONAL ROLES OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Six Selected Voluntary Associations	SEVEN TYPES OF FUNCTIONAL ROLES						
NAMES OF VAs	1 Educa- tional	2 Poli- tical	3 Econ- omic	4 Recrea- tional	5 Integr- ative	6. Psycho- logical	7 Mediat- ing
1. Tar Sands Recreation Association	X		X	X	X	X	
2. Knights of Columbus	X			X	X	X	
3. Kinsmen Club	X			X	X	X	
4. Cosmopol- itan Club	X			X	X	X	X
5. Chamber of Commerce	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. Nistawoyow Association	X	X	X	X	X	X	

CHAPTER FOUR: RELATIONSHIP ANALYSIS
AND SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

This last chapter is devoted to an analysis of the aspects of the political, economic structures and the voluntary associations that bear relevance to one another, and to those areas of their operations where their functions are related. In closing, a summary conclusion of the points made in this and preceding chapters are presented.

THE ECONOMY AND POPULATION GROWTH:

The major factor given as a cause of the sudden population upsurge in the town, from barely 1,000 during the early sixties to almost 6,000 during the late sixties, is the number of migrations. This factor has a direct correlation with the economic situation in the area. With the economic expansion, resulting from the development of the tar sands, there arose as a consequence, the need for manpower to run such a complex industrial concern. As the industry required a considerable degree of specialized skills

which the original population could not simply supply, most of these had to be recruited and obtained from out of the town; thus leading to migrations to the town of employees and their families. The relationship of the economy to the population was thus evidenced by the tremendous increase in population following the economic growth. It is therefore likely that with the event of the plant being shut down, the economic situation will change and the population will drop significantly, unless, of course, another relatively big industry is established. The population of the town will therefore for a long time reflect the sort of economic situation in the area. This might as well be the case with such other related single-enterprise communities found in the relatively isolated and sparsely populated regions of the Canadian North, especially those in the north of the provinces.

THE ECONOMY AND THE TOWN'S NEW POLITICAL STATUS:

Although Fort McMurray's importance as a centre for water transportation and fur trading had earned it the statuses of a fort (1870), a village (1947),

and a town (1949), it was granted the "new town" status. The "new town" status is granted only to communities in the process of an unusually rapid growth, to enable its local government to take necessary steps to meet the demands of such a growth. The growth of the town was, of course, caused by the establishment of the plant and hence the economic change that this brought about. It is therefore this economic change that led to the change in the political status of the town. It is very unlikely that the town would have been accorded this status, if it did not have to face the multitude of functions resulting from the establishment of the plant and the consequent population upsurge.

THE ECONOMY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE:

There is a relation between the economic situation and the increase in the town council's revenues. From 1947 to 1961, the yearly actual revenue increased by only 100%, but from 1963 to 1967 it increased by 500% approximately (Fort McMurray Town Council Financial Statements). This means that for

a period of 15 years the revenue increased by only 100% whereas it increased by 500% within a period of only 5 years. The rapid increase during this five year period is accounted for by the presence of the GCOS. The GCOS from its inception has been directly and indirectly a major source of finance to the town council. The amount of revenue collected by the town council through property tax increased tremendously. The GCOS through its Athabasca Realty had set up over 800 housing units in the town all of which are taxed under the property tax. By causing the population upsurge, the establishment of the plant has also indirectly increased the revenue from such taxes as school tax and sales of commercial permits and licences resulting from increased number of local businesses. Indirectly also by leading to the "new town" status, the economic situation created by the establishment of the plant, enabled the town council to borrow money and receive aid from the provincial government for capital development. As pointed out in the last chapter, the implications of the "new town" status are mainly financial, as by this new status the council's borrowing limits

for capital development are increased to enable the town to get funds for development during a period of unusual expansion.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN SEVEN FUNCTIONAL ROLES:

In the preceding chapter I had pointed out that in the literature on voluntary associations there are six generally mentioned functions of voluntary associations, but that in addition to these I had in the case of Fort McMurray discovered a seventh function---that of mediation. Here using these seven functions the contention that voluntary associations played an essential role in Fort McMurray will be demonstrated.

(1) Economic: Some of the voluntary associations in Fort McMurray are involved in primarily three economic aspects:

- employment.
- consumer activities.
- arranging professional services.

Three examples will be used to illustrate how they perform these functions. The Nistawoyow Association,

mentioned above, has involved itself in series of demands to secure fair employment practices, training in specific technical skills and jobs for Indians and Metis. In 1969 the Nistawoyow arranged a meeting with the member of parliament for the Athabasca constituency and one of the issues they discussed at length had to do with employment and training of Indians. At the same meeting, in which the writer was present, the association complained about discrimination in employment against people of Indian ancestry. A contracting company was quoted as having refused to hire Indians on the grounds that those he had employed previously left their jobs without notice, and were constantly absent from work without permission. The foreman of this company has said that unless he got some assurances that these would not happen again he was not prepared to engage the services of Indians and Metis. Another foreman was quoted as refusing to hire Indians because they are not skilled. The Nistawoyow association of course argued that these reasons are not valid, and are given as a cover for prejudiced attitudes. The Nistawoyow association demand, as revealed in their correspondences, led to the setting up of an Adult

Vocational School to provide Indians and others with an opportunity to undertake training that would lead to the acquisition of new skills. The school has played a major role, within a very brief period, in the training of many Indians and Metis who are now gainfully employed at the plant in permanent and well paying jobs. The Nistawoyow, in 1968, assisted by the Community Development Office, demanded from the GCOS plant a list of the Indians and Metis it had in its employment as proof of their claim that they do not discriminate against Indians and Metis.

The Tar Sands Recreation Association had made some representations to the businesses in the town over the high cost of goods. Not satisfied with the result of this action the association formed a "buying club" which provided goods to its members at relatively lower prices. The buying club in a way influenced many businesses to lower their prices. At the time of field work this club, although still in operation, was no longer enthusiastically used by its members as prices in the town are comparatively stabilized.

The Chamber of Commerce has played a part in

encouraging some professionals like lawyers, accountants and doctors to come to the town to cater for the services in these areas. Due to the limited number of customers and clients some professionals were not attracted by prospects in the town. However, the absence of these professionals inconvenienced those who needed the services in these areas. The Chamber of Commerce in acting to bring in these professionals was responding to these needs.

In dealing with the economic functions of voluntary associations in other areas Little (1964), Hamer (1967), to mention only a few, have referred to voluntary associations as "mutual aid" groups, "savings" groups, "trade guilds", etc. In these cases mutual aid groups are voluntary associations where financial and other sorts of economic assistance are mutually exchanged between members in ordered rotation. In savings groups, the association treasury acts as a banker to its members who make stipulated contributions or reserves on which they can later on draw upon, or on the basis of which loans for business expansion are extended. Associations performing the functions of trade guilds are usually those formed by traders and merchants in similar or related types of trade to

protect their business transactions by setting codes of conduct and standards of transactions. In Fort McMurray these functions were not observed in its voluntary associations. Why? This is very likely due to the fact that the majority of the towns population are wage salaried personnel, and because wages are high the need for associations to act as sources of savings or mutual exchange does not arise. In Fort McMurray, except for the Chamber of Commerce, there is no other voluntary association that consists primarily of only businesses; and even the Chamber of Commerce does not operate to set standards for its members as observed in associations of the guild like type. This is because of the relatively strong trade union movements and government concern about consumer--producer relations in North America, which is not the case in places reported by these writers.

(2) Political: In Fort McMurray political functions performed by some of the voluntary associations are primarily those of pressure groups, by which they act to lay pressure on decision making bodies for provision of facilities and services.

In this connection two associations--the Chamber of Commerce and the Nistawoyow Association--are here discussed. Although the Chamber of Commerce has a provincial and national scope, its local branch in Fort McMurray operates mostly as a pressure group in local issues. There was no indication that they made any significant use of their more inclusive provincial or federal organization, except perhaps in as much as they are administratively affiliated. In 1964, the Chamber of Commerce, for instance, nominated their own candidates to stand for the town council election. All the four people they nominated were elected, thus giving them a strong foothold in the town council and facilitating their contacts and lobbying of this decision making body. Some evidence to this effect is the representations the Chamber of Commerce made through the council and directly to the provincial government for the extension of the McMurray General Hospital, under the administration of the Alberta Provincial Department of Health. In a case such as this, the Chamber of Commerce would have used their provincial counterpart very effectively. However, this was not the

case, and very likely this channel was overlooked because of their more impressive influence through the town council, and the town's mayor who is himself a member of the Chamber of Commerce and one of GCOS's executive managers.

Another voluntary association, the Nistawoyow, has also played an essential part in bringing about the establishment of various governmental agencies in the town. The economic expansion had also largely affected the degree of community development of the Indians and Metis. The Nistawoyow association realizing this made formal representations to the provincial government which partially accounted for the establishment of a Community Development Office and appointment of a Community Development Officer in the town. Also, because many of the Indians had to walk several miles from one contractor to another in search of jobs, which in the end many of them would not get, the Nistawoyow Association asked for the establishment of a Manpower Centre in the town. This request was later granted and the department has played a very useful role in placing Indians in various jobs (minutes of the Nistawoyow Association 1969:Field Notes).

The Nistawoyow Association also requested the appointment of a resident Welfare Officer for the town. The association argued that the mass influx of people into the town and the transient character of the early migrants had created several problems which demanded the attention of a resident Welfare Officer. This request, like those mentioned above, was granted in 1965 with the appointment of a Welfare Officer.

Little (1964) has noted instances where voluntary associations like the strong tribal unions become the basis for the formation of national political parties or where they have acted as the backbone of major political parties, with, for instance, the presidency of the political party and the presidency of the voluntary association being invested in the same person. Such a degree of political involvement is not evident in the Fort McMurray examples, perhaps, because of the commonly accepted division between interest groups and political parties which holds in most parts of North America.

(3) Mediating: Fort McMurray residents can be grouped into two--plant employees and non-plant employees. The predominance of the GCOS as a single enterprise in the community has led to the extension of the influence of top company employees to the town, mainly because the majority of the town's population are plant employees. This extension of company influence is resented by non-plant employees, especially the various small-scale businesses in the town. It is the feeling of the non-plant employees that the exercise of such influence means that the GCOS is trying to run the town as well as the plant. This is the area of greatest conflict in the town. A second source of conflict results from the composition of the town's board of administration. This board has two plant employees and three non-plant employees. It is the contention of the non-plant employees that I interviewed that the plant employee members are out to represent the interests of the company rather than those of the community. It is my contention that some of the voluntary associations in the town have played a mediating role minimizing these conflicts, but how do some of the voluntary associations function in this capacity?

Mediating role in Fort McMurray is performed by some of the voluntary associations in two ways. First, if offered the residents a medium for expressing common identity mainly because it enabled them to meet face to face to discuss and resolve various community problems. A few examples will illustrate this. During a meeting of the Cosmopolitan Club there was a lengthy discussion as to the appropriateness of the locations of the playgrounds that this association was going to build. Some of the plant employees favoured the building of four out of six such playgrounds in the newly developed areas--this area being predominantly inhabited by plant employees. There was later a suggestion to the effect that the town's future expansion and the presence of a significant number of children of natives living at the north and southern ends of the town should be taken into consideration. This therefore led to the final decision to place two playgrounds in these areas and to allocate another two in places around which further expansions are likely to result. In this example, community considerations prevailed irrespective of the dichotomy into plant and non-plant.

Secondly, voluntary associations acted in a mediating role in Fort McMurray by heightening the enthusiasm of both segments to participate in community affairs irrespective of the dichotomy. An example will illustrate this. In 1964 the Chamber of Commerce nominated two plant and two non-plant employees for the election into the town council--all four were elected. In nominating these men from the two segments under the same platform their interest and enthusiasm for community affairs was significantly encouraged. In another instance, during the July 1st celebration of 1969, organized by the Cosmopolitan Club, the interest of all--both plant and non-plant employees--in this event was made possible, because the Cosmopolitan Club made overt attempts to get not only other associations involved, but to induce businesses in the town as well as the GCCS to offer both moral and financial support and to participate actively. Irrespective of an earlier disagreement as to the scope of the celebration and the day's activities, final agreement was reached through the effort of the executive of the Cosmopolitan Club which consists of both plant and non-plant employee residents. The push

for a more elaborate celebration which originated from the Tar Sands Recreation Association was supported in the Cosmopolitan Club by plant members but was accepted with modifications by non-plant employees. Consideration for costs involved and the feeling that the celebration was being over-extended make up the objections raised by the non-plant employees. However, the executive of the association finally worked out a way of minimizing costs by getting each participating unit to bear the costs of their participation, and by indirectly limiting the elaborateness of some of the events.

(4) Recreational: The major contribution of voluntary associations in Fort McMurray in this regard has to do with provision of leisure time activities for the members, and sometimes directly and indirectly for others. Out of the six associations used in this paper only one, the Tar Sands Recreation Association, has by its name and stated objective the provision of recreation and leisure time activities to its members. In spite of this the other five also play a role in this direction, because they are involved in the organization of

such activities like the blueberry festival and the winter carnival which are equally recreational in content. They also have such seasonal or annual events like dances, picnics and fun fares. Leisure time activities are of some importance in Fort McMurray for two reasons. First, due to the attitude of the single enterprise, the GCOS, to leisure time which has partially generated a general feeling of concern about living and free time in the town. The GCOS have sponsored several events and encouraged directly and indirectly the formation of various clubs and organizations, like the Tar Sands Recreation Association. It is the observed feeling of the company that in order to have a contented labour force, the employees and their families must be happy in their leisure hours. Secondly, the economic expansion had also caused the presence in the town of large numbers of migrants, who, being strangers to one another, lacked the friendship groups which result from those long and close contacts found in more established communities. This circumstance, therefore, accounted for the concern about leisure time activities which voluntary associations in part try to answer.

These sort of recreational activities are in line with those Little (1964:334-337) suggested for voluntary associations in West Africa. He contends that a large number of voluntary associations in this area are concerned with dancing and other musical forms of entertainment, as well sports, and athletics. It is necessary to point out, as Little did, that these recreational activities are increasingly becoming a significant source of satisfaction to members of voluntary associations, as well as those indirectly affected.

(5) Educational, Integrative and Psychological:

These three functions are being grouped together merely for convenience sake, and for the fact that data obtained on these aspects are highly limited. This admission is being made to explain the inadequacy of the consideration given to these three functional roles. However, this should not be taken to imply that these roles are in any way less significant to the others discussed above.

Hamer (1967:290-299) maintains that voluntary associations provide a means by which individuals may effectively learn new behavioural techniques

for coping with a changing culture, and also have important feedback effects of an educational nature. In Fort McMurray voluntary associations these types of functions were also observed. Voluntary associations in Fort McMurray provide a means by which some ideas from local or higher levels of governments are spread to the community, while at the same time articulating ideas which are presented to the local or higher levels of government.

For instance, during the change in the school system involving more autonomy for a local school board, the wish for the establishment of such a board and the assumption of such autonomy was mainly expressed through some of the associations. The issue involved the transfer of the control of the school from a provincial agency (Northland School Board) to a local board in the town. This transfer of control will allow the town to exercise more discretion in hiring of teachers and in the development of the school curriculum and other matters. It, of course, also meant some increased financial commitment on the part of the town. The question at issue was whether the town has the manpower adequately qualified to act in this capacity and what effects the change will have on the school system.

A public meeting to discuss this was called and invitations to attend were extended to parents as well as to formal groups in the town. Voluntary associations participation in such a meeting enabled these associations to present their ideas on the issue and to carry back the results of the discussions to their members who did not attend.

The public meeting which was initiated by the local advisory board to the Northland School Division was well attended. However, it was not possible to identify the associations that were present or were represented because no roll call was made, and the meeting hall was fully jammed as the invitation was open to all resident electorates. There were over 200 people in attendance. In a later meeting of one of the associations (name not mentioned purposely) one of their executive members reported on the discussions during the public meeting. There was a general consensus on the need to exercise more control over the local schools by a local authority but some of the members wanted to know what the financial implications of this would be. To this another member volunteered a reply saying that the normal grant from the provincial and local governments would still be available, although if the new school system wants to make changes

involving increased costs it will have to make sure that either level of government was prepared to step up its grant. There was no motion for or against in this associations meeting as the whole issue was limited to mainly a discussion of the implications and advantages of the proposed change.

Voluntary associations in Fort McMurray, it was inferred, perform integrative functions by bringing people together in a variety of circumstances outside their job. The aspect of togetherness that is directly related to the concept of integration is that by being together the participants learn to interact with one another and accommodate themselves within the community. Integration in this sense is limited to making one a participant in the community. No very specific example will be used to illustrate this as the essence of any voluntary association is uniting together in pursuit of common goals motivated by shared and common interests. Whereas in some of the cases reported in West Africa by Little (1964), integration had meant an introduction to a new system and a necessary major modification of the traditional, in Fort McMurray, integration has

involved the participation of the members in a new situation not very drastically different from their original social system. The distinction is merely one of degree for in both cases there is some aspect of transition from one situation to another.

The psychological role of Fort McMurray voluntary associations is based on the part they play in offering their members some feeling of identity which otherwise is not easily attainable in such a new and relatively isolated situation. It does this in various ways. Some examples will illustrate this. The Nistawoyow Association for instance, has organized such activities like the Indian Princess Pageant and a display of native arts and crafts. These indigenous values act to foster the concept of native brotherhood. It instills in the people some pride in their subculture and tradition by reasserting the significance and importance of native art and crafts in a situation where the influence of the technological change is great. Such associations like the Kinsmen Club, the Cosmopolitan Club, etc. by bringing people together and hence helping to initiate small friendship groups instill some feeling of identity because they provide those involved with some degree of confidence in one

another. The need also to contribute new ideas and innovate are partially taken care of by voluntary associations. These they do by offering their members the opportunity to participate in a variety of activities, thereby enhancing their creative opportunities. This is what Little (1964) means also when he says that voluntary associations is a grouping based on common interest capable of serving many of the same needs. But how do some of the voluntary associations make their members creative? The mere fact that they come together to solve a problem on the basis of shared interests implies that they are seeking ideally ways to create a problem-free situation.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION:

This whole paper has been devoted to showing principally the structural-functional relationships among three units in the town of Fort McMurray; namely the economic, the political, and the voluntary associations. Supported by a description of the physical and historical emergence of the town and by an analysis and description of the three

units, it has been my argument to show that the economic situation which emerged in the town has reflected immensely on the features of the political structure and the voluntary associations. With a background of some economic importance based on its significance as a source of water transportation and centre for fur trading, the discovery of tar sands in the town's area greatly enhanced its significance. Its political developments from then as a fort, a village, a town, and a new town, have been greatly associated and related to its economic growth. This development culminated in the 1963-1969 expansion, the establishment of the plant and the population upsurge with far-reaching political and other social consequences. It is this association of the economic situation to the other social aspects of the community that I have tried to establish.

The situation which emerged, therefore, is one in which the economy--one of a predominantly single industrial enterprise--has led to a tremendous growth of the political institution with increased number of governmental and quasi-governmental agencies. The economic growth, through the consequent population upsurge, led to a proliferation

of various types of voluntary associations performing not only 1) educational, 2) political, 3) economic, 4) recreational, 5) integrative, 6) psychological functions, but also a 7) mediating functional role that has helped to minimize conflicts in various directions.

In many ways the functional roles performed by voluntary associations in Fort McMurray are similar to that described in the literature, especially in two directions. Firstly, they emerge either as a consequence of or as part of the process of situations of rapid social change. In urban areas the multitude of complex technological innovations created a situation of change both for its residents and for those who may have migrated from a similar or less urbanized areas. It is the need for us to adapt to the new conditions that in essence has led to grouping together on the basis of common interests. Secondly, voluntary associations have emerged as an important extra curricular or leisure time activity that has a variety of far reaching consequences, some of which may be political, economic, integrative, psychological, mediating, etc. to mention only a few. In some other direction,

voluntary association functions differ in terms of the predominance of the role they play in each relevant situation.

It is this combination of the effective use of voluntary associations in many roles in the economic and political expansion of Fort McMurray that the writer wishes to accord the highest point in this analysis.

APPENDIX ONE
AVERAGE MONTHLY TEMPERATURE AND PRECIPITATION
FOR THE TOWN OF FORT McMURRAY

<u>MONTHS</u>	<u>TEMPERATURE</u>	<u>PRECIPITATION</u>
JANUARY	-9.4	1.08
FEBRUARY	1.2	.63
MARCH	12.9	.88
APRIL	34.8	.80
MAY	49.00	1.47
JUNE	56.8	2.10
JULY	61.4	3.30
AUGUST	51.8	2.19
SEPTEMBER	48.00	2.01
OCTOBER	35.6	1.12
NOVEMBER	12.9	1.00
DECEMBER	-3.8	.99

SOURCE: Government of the Province of Alberta,
Department of Municipal Affairs 1964:21.

APPENDIX II

FORT McMURRAY POPULATION BREAKDOWN

BASED ON THE TOTAL

OF 5,930 - AUGUST, 1969*

SEX21 Years and Over:

Males	1,428
Females	1,582

6 Years to 21 Years:

Males	948
Females	761

0 Years to 6 Years:

Males	621
Females	<u>590</u>

TOTAL	5,930
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AGE

21 Years and Over	3,010
6 Years to 21 Years	1,709
0 Years to 6 Years	<u>1,211</u>

TOTAL	<u>5,930</u>
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OCCUPATION

<u>Type</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Retail	45	54
Services	356	227
Construction	142	4
Manufacturing	800	16
Self-employed	13	--
Retired	23	3
Housewife Only	--	961
Subtotals	<u>1,390</u>	<u>1,261</u>
Unaccountable	38	321
Subtotals	<u>1,428</u>	<u>1,582</u>
Females B/D	<u>1,582</u>	
TOTAL	<u>5,930</u>	

SCHOOLING - EMPLOYED

School Children	1,709
Pre-School Children	1,211
Adult Females Employed	1,261
Adult Females Unaccountable	321
Adult Males Employed	1,379
Adult Males Unemployed	11
Adult Males Unaccountable	<u>38</u>
TOTAL	<u>5,930</u>

MARITAL STATUS

Married:	
Males	1,276
Females	1,276
Separated or Widowed:	
Males	4
Females	22
Single:	
Males	318
Females	114
Under 20:	
Males and Females	<u>2,920</u>
TOTAL	<u>5,930</u>

*The totals of the various categories were extracted from the census forms. Final responsibility for the present format is the writer's.

APPENDIX III

BIRTHS, DEATHS AND MARRIAGES
 (1964 - 1969) OF THE TOWN
 OF FORT McMURRAY, ALBERTA

BIRTHS:

January - December	1964:	67 births
January - December	1965:	92 births
January - December	1966:	118 births
January - December	1967:	183 births
January - December	1968:	196 births
January - June 30	1969:	99 births
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>755 births</u>

DEATHS:

January - December	1964:	18 deaths
January - December	1965:	16 deaths
January - December	1966:	14 deaths
January - December	1967:	21 deaths
January - December	1968:	22 deaths
January - June 30	1969:	10 deaths
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>101 deaths</u>

MARRIAGES:

January - December	1964:	6 marriages (all local)
January - December	1965:	13 marriages (all local)

MARRIAGES (CON'D):

January - December	1966:	20 marriages (mixed, ie. local and migrants).
January - December	1967:	27 marriages (mixed, ie. local and migrants).
January - December	1968:	31 marriages (mixed, ie. local and migrants).
January - June 30	1969:	15 marriages (mixed, ie. local and migrants).

NOTES ON THE ABOVE:

- In 1966 out of 20 marriages there are 12 marriages between locals and 8 between migrants (some of whom may have brought in their wives from out of town).
- In 1967 out of 27 marriages there are 12 locals and 15 migrants.
- In 1968 out of 31 marriages there are 5 locals and 26 migrants.

GENERAL REMARKS:

Most of the marriages are church marriages (divided approximately, equally between Catholics and Protestants). There are very few civil marriages, eg. in 1969 there are 6 Catholic marriages, 4 Anglican, 4 civil and only 1 Pentecostal.

There are not many marriages between people in McMurray and people living in surrounding villages (Anzac, McKay, Chard, etc.). Eg. In 1964 they had

only one from Chard and one from MacKay and the rest from McMurray.

Mixed marriages are not rare. In 1964, out of the 6 there are 2 between whites and 4 between whites and Metis (usually white men marrying Metis women). In 1968 there are 10 between white and Metis and 21 between whites only.

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