

COMMUNITY STUDIES:  
FORT McMURRAY, ANZAC, FORT MacKAY

by

EDWARD W. VAN DYKE and CARMEN LOBERG

Applied Research Associates Ltd.

for

ALBERTA OIL SANDS  
ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH PROGRAM

HE 2.2.2

August 1978

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION . . . . .	ii
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL . . . . .	iii
DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY . . . . .	iv
LIST OF FIGURES . . . . .	xii
ABSTRACT . . . . .	xiii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS . . . . .	xiv
1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
1.1 Purpose and Objectives . . . . .	1
1.2 Terms of Reference . . . . .	3
1.3 Methodology . . . . .	3
1.4 General Comments . . . . .	5
2. FORT McMURRAY . . . . .	9
2.1 General Description . . . . .	9
2.1.1 Geography and Physiography . . . . .	9
2.1.2 Physical Layout . . . . .	11
2.1.3 Historical Notes . . . . .	13
2.1.4 Demography . . . . .	15
2.2 Economic Organization . . . . .	16
2.2.1 Introduction . . . . .	16
2.2.2 Single Economic Base . . . . .	17
2.2.3 Construction and Maintenance Overlap . . . . .	21
2.2.4 Rapid Growth . . . . .	22
2.2.5 Boom Town Inflation . . . . .	24
2.2.6 High Wages/Affluence/Debt . . . . .	27
2.2.7 Housing . . . . .	31
2.2.8 Small Businesses . . . . .	38
2.2.9 Conspicuous Consumption . . . . .	40
2.2.10 Shopping . . . . .	41
2.2.11 Working Conditions . . . . .	45
2.2.12 Conclusions . . . . .	47
2.3 Political Organization . . . . .	49
2.3.1 Introduction . . . . .	49
2.3.2 Politico-economic Influence of Companies . . . . .	50
2.3.3 Politico-economic Influence of Local Businesses . . . . .	52
2.3.4 Province/Town Relationship . . . . .	53
2.3.5 The Northeast Commissioner . . . . .	57

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

	Page
2.3.6 Town Council . . . . .	59
2.3.7 Town Planning . . . . .	60
2.3.8 Leadership . . . . .	62
2.3.9 Policing . . . . .	64
2.3.10 Political Apathy . . . . .	65
2.3.11 Conclusions . . . . .	66
2.4 Social Organization . . . . .	69
2.4.1 Introduction . . . . .	69
2.4.2 Isolation . . . . .	69
2.4.3 Social Groups . . . . .	71
2.4.4 Education and Socialization . . . . .	76
2.4.5 Kinship . . . . .	78
2.4.6 Social Services . . . . .	79
2.4.7 Churches . . . . .	84
2.4.8 Socializing . . . . .	86
2.4.9 Social Problems . . . . .	90
2.4.10 Conclusions . . . . .	97
2.5 World View . . . . .	100
2.5.1 Introduction . . . . .	100
2.5.2 Values and Attitudes . . . . .	102
2.5.3 Motivation . . . . .	109
2.5.4 Perception of Environment . . . . .	112
2.5.5 Ideology . . . . .	114
2.5.6 Positive and Negative . . . . .	115
2.5.7 Conclusions . . . . .	116
3. ANZAC . . . . .	121
3.1 Introduction . . . . .	121
3.2 General Description . . . . .	121
3.3 Settlement Characteristics . . . . .	124
3.3.1 Community Organization . . . . .	124
3.4 Economics . . . . .	125
3.5 Land Tenure . . . . .	126
3.5.1 Present Dispensation . . . . .	126
3.6 The Land Tenure Secretariat . . . . .	128
3.7 Resource Development . . . . .	129
3.8 Gregoire Lake Provincial Park and Anzac Recreation Area . . . . .	131
3.9 Community Plan . . . . .	132
3.10 Relations with Government . . . . .	133
3.11 Quality of Life . . . . .	135
4. FORT MacKAY . . . . .	136
5. CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	139

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONCLUDED)

	Page
6. COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO THE REPORT . . . . .	143
6.1 The Comments . . . . .	144
6.2 Methodology . . . . .	144
6.3 Presentation of the Report . . . . .	145
6.4 People's Perceptions . . . . .	145
6.5 Dated Nature of the Report . . . . .	145
6.6 Stability . . . . .	146
6.7 Escalated Cost . . . . .	146
6.8 Corporate Control of Housing . . . . .	146
6.9 The Usefulness of the Report . . . . .	146
6.10 Suggestions . . . . .	147
7. REFERENCES . . . . .	148
8. APPENDICES . . . . .	149
8.1 Life History Interviews . . . . .	149
8.2 Public Service Resources in Fort McMurray . . . . .	154
8.3 Report on Services . . . . .	159
8.4 AID Service Information File 13 October 1976 . . . . .	185
9. AOSERP RESEARCH REPORTS . . . . .	194

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
1. The Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program Study Area . . . . .	10
2. Fort McMurray Town Map . . . . .	12
3. Perceived Political Structure and Function . . . . .	68
4. Anzac General Location Map . . . . .	122
5. Gregoire Lake Area . . . . .	123
6. Anzac Surveyed Subdivision, 1967 . . . . .	127

ABSTRACT

The present study is descriptive in nature; the focal point is to develop insights into social and human problems in the Athabasca Oil Sands region. Of three communities studied, Fort McMurray received the most comprehensive treatment, partly because it is more accessible to data collection than Anzac and Fort MacKay, and partly because, as the centre of the resource development in the area, it exemplifies the complexity and range of issues involved.

The research techniques included participant observation and both directed and non-directed in-depth interviews. Members of the study team lived in the area for over six months; during this time they interviewed 43 persons to gain general knowledge of various aspects of the lives of these persons from the time they first heard of Fort McMurray to the present. The respondents were diversified as much as possible to length of residence in the area, age, sex, occupation, residential location, etc.

To synthesize results of this research, the information gathered has been arbitrarily arranged into categories such as Economic Organization, Political Organization, World View, and Social Organization. Content of the interviews is presented in the form of detailed and lengthy excerpts, which have been carefully edited to preserve anonymity of the respondents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research project HE 2.2.2 was funded by the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program, a joint Alberta-Canada research program established to fund, direct, and co-ordinate environmental research in the Athabasca Oil Sands area of northeastern Alberta.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The general purposes and objectives of this field research are very diverse in nature. However, they tend to come together around the central question, "What kinds of social and personal problems are caused by resource development?" Broken down somewhat, this central issue might be addressed through four simple questions:

What is happening to people in the Athabasca Oil Sands area?

Why is it happening?

Is it good or bad?

What can be done about it?

The general purpose of this project is to assist in providing answers to these questions.

Applied Research Associates has pointed out in other documents (Van Dyke, et al. 1975) the difficulty in doing research which revolves around such an imprecise question as "What kinds of social and personal problems are caused by resource development?" To confront such an issue in terms of scientific inquiry, we need to know what is meant by "social and personal problems" and also by "resource development."

Applied Research Associates has chosen consistently to define a social problem as any social situation which is troublesome or vexatious to the participants. Thus, what represents a problem for one person may not be perceived as such by another. Or what constitutes a problem to government or industry may not be problematic for community residents.

In previous work, Applied Research Associates has suggested that communities associated with resource development are characterized by:

relatively large scale and intense economic activity;

more or less planned economic activities carried out by large corporations or governments;

areas of activity (recent in origin) which are away from population centers, thus isolated from other communities;



massive or large scale movements of goods and people;  
 the establishment of communities which frequently lack  
 physical amenities and/or a stable social structure;  
 local government which does not have the freedom to  
 facilitate local self-determination and development of  
 the community;  
 intensification of personal and social problems; and  
 displacement or assimilation of native communities, and  
 disruptions of traditional patterns of life.

(Van Dyke et al. 1975)

Let us return to the central question: "What kinds of social and personal problems are caused by resource development?" The issue of cause is very difficult to handle even in the most rigorously controlled projects in the social sciences. When is it legitimate to infer that one or several events cause another? While one of the goals of the social sciences certainly is to continue to gain in the sophistication required to infer cause with some precision, neither the tools nor the philosophical grounding permit this feat at the present. Any issue in which cause may be inferred legitimately is likely to be of minimal practical significance to people struggling with problems of trying to make decisions or solve problems.

The present study is descriptive in nature; the focal point is to gather information and develop insights into complex human problems and issues in the Fort McMurray area of the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program (AOSERP) study area. In this sense, the present work should be viewed as preliminary, intended to provide only background information and a context for more precise and sophisticated, long-term research. As Larson (in prep:158) correctly points out in his review of literature related to resource development and individual and family well-being:

Most studies mention, but do not elaborate, the dangers in drawing the conclusions that rapid resource development causes social and personal problems. Even so, most studies tend to draw this conclusion, the dangers notwithstanding. In fact, the evidence suggests that the residents of resource communities themselves have strongly divided opinions on the cause. Some argue that the people who come to resource towns bring their

own problems with them; others blame industry; still others blame inept government. It seems evident that all of these factors have a causal influence on personal and social problems in resource towns. The conditions under which these and other factors have an influence on individual and family well-being, however, is a complicated question. In general, causal questions cannot be addressed by descriptive studies. Cause and effect analysis requires the testing of explanatory theory and costly complicated research designs.

As a descriptive, background study, then, the purpose of the present research is to:

- gather information which would provide insights into, rather than explanations of, problems;
- provide information which would give directions to long-term academically rigorous research; and
- see the world through the eyes of residents of the Fort McMurray area.

This descriptive work is a balance to illegitimate imposition of theoretical models and explanations upon what happens in reality.

## 1.2 TERMS OF REFERENCE

The primary points of the Terms of Reference as set out by the former Human Environment Technical Research Committee of the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program are as follows:

- description of physical and geographic characteristics;
- assessment of the social implications of the physical and geographic characteristics;
- analysis of all facets of community social organization;
- analysis of political organization including formal and informal community leadership;
- analysis of overall economic structure and organization;
- analysis of world view including value systems of members of the communities;
- an assessment of technology in relation to overall life style.

## 1.3 METHODOLOGY

Given that the primary intent was to elicit descriptive information about how the world looks to the residents of the Fort

McMurray area, the principal techniques of data collection included participant observation and both directed and non-directed interviews. Members of the study team lived in the area for the six to seven month period of field research. Two members came to live in the area for the first time in order to do the study, and two research assistants from the areas under study were integral contributors to the work. As a result researchers were able to experience living and working in the area in much the same manner as any other resident.

A large number and variety of social contacts and informal interviews were made possible through the natural processes of participant observation. Members of the study team managed to experience or observe directly a wide range of social behavior from nearly all levels of the social structure.

One of the focal points of formal interviewing was around "life history" interviews. A total of 43 informants were contacted and asked to participate in a very detailed personal interview oriented toward gaining knowledge of the very specific and comprehensive aspects of the informant's life from the time he or she first heard of Fort McMurray to the present. We were eager to receive details of personal experiences over time, rather than just at the present. Through this means, such issues as personal motivation for coming to Fort McMurray and response to the entire social milieu over time might be explored. (See Appendix 8.1 for statistical data pertaining to informants.)

Due to the nature of the interviews and of the information desired, rigorous random sampling was not employed. Care was taken to diversify the informants as much as possible in terms of length of residence in Fort McMurray, age, sex, occupation, residential location and so on. However, interviews were very long, often lasting from six to eight hours, and the difficulty of arranging convenient times was great.

While the present study does rely minimally upon documentation and statistics from other sources, the focus is upon information which describes specific social groups, behaviors or

events. Larson (1977) has recently completed an excellent review of literature relevant to resource communities and their effect upon the well-being of individuals and families.

One further point should be made concerning method. Larson says that descriptive studies are not usually very effective in explaining cause. The present work is focused upon what people believe to be true concerning their life circumstances rather than what is true. By this we do not suggest that what is true is unimportant. A portion of what people believe to be true is indeed likely to be so. Yet another portion is likely to be false. We are interested in what people believe to be true because what they believe will directly influence or motivate their action. For example, if people in the Fort McMurray area believe they are isolated and that isolation precipitates certain kinds of problems, they will behave as if they were isolated. It is very important that investigation and research which delves into human problems should not deal with academic abstractions but with practical realities of how people behave.

#### 1.4 GENERAL COMMENTS

Due to the methods employed, much of the information which has been collected is very sensitive. Many informants were remarkably candid in the opinions and viewpoints which they shared. Often their comments were of a deeply personal character. And a certain portion of the data received might be viewed as politically or socially sensitive.

As this firm has no vested interests in the AOSERP study area, the attempt is to reflect the viewpoints of the residents of the area as accurately as possible. The data collected do not necessarily represent the opinions of Applied Research Associates Ltd. The viewpoints of the informants are the basic matter of the present report.

While every effort has been made to protect the anonymity of informants so as not to betray personal confidences, the full range of issues which came to light by the research process is

presented without prejudice. Applied Research Associates believes the public has a right to see its own reflection in the mirror of research, both the positive and negative aspects of living in the community being studied.

We recognize also that research reports per se are not always the most adequate means of communicating study results to interested individuals and groups within the community. Reports tend to be long and arduous and all sections do not have the same appeal to different people or groups. Therefore, the intent here is to provide more practical means to return information to the communities. One of these techniques hopefully will be to conduct information and discussion workshops for people interested in understanding more fully the results of this study.

In fairness, we should point out that of the three communities in which work was done, Fort McMurray received the most comprehensive treatment. This fact is accurately reflected in the present report. The reasons for this are threefold. First, Fort McMurray as a whole includes a population much larger than either of the other communities. It required a much greater investment of time and effort to give adequate coverage to the largest community.

Second, without minimizing the issues of importance in the other two communities, Fort McMurray is the focal point of the resource development in the Athabasca Oil Sands area. Consequently, the complexity and range of problems created by levels of personal, community, corporate and government interaction are immense.

Third, as emphasized above, it takes time to live with the members of a community to reach beyond a superficial level of interaction. Even the physical problem of finding a place to stay during the winter months was a problem not to be taken lightly.

In concluding these introductory remarks, a few points should be made concerning the format of the report itself. As stated above, the anonymity of informants has been preserved as a matter of ethics. The maintenance of anonymity is a definite interference to presenting complete data. The most enlightening

reporting would reproduce the interviews verbatim. However, the social ramifications for the informants and the legal implications for the researchers would be horrifying. As a result, judicious editing has been necessary. At the same time, excerpts are presented in sufficient detail and length so that the context is apparent.

All portions of this report which are printed in italics are comments, opinions and viewpoints of informants. Conflicting opinions are very common. We have attempted to surround comments with interpretive commentary and analysis so that the intentions of the informants become apparent. Also, the implications of informants' viewpoints and information are discussed in conjunction with the data.

Occasionally it has been necessary to include a question posed to an informant in order to clarify some of the remarks. In the rare instances where this is necessary, the question is printed in italics and underlined.

Another point of importance is that interviews were not conducted necessarily in the same format as the information is presented here. The majority of interviews were structured loosely, and while the interviewer posed questions, the informant was allowed to take the interview in any direction. Many of the data are not extracted from interviews, but emanate from the course of daily interaction with residents.

The categories in which information is presented are analytical and not "real." Data have been arbitrarily arranged into categories such as Economic Organization, Political Organization, World View and Social Organization in an attempt to present the information in a meaningful and systematic way. Of course, people actually do not behave in terms of economics at one time, politics at another, philosophy at another and so on. But that is one way in which their behavior may be described, so that by the time the entire description is read, the picture of the "wholeness" of human activities might take shape meaningfully in the mind of the reader. The analytical categories allowed for organization and arrangement

of data after the information was gathered.

We have alluded to the fact that academics frequently are of the opinion that descriptive studies are not sufficiently rigorous to benefit science. In some ways, or from certain perspectives, this viewpoint is completely valid. On the other hand, the sophisticated studies will be of value to academia or communities only when placed against a descriptive background. This document has been prepared primarily for the people of the communities to read and consider. It will have its own value and interest for academics. Hopefully, the verbal presentation of information will be of further assistance to agencies which are struggling to find means of understanding human problems and communication in meaningful ways with their constituents.

## 2. FORT McMURRAY

### 2.1 GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The purpose of this very brief section is to present a concise description of the community of Fort McMurray in terms of the physiography and geography, demographics, prominent features of town layout and some notes concerning a few specific aspects of the historical development of the town.

#### 2.1.1 Geography and Physiography

Fort McMurray is located in the northeast section of Alberta, approximately 445 km northeast of Edmonton. Figure 1 depicts the position of the community in relation to the province as a whole. The town is built where the Athabasca River intersects the Clearwater River. The extraction plants are located roughly 50 km north of the town.

The town is relatively isolated, nearly 445 km from the closest major urban center. However, transportation links are reasonably comprehensive and of good quality, particularly if this assessment is seen against the background of changes which have taken place over the past ten years. Modes of transportation include:

Highway 63--a paved surface main highway linking Fort McMurray to Edmonton;

airlines--Pacific Western Airlines operates several flights daily between Fort McMurray, Edmonton, and Calgary;

bus lines--Greyhound Bus Lines operates at least one daily scheduled trip between Fort McMurray and Edmonton;

railway--Northern Alberta Railways mainly handles freight twice weekly to Edmonton;

boating--Northern Transportation Co. still maintains the river barge transport now servicing Fort Chipewyan, Uranium City, and other outposts along the Athabasca River and Lake.

The main section of the town, sometimes referred to as the "old town," is built in the valley formed by the confluence of the two rivers. The altitude of this area approximates 275 to 305 m above sea level. The valley is very narrow at this point,



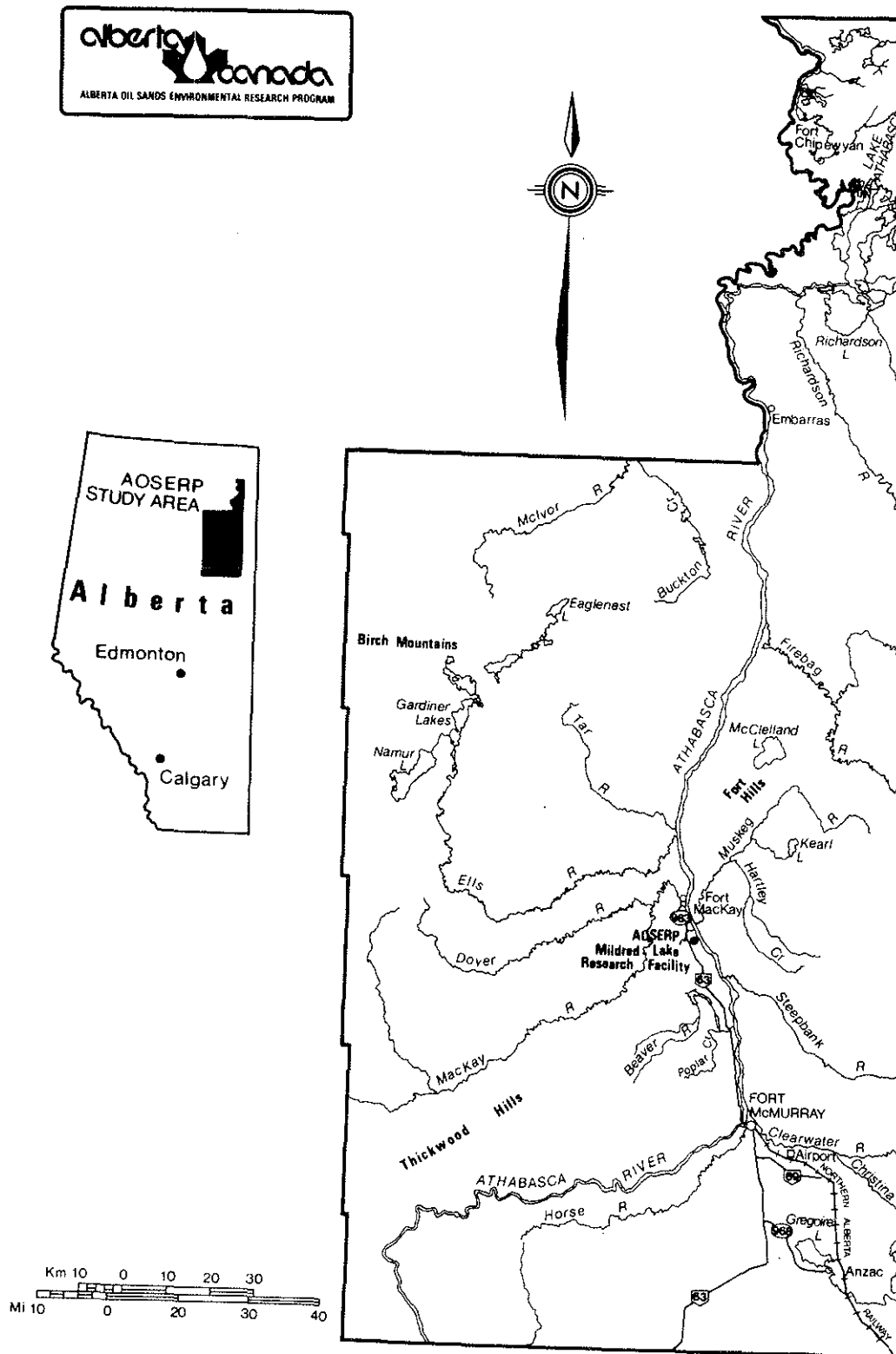


Figure 1. The Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program study area.

a physiographic feature which has had a major influence upon the physical layout of the downtown area. This area reflects "ribbon development" along one main artery, a situation which poses problems for traffic flow.

The remaining sections of the town are built on the higher tablelands along the west side of the valley. These tablelands appear to be about 60 to 75 m higher than the valley floor.

The native forest cover is primarily coniferous with some pockets of deciduous trees. Consistency of the soil varies greatly from sand to silt to clay. The entire region has pockets of muskeg.

According to Harper (1976):

Fort McMurray is situated in a climatic region characterized by extreme temperatures. It also has the least hours of sunshine per year in Alberta.

It experiences a somewhat longer and colder winter than the more southern areas of the province, averaging between 155-205 cm of snow. Temperatures in the winter average in the  $-40^{\circ}\text{C}$  and can fall as low as  $-50^{\circ}\text{C}$ .

The summers, on the other hand, can bring temperatures as high as  $36^{\circ}\text{C}$  but on the average only 20 days will be higher than  $27^{\circ}\text{C}$ . The length of daylight during early summer gives much pleasure, making up for what seems to have been an incredibly long winter.

### 2.1.2 Physical Layout

As suggested above, the layout of the town is such that the downtown core, which accommodates virtually all small businesses and stores as well as some residential districts, is located on the valley floor on the west bank of the Clearwater River. Most of the residential areas are on the tablelands adjacent to the valley. Figure 2 illustrates the layout of the town in terms of the areas which presently are developed as well as those which have been reserved for future development. To date, only areas 1 and 5A are devoid of mobile home developments. Area 6 is comprised totally of mobile homes.

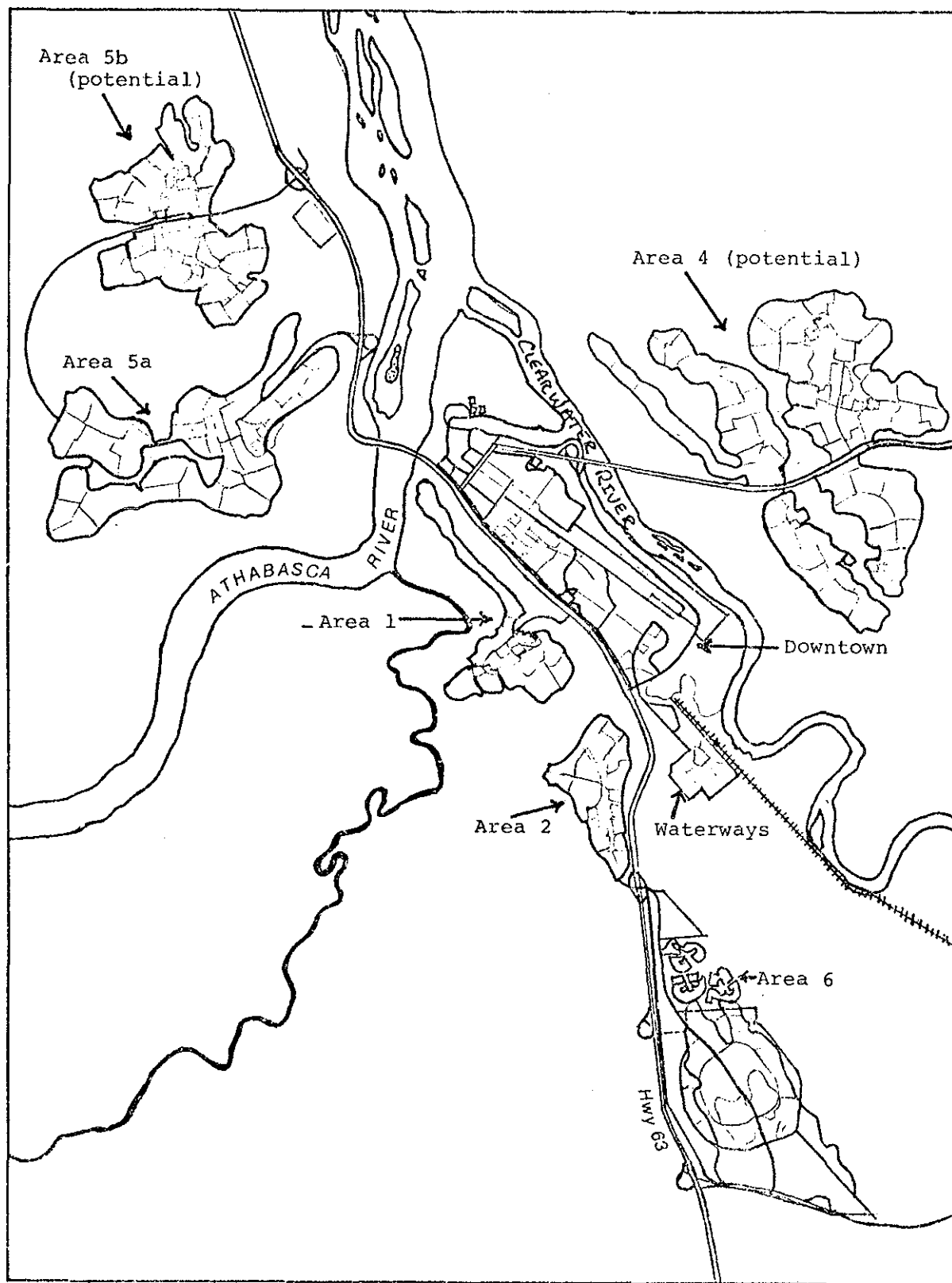


Figure 2. Fort McMurray town map.

### 2.1.3 Historical Notes

A very concise overview of the history of Fort McMurray is presented by Harper (1976).

Although the community of Fort McMurray has been in existence for more than a century, until recently it was not particularly noteworthy. Its history contains a series of "booms" and subsequent recessions, always associated with natural resources and transportation.

The notorious Peter Pond visited in 1778. He was the first white man to make note of the foul smelling black sand. It was nothing more than a curiosity to him.

The area was rich in other natural resources. Consequently, twelve years later in 1790, "Fort of the Forks" was established as a trading post by the North West Company on the site that now is Fort McMurray.

The water tributaries in the area made the settlement a natural jumping off spot for the river barges that then serviced the Northwest Territories. Fur, timber, transportation, fishing and salt mining provided the main economic activities in the ensuing years. No one dreamed during this time that this small northern community was sitting in the middle of one of the world's largest black gold mines.

In the early 1900's serious work was begun to solve the mystery of unlocking the oil from the sand. An experimental hot-water extraction plant was developed in 1930 by the Research Council of Alberta. The real potential of the sands was not exploited until 1960, however, when Great Canadian Oil Sands applied for their lease.

Now Fort McMurray was on the move. The peacefully passive days of the past were gone forever, regrettably for some of the old-timers. By 1962, a pressured town council applied for and received New Town status. This enabled them to call upon Provincial Government assistance and planners to help them grapple with the predicted, extreme growth.

Several informants have presented and emphasized important perspectives related to the history of the area, and particularly concerning the change which has been precipitated by massive resource development. These viewpoints are noted briefly below. All these issues are discussed in more detail in subsequent sections of this document.

The community has emerged from its position of being a truly isolated post of importance primarily as a supply point for hunters and trappers to attain a place of world-wide significance in relation to the production of petroleum. Conversely, the massive community which presently exists is influenced strongly by the world at large because of the current dependence of Fort McMurray upon the petroleum industry.

Informants have recurrently emphasized the rigors of living in the community during the initial years of rapid expansion of Fort McMurray.

The oil sands developments have been a major imposition upon, and have affected the physical displacement of, native people.

It is interesting to note that nearly all of the long-time residents who were interviewed referred to the destruction of familiar landmarks which were symbols of their home environment. These have been replaced with the symbols which represent an entirely different life style from that which is familiar to the old-timers. This historical fact is relevant to a feeling of dis-orientation which seems to be experienced by many of the older residents.

The provision of physical amenities and comforts has taken place at an amazingly rapid pace when viewed over a 15 or 20 year perspective. The fact that many new residents of the community perceive a lack of services which they would like or are accustomed to deflects attention from the great strides which have been made.

A point of major significance for the development of the town, and for the lives of residents of the town, is the New Town status acquired in 1962.

Moving into the town has been a shocking experience for many southern urbanites who have entered Fort McMurray. They have felt the "isolation" very acutely. For people coming from the isolated areas of the far northern portions of Canada, the community appears to be very urban.

In well over 50 percent of the interviews conducted,

gradual (though many times reluctant) adjustment to the way of life of Fort McMurray is very much in evidence over time. This does not mean that people want to establish roots and remain in the town for a long time, though indeed this option seems to be increasingly acceptable as time goes on. However, only a minority of the informants seem to retain a deep seated discontent with living in the town if only for a period of a few years.

#### 2.1.4 Demography

Complete demographic information relating to Fort McMurray is available from the town administration which completed an independent census of the community in the latter months of 1976. For the purposes of this report, it is sufficient to note that in 1960, prior to the establishment of the first oil extraction plant in the Fort McMurray area, the population of the town was only slightly in excess of 1,000. According to the above mentioned census, the population is slightly greater than 17,500, not including approximately 6,000 who are accommodated in the Bechtel camp at the Syncrude site.

Again, according to Harper (1976):

Fort McMurray's population breakdown indicates that it is a growing town comprised mainly of young people. Approximately 97% of the town's population is under 40 years of age and 43% of these are under 14 years of age.

The relative absence of elderly people is very noticeable in terms of the overall activities in the town.

## 2.2 ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

### 2.2.1 Introduction

An unusually large portion of the information elicited from informants relates to economic organization in Fort McMurray. Economic issues are obviously of concern to residents. The fact that people are extremely sensitive to issues such as housing, shopping and the generally rapid growth experienced by the town is not too surprising. These issues appear obvious. However, many informants comment on much more subtle aspects of economic activities in the town.

More classical community studies would deal systematically in design and analysis with formal and highly structured categories such as production, distribution, consumption, division of labor, supply and demand and so on. While this study also examines these issues, the procedure is much less formal and structured. This exploratory study reflects the types of problems and issues which are perceived by residents. Information is gathered through very open-ended interviews rather than through a structured questionnaire. As a result, the economic organization depicted here must be seen against a background of the information concerning political organization, world view and social organization. Apart from the context of the whole, the data may be difficult to interpret in any meaningful way.

One further contextual issue is important. The economic activities of the residents of Fort McMurray are outlined against a background of resource development which includes the interaction of major companies and government with the town. The fact that these large organizations or bureaucracies do have practical, day-to-day implications for, or effects upon, residents of the town is illustrated amply by the comments and opinions of informants. The intensity with which their influences are felt by residents are in part attributable to the New Town status and the direct impact of resource development.

### 2.2.2 Single Economic Base

The economic base of Fort McMurray revolves around the extraction of petroleum from the oil sands. Without the activities of the extraction plants, the town would not be experiencing rapid growth.

*- The present economic position of the area is very precarious. A drop of \$2.00 per barrel in the price of crude oil would destroy the GCOS project and probably have a similarly devastating effect upon the Syncrude operation.*

The above statement is probably accurate in that it was offered by an informed source. The remark underscores the tenuous position of a resource community which is dependent essentially upon a single industrial base.

For most individuals residing and working in the area, riding the crest of the current boom is not conducive to thoughts concerning the tenuousness of the economic base. Only about 10% of informants mentioned this issue as bothersome. Even then, comments were very general, referring usually to a "feeling of insecurity" when one realized the viability of the oil sands development rests to some degree upon the vagaries of the world market.

Not only is the economic base of the Fort McMurray area dependent upon a single industry, but that industry is controlled by only two major companies, Great Canadian Oil Sands (GCOS) and Syncrude Canada Ltd. Almost all informants refer directly or indirectly to the implications of two large companies controlling the bulk of economic activity in the area.

*- One of the realities of life is that the large companies control the housing market. In fact, not only is one at the mercy of the companies in terms of getting a job, but so many parts of life depend upon the company.*

*- The management attitude concentrates upon the immediacy of payback. If an idea, method or technology does not "pay out" in one year, it is likely to be unacceptable.*

*- I really had no choice in coming here to live in Fort McMurray. If you want to make it with the company, you do what they*



want you to do. Oh, they don't insist that you come against your will, but you know damn well that if you don't, your opportunity of getting ahead will have been blown.

- We knew right from the first day that we would have a two year stay in Fort McMurray. The company assured us that this would be the length of duration of the construction phase.

- I have to leave home at 6:00 A.M. and drive from the south end of Fort McMurray where the company housing is located in order to be at work at 7:00 A.M.

- Even as a housewife, I have great loyalties to the company that my husband works for. I really care what kinds of homes are erected in the town. Sometimes I think that the company is being ripped off in terms of the quality of houses that contractors are building for them.

- Being a company town, there is too much dictatorship. It is the same in every resource town. For example, the rules for housing prices, rent, etc. are set by the company.

- This is definitely a company town, all right. If you are not working for one of the major companies, you cannot get a place to live.

- The large companies, particularly Syncrude, are guilty of false advertising as far as I am concerned. You are led to believe that you are coming to heaven, but what a disappointment.

- A job with one of the plants is the only place to find security in this town. It is very difficult to say how long we will be here. We would like to stay until we have purchased a house through the company plan.

- In terms of involvement with the town, Syncrude operates in accordance with a few basic principles. First, the company will only make donations to projects which are community run and owned. As a result, they will not build a monument to the corporation. Second, the company will not give donations to private entrepreneurs or organizations. Third, the company will not intervene directly in provision or acquisition of social services such as medical services, etc.

- Company donations have been done quite quietly. \$350,000 has been given to one community arena, \$400,000 to another. \$75,000 has been donated to the improvement of school playgrounds. \$68,000 has provided musical instruments for the music programs in schools in the town. An amount of \$200,000 has been available for some months for a new town library, but some members of the Town Board do not seem to be able to grasp the fact that there are no strings attached to receiving this grant.

- Syncrude advertising should warn men to first move into the area alone in order to get established and then bring the rest of the family.

- The people who work for Syncrude or GCOS are okay in terms of housing prices. But if you do not work for one company or the other, about one half of your income is taken up by the cost of housing. You are really in trouble if you don't work for one of the large companies.

These comments provide an indication of the range of effect upon residents of economic dependence upon one industry or two large companies. The issues most frequently pinpointed by informants follows:

The overall housing market in the town is controlled directly or indirectly by the major companies. If one is an employee of these companies, the result is very favorable. For others who do not receive housing subsidies, the effect is financially disastrous. (The issue of housing will be examined in greater detail in a subsequent section of this report.)

Several informants (about 40% of those employed by the large companies) suggest that the company overly glorifies the consequences of moving to Fort McMurray in the recruiting literature.

Approximately one of four informants stated they had been transferred to Fort McMurray by their company rather than coming to town of their own volition. Most of these people work for smaller service companies rather than for the primary resource developers.

Two additional points should be made concerning the effect of the large companies upon Fort McMurray and surrounding area. First, as participant observers, these researchers were

surprised at the general lack of knowledge about the activities of the major companies. This may not be unexpected in terms of the average citizen. However, employees in key positions in the town administration seem to be similarly uninformed. There was little evidence that Syncrude and GCOS work together or with the town in order to plan. At certain intervals, the companies seem to issue "estimates" of needs, plans and so on. One reason for this may be that the companies work in more direct co-operation with, and relationship to, provincial authorities than with the town administration. This point will be examined again in more detail in the section on Political Organization.

Second, the activities of the two extraction plants have had direct effects on the lives of native people in the area. GCOS appears to provide fewer economic opportunities for native people than Syncrude Canada Ltd. Syncrude Canada Ltd. has personnel responsible for interacting with native communities throughout Alberta to provide opportunities for hiring, training and relocation of native workers. Economic development programs for native communities are also sponsored by the company.

The same company personnel are responsible for assisting management in becoming familiar with native cultures, particularly in relation to understanding the needs and actions of native workers.

However, one of the most important facts related to native employment at Syncrude is that of 200 native applicants to date, 129 have high school education. The majority of the native people who accept employment opportunities at Syncrude Canada Ltd. appear to have had prolonged exposure to urban environments.

The economic incentive to (particularly rural) native people to seek employment at Syncrude or GCOS is somewhat dubious. For example, fur prices are relatively high now. A return of \$5,000 to \$6,000 from trapping comes very close to being a net profit. However, to work at one of the plants means high wages, but also a high cost of living. The difference in net economic gain between the two life styles may not be worth the social upheaval and

personal stress for many native people.

Furthermore, the stereotype of the native person being an unreliable worker is often offered as a complaint from industry. Yet, it appears that the companies have been equally unreliable in relations with native people in that the corporations have employed natives on a somewhat capricious basis. Frequently native people have been used as a labor force at the convenience of the companies rather than being offered and prepared for full-time, long term employment.

### 2.2.3 Construction and Maintenance Overlap

The Great Canadian Oil Sands extraction plant and the Amoco operation are well into the operations or maintenance phase of development. At the same time, the Syncrude Canada Ltd. plant is in the construction phase. Each development phase depends on workers of separate identifiable social groups. The fact that two different social groupings are mixed in the same social environment seems to be one of the keys to understanding the range of social problems and difficulties experienced in Fort McMurray. Geographic isolation turns the interaction between the two groups inward and thus intensifies the problems. As will be demonstrated in the section on Social Organization, the personnel from the two companies generally socialize in mutually exclusive groups. This would become more exaggerated with the emergence of another oil extraction plant. Should a new town be built to accommodate another influx of workers, or should Fort McMurray be expanded?

Several informants mentioned they have withstood the rigors of two construction efforts now and would be completely unwilling to subject themselves a third time to the social and physical hardships involved in such massive expansion. In effect, the type of personality which enjoys the excitement, adventure or economic opportunity of the construction phase of a community does not seem to mix socially with those who come to maintain the ongoing operation. The second group generally seems to be looking for a place to call home if only for a limited time. Such people with their families tend to pursue a more subdued life style and demand

more amenities than do people who are employed in the construction phase.

The clash between life styles of the two groups tends to be intensified or exaggerated by geographic isolation. There are no towns close enough to Fort McMurray to provide rivalries in sports, competition for government grants and amenities and so on. Creation of a new town in the event of another plant would contribute to the stabilization of Fort McMurray instead of plunging the town into yet another round of expansion and turmoil. As many informants have pointed out, Fort McMurray is desperately in need of an opportunity to settle.

#### 2.2.4 Rapid Growth

Most people are very quick to enumerate the social problems related to rapid growth and expansion. However, this research indicates that a variety of economic problems are also concomitants of such growth patterns. While economic opportunities are obvious positive results of rapid growth, these opportunities seem to affect only selected portions of the public.

One of the most important implications of rapid growth for the residents of Fort McMurray is that everything must be done in a hurry. The result is a need for extensive manpower -- a need which gives rise to much overtime work. This in turn produces problems of many different kinds for individuals and families.

*- My husband works twelve hours a day, so there is seldom any time for recreation or entertaining.*

Statements of this nature are very frequent as individuals and families attempt to cope with a work load which drives many men and women to exhaustion.

Several other informants enumerated the ways in which they notice the effects of rapid growth and change.

*- Most people in town during the mid sixties seemed to accept expansion. It was going to occur anyway, so acceptance was the only attitude which one could muster. In general, people seemed almost to be complacent.*

- How did the town change after the advent of GCOS? Lots of families began to move in. Buildings were erected all over the place. I sometimes picture the town as it was when I was younger. It was quieter then. I can't really say that I don't like the change. I see good things about both times. Before, we were just another little town. Now we are recognized because of oil sands developments. I feel proud to be in Fort McMurray and would hate to leave it.

- In the late sixties, the town only had wooden sidewalks. Everyone wore boots. We were constantly freeing people from the mud. People knew everyone else, and everyone knew everybody else's business. This had both its good and bad points, but one thing you could say is that everyone helped others "in trouble." There were only 4,000 people here and they were certainly friendly.

- I have seen the town go from what it was with the coming of GCOS to becoming a stable community only to return to expansion and confusion with the beginning of Syncrude construction.

- At first I didn't like the idea of the GCOS development. Too many people came along. The landscape was changed and the trees destroyed. All the berry bushes were ruined. However, we could not stop them, so we have adjusted. Now I don't mind it so much. I realize that this is the way that white men have to make their living.

- In the future, I think that the town will come out of it with a brighter financial and social disposition. But it seems that the people who are here today are really paying the price for those who will be here tomorrow.

- As a church, we are not able to meet the needs of stability because we have so many problems related to a fast-growing community.

- Things like mobile homes are symptoms of rapid growth and will not last forever. Even now it is better for most persons than to try to go back to where they came from and find the opportunities not as great. One needs a sense of adventure to cope with the growth and change.

*- It is not development as such, but the urgency of development that creates fear in most of us. There is no time to evaluate what is happening because of the urgency of construction demand.*

Indeed, for many individuals, the rapid pace of growth and change is something which seems to produce feelings akin to frustration and fear. Those who are able to make adjustments which enable them "to roll with the punches" appear to be able to cope with the constant change. Those who cannot muster sufficient flexibility are the ones who experience the most acute problems.

But as informants point out, all is not negative in relation to rapid growth. Expansion has created an unprecedented opportunity and has permitted a life style attractive to many. Amenities have been brought to the community which would never have materialized if the boom had not occurred.

Note the comment by a native person. The native people of the area are the only ones from whom rapid growth and change have demanded an adjustment to a totally foreign way of life. The truly amazing thing is not that so many native people have experienced difficulty in making the transition, but that so many have coped with a minimum of difficulty.

#### 2.2.5 Boom Town Inflation

Several studies have indicated that people moving into resource communities are frequently motivated by the opportunity for higher wages and consequent economic gain. They do not anticipate that the overall cost of living is also higher. The degree to which this problem affects residents seems to be directly related to their type of employment. Those working for the larger companies receive subsidies for housing and other amenities. For the single men and women living in the Bechtel camp, wages represent close to a net return as room and board are provided at no cost. However, for individuals who are employed apart from the major companies and who do not receive any form of living subsidies, the effect of boom town inflation is much more devastating.

The first comment below points to an unperceived variation on this problem.

- Nobody from outside Fort McMurray sees that there is a small group of old timers here who did not make it big in the "boom." They are living at the side of all that is going on and they are living on fixed incomes. Poverty has become a way of life. Some of the old timers made it big, but a lot more were plain working people who could not cash in on the boom. With greatly inflated prices, they cannot live in the present setting.

- It is my experience that union people are charged more than non-union people by dentists and others. If children are uncooperative, they are sent away after a mother has waited five months for an appointment. The same mother had an estimate of \$300 for some dental work in Fort McMurray which was completed for \$180 in Edmonton.

- The cost of living is too damn high. For example, utility bills are outrageous. If you complain, your utilities are shut off, so what can you do? As soon as my husband gains a little experience in his job, we will be moving.

- Rent for a single self-contained room was raised from \$350 per month to \$150 per week. Consumer affairs is after the landlord, but he has enough "clout" that nothing will come of it.

Indeed, the issue of "shady" or "under the table" dealings with regard to business practices was raised specifically and independently by slightly over 25% of informants as one of the most prominent reasons for inflated prices.

- As an independent businessman, I have been approached many times over the past years with enticements to participate in "under the table" deals. It really disturbs me because it is against my principles to engage in such deals. I could have made my "killing" and been out of town long ago, but I prefer to be able to live with my conscience. But the fact that I would not "play the game" has cost me a lot of money over the years.

- Many business people who have tried to entice me into some kind of an underhanded deal will come to me the next day and try to excuse themselves because I have refused to participate. They allege that they were drunk or they make other excuses for



things they may have said.

- The town is basically controlled by about ten men. Some individuals who come to town have no morals. They come to earn the fastest dollar possible and if they can get an extra \$50,000 under the table, they only need to stay for a year or so in order to make their fortune.

- About ten or a dozen men are financially screwing the residents of the town. They can be dealt with only at face value. You cannot rely on them for products or services. The only way you can deal with them and remain honest yourself is to make sure you never get yourself into a position where you have to rely on them. If you get cornered that way you are finished.

A rapidly expanding town such as this creates the perfect situation for certain businessmen to rip the people off. Fort McMurray has often been called Fort Ripoff. The merchant caters to people whom he knows will likely be here only temporarily. Thus, he will not likely be called to account for his misdemeanors. Other comments are offered as follows:

- Although we are making more money here, all our costs are higher, too. We are finding that in order to maintain an acceptable, but not affluent, standard of living, both my husband and I have to work. We are expected to pay for services and amenities which have not been installed or constructed yet.

- As an older native person who is also a widow, the only way I can now afford to buy clothes is to get them at rummage sales. New clothes just cost too much.

- Anything that government gets involved in inevitably sends costs up.

Again, one cannot help but be impressed that such a large segment of the population perceives (correctly or otherwise) that underhanded and illegitimate business dealings are responsible to a major degree for the inflated prices and cost of living. Undoubtedly, such events do occur. The extent of the problem is difficult to assess either because hard evidence is unavailable or because it is sufficiently delicate as to be necessarily deleted from a report

such as this. The most important issue is that the general populace believes that "shady" deals are a major cause of inflation and this motivates their behavior.

In underscoring this point, we do not mean to imply that all businessmen in the town are "rip off artists." Nothing could be further from the truth. In the process of living in the town, we quietly set up a few test cases in which local businesses were provided with opportunities to rip off the field researchers in everyday kinds of economic activities. In only one of five cases was there any evidence to argue that a "rip off" occurred.

If exceptional opportunities were not prevalent, the businesses which do exist would not be able to survive. In a subsequent section, attention will be focused on some of the problems faced particularly by small businesses. It should be recognized that business people also have some legitimate complaints concerning the behaviors and expectations of the public and also of the large companies which have great influence over the economic activities of the region.

Housing is still the area of greatest concern and complaint in relation to inflationary costs.

Throughout this report, insights are encountered into the fact that the urgency of expansion, construction and production is responsible in large measure for the inflation of costs and prices. Even the wages paid by the larger companies, particularly for the construction phase of Syncrude Canada Ltd., are out of line for the amount of work being done. This opinion has been expressed by many workers on the Syncrude site; it is not a judgment of the researchers. In a sense, the major companies have been responsible for complacently accepting and reinforcing being ripped off themselves. The argument could be advanced that it is less expensive to finance this type of rip off than to bear the costs of not having the project completed as scheduled.

#### 2.2.6 High Wages / Affluence / Debt

The data collected in this study confirm that the relative affluence created in a resource community paradoxically results in

individuals going deeper into debt than they had been in their previous community. It may not be too strong a statement to say that appearances indicate only the exceptional individual makes substantial gains in net worth by participating in the wage labor market. Some of the attitudes of informants concerning wages, affluence and debt are presented below.

- Working for one of the major companies, we have been able to save a fair amount of money. We have lived rent and utility free. The only thing we had to pay for is telephone, food and clothing. We came for only two years in order to make money. All our time and effort have been devoted to this. Sometimes I wonder if what we have gone through has been worth it. Anyway, we have been counting the days until it was time to leave and finally the time has come.

- I just rolled into town to see if I could get a job. It took me only a few hours to get a job as a painter. I clear \$130 per day. I came up here to see if I could make enough money to pay off my debts which amount to about \$4,000. If I stay at camp, I should be able to get out of here in about four months with all the money I need.

- We are trying to find a good boarding school for our child. We would really like her to stay in school. All her friends have left school in grades 10, 11 and 12 for high-paying jobs of \$15,000 to \$20,000 per year.

- The money here is higher, but the expenses are higher. One is no further ahead. If a man can live in camp and leave his family in the city, he can make money. We get into greater debt because you think that you are making more money. The bank is really "easy" to borrow from.

- Money made it possible to do everything we wanted. Or at least we thought we could do it all until the bills started to come in.

- Being away from friends and relatives, our telephone bill is always astronomical.

- Our son is 16 and is very unhappy in this town. He is

interested in many things -- outdoors, swimming, scouts and so on. He can't strike up a conversation with anybody at school. The other boys are interested in big money, cars, motorcycles and dropping out of school after grade 10 to go to work as a laborer. Out of 84 students they graduated from high school, approximately three students are in university and about three more started last year and quit.

- We don't want to be committed to a company, but we know that Fort McMurray will always have work. We have financial security here that we could never have anywhere else. I have lived alone and know what it is to fight to survive. I was told to go on welfare in 1972 in order to survive as a single woman. This year I made \$12,000 in six months and between me and my husband we made \$50,000. This town has allowed us to be together without social pressures and I must say that I think we "made it" because of living in Fort McMurray.

- Taxes are high. Everything about living here makes it hard to save. Luckily, we had a little money when we came, but I would have hated to arrive with any kind of debt. We were here only a short time and our savings were gone. Three years ago, we paid \$28,000 for a house. Now it is selling for \$60,000. I can't understand how people can afford houses. We were lucky, but we couldn't make it if we were just coming here now.

- I don't know if the figures are reliable, but I was told that 50% of the people working for Syncrude spend the majority of their money in Edmonton; 25% send their earnings home; 25% spend their money here.

- I am a single man with an office job for Syncrude at the present time. I am going to leave town for a short period of time and come back to work in the camp kitchen washing floors and pushing trays. I make \$6.80 per hour in my present position and would make \$8.00 per hour in the kitchen. I have to come back here because this is where the money is. The only other spots are farther North and things are much rougher and coarser there.

- I have an accounting degree from a university. Shortly after I came here, my salary doubled, so I can't complain about the money.

- I came here \$9,000 in debt, and am now only \$3,000 in debt. I wanted to buy a truck and my company agreed to guarantee the loan, but three banks refused to make the loan. I really feel like a lower class person, but I felt lower before I came here.

- It didn't take long for us to get into debt. I was into the finance company for \$9,000. I received several credit cards and managed to charge up another \$1,000.

- When we first came, we had to stay in a hotel because there was no other place to live. We had a hotel bill of \$1,000 per month until we got a place to stay. By then, we were so far in debt that we were forced to stay in order to pay off the money we owed. A person is really no further ahead here than in any other place. Finally we just decided to give it up and sell everything cheap and leave.

- Fort McMurray has been good to me. I have no money problems for the rest of my life and I am less than 40 years old. However, I could only have done it by operating my own business.

- I left GCOS making \$1,550 per month and decided to go back to school. Syncrude immediately offered me \$1,800 per month. That is why it is so hard to leave this place. The temptation is to turn my back on school. But I would be returning to a dead end job. There is nowhere else to go after here if one is skilled in only a limited job.

- Let's face it, this is the only place that we can afford to buy a house. It is a good place for young people to start out in life. We make good money and can afford to have all the material things we want. This is all we want, to get ahead and just to have some things before we leave. Many people are trapped here because of the problems with housing and the types of jobs that are available. But if you get in here while you are young, you can leave in eight years with a bundle if you plan properly. I don't know of any other place where you can get ahead as far in only eight years. You can do it faster with two people working and if you are willing to make some sacrifices.

- The most amazing thing about this town is that young

people just starting out have to have everything in terms of material possessions.

- My main purpose in life is just to continue to travel around. But I admit that I will probably end up here again and again. Fort McMurray is the only place in the world that I know of where you can make as much money in such a short period of time.

- Housing is central and wages are attractive. People jump at these things without thinking. But often they would be better off where they are.

- Here people can get what they never have had. Credit is easy so they overspend. They can't meet the payments. They see other people enjoying material possessions, but have not worked out a way to afford them and they will not wait.

- The ready availability of credit is a universal problem which is not unique to Fort McMurray.

Obviously experiences differ to a large degree simply on the basis of personal skills in handling money, personal attitudes and values. However, one thing does appear to be reasonably clear. By and large, the best way to exploit wage labor appears to be by being single or by leaving one's family behind and moving into camp. To enter Fort McMurray as a family with the intent of setting up a home on a longer term basis seems to lead to increased financial problems rather than to financial emancipation. This is particularly true if one does not work for a company which offers housing or other cost of living subsidies.

#### 2.2.7 Housing

No single issue evoked as much response as the housing problem. Indeed, we faced the housing problem ourselves in trying to do the participant observation style research. We found that not only was fixed accommodation totally unavailable, but we could find no area into which a trailer could be moved for six months.

To begin, comments made by informants about housing will be presented. At the conclusion of the remarks, some of the more important issues raised by residents will be examined in more detail.

- We had a trailer when we first arrived. The landlord promised to fix various things on warranty. This took months of fighting and things were still never completely settled.

- When we were on our own before we began working for the company and we had to provide our own housing, finances were tight. But working for an organization which provides housing makes things a lot easier.

- When we came, we moved into a brand new "cracker box" apartment. We furnished the apartment from stores in Edmonton because prices and selections here are unreal.

- The town makes it very hard to invest because of the high cost of land. Building costs are out of sight.

- All this nonsense about a housing shortage is a crock of ---- because the large companies buy the houses and hold them for future employees. On our block there is one house which has been vacant for a year and another which is at least two years old and has never been lived in. Our company pays the taxes and gas bill for the house. We pay telephone and utilities.

- There were a number of squatters who moved into town in pursuit of money. They lived in tents allegedly because there is no place to live, but actually they did not want to pay rent.

- In Area 6, I cannot believe the stupidity of creating a mobile home park which physically cannot be turned eventually into a normal residential area because of type and placement of utilities, roads, etc.

- The company provides me with a house, car, furniture and utilities. We really have no extra costs so our money is saved.

- I bought a single-wide trailer in Area 6. I placed a very large down payment on it so that the payments would only be \$100 per month. However, the total additional expenses including utilities for one month average \$260. The trailer costs me more per square foot than a house or an apartment by far.

- I resent the activities of Alberta Housing. They seem to have control over the land. Yet, the high price of lots does not seem to be warranted.

- In the low rental housing which is available the most that a family of four can make in order to qualify is \$14,600. If you make more than that, you have to pay 35% of your gross earnings for housing. At present Alberta Housing has six empty places because people just don't qualify. Alberta Housing does not want to deal with welfare people. The only welfare people in the low rental housing area are ones who originally moved into the townhouses when they were first built.

- In order to live in Fort McMurray it will cost me \$500 to \$700 per month to rent a house for myself and my family. I am moving out of town because there is no way that I can afford this.

- I haven't even a hope of buying a trailer here, so I have to move out of town.

- In April of 1975 when we first came here, housing was completely out of reach. There was only one attractive house for sale when we came for two days to look the place over. All the others were far out of our price range. Finally our company agreed to put us up in an apartment for eight months. The managerial staff were subsidized or we could not have stayed. We then lived in a trailer for about a year and then were moved into our present house.

- We moved to town in 1972 and bought a trailer for \$9,000 because there was nothing to rent. We sold the trailer in 1974 for \$11,000.

- We have been here for ten years and have earned clear title to our company home. If it were not for this we could leave now.

- We would not be building now if we had not owned the land for some time. Land costs have escalated to the point where construction would not be feasible if we had to pay current prices for the land.

- Even though I am a single working girl, I could not afford to stay in town if I could not rent a room from my parents.

- When we came in 1974, housing was the most difficult thing to cope with. People had no rights. The landlady was rude. There was no choice in food. You had to be at the store just after



the truck had delivered or you wouldn't get much.

- We would like to leave Fort McMurray as soon as possible because we cannot afford to build or buy a home here. Even with both my wife and I working, we cannot make enough money to put a down payment on a home.

- A few years ago we and all our friends lived in trailers and really didn't give a rip about what life was like. We had lots of parties and really lived it up. As soon as we started moving into houses, we changed our life styles and started saving pennies. The parties and socializing began to drop off. Everyone was busy with their new homes.

- Where else can a young couple own a home in ten years thanks to GCOS?

- The original price of our home when we bought it was \$19,000. Now we are selling it eight years later and we are getting \$80,000 for it.

- We came in 1970 and housing was so tight we had to live in a 10 feet by 42 feet (39 m<sup>2</sup>) trailer with another couple. She was a vegetarian, so every night we had to cook separate meals.

- We came to Fort McMurray in response to an advertisement on TV. When we arrived we had to live in a two bedroom apartment. There we were with three teenage boys and the two of us in a two bedroom apartment. A short time later, we found a house which we bought.

- The home we are presently renting is costing \$650 per month. I cannot afford to buy a house.

- It actually costs more to live in a trailer in this town than to live in a house. If you take the total cost of the rented land, the trailer cost and utilities, it costs me an average of \$1,000 per month to live in the trailer. On a good month I earn \$3,000 and on a poor month I earn \$1,800.

- The average citizen cannot afford to buy a house. If you work for Syncrude, the mortgage is free and you don't have to have a down payment. The amount of the monthly payment is stated by the company. You have to live in the house for ten years. After

this period, you can pay off the house as fast as you want. You have to be office or executive staff to get a house in a certain price bracket. Laborers cannot buy houses, but may buy a trailer or live in an apartment. On the open market you can only get a mortgage for \$42,000 on a \$75,000 home. Even with a second mortgage of \$20,000, you still have to have \$15,000 in cash and the average guy just can't do it.

- I can't understand why there is such a difference in the cost of utilities between houses and trailers. It seems that the utility companies and the town are really trying to rip off trailer owners. We have lived in two types of accommodation since coming here. In Edmonton, we paid a power bill of \$18 per month for a 1,600 square feet (150 m<sup>2</sup>) house. A single wide trailer in Fort McMurray (900 square feet [85 m<sup>2</sup>]) costs us \$89 per month. Our present house of 2,000 square feet (195 m<sup>2</sup>) costs us \$32 per month. In the trailer, we were away for two weeks and still received a bill for \$42 for the month.

- Ten years ago serviced lots cost \$1,100 in the central part of town around the Anglican Church. Now the same lots are \$75,000.

- The way in which the companies are buying or building houses is creating company "ghettos." All the people from one company live in given areas rather than being dispersed around the town.

- Why does a serviced lot cost \$23,000?

- There seems to be a lot of profiteering through housing. At the moment there is a real housing shortage because of the influx of people. This creates discontent in families. Life seems to be a continual struggle financially because of housing.

- I have to be critical of Alberta Housing. It takes them an unreasonably long time to react to local conditions. For example, the Cohos projection of a population of 17,000 for 1976 has been confirmed. But housing is lagging far behind. They are just too slow to respond to the projections. They won't allow private developers to come in and do the job. By the time Alberta Housing gets

through the process of decision-making, it is too late to cope with the problem. Private developers invest money and take the risk. For example, if they build for 40,000 people and only 30,000 come, they lose out. But Alberta Housing will only go for a sure thing after the fact.

- Mortgage companies are unwilling to risk long term money for housing in town. Why should they move far from safer investments in cities such as Edmonton?

- Many homes have more than one family. People who have no accommodation stay with friends who do. Frequently, there are two women and a flock of kids in one home or trailer. People can't be expected to live like that.

That housing is of major concern to the residents is both an understatement and a blatantly obvious attitude. The important issues revolve around how this discontent may be understood and corrected. Viewed in context of the total way of life, housing has some very important implications for a variety of social situations in Fort McMurray.

First, well over 50% of the informants have experienced the same patterned sequence of finding accommodation in Fort McMurray. (This statement considers individuals and families who are moving into the town rather than singles who live in camps.) Upon arrival, families are placed for an indefinite period in a hotel or motel or are forced to live with friends (or in some cases, complete strangers) until some form of suitable accommodation is found. At this point, they move into trailers or mobile homes, an experience which is usually novel for them. Bear in mind that 75% of the informants came to Fort McMurray from urban areas and had not experienced life in a mobile home or trailer park. The conditions tend to be frustrating and upsetting.

A portion of the population then is able to move into a house. For many people, this is a critical period. The standard wait for a house appears to be about two years. By this point, people are sufficiently upset with living conditions that they are beginning to make statements like: "We will wait one more

month to see if our promised house comes through and if it doesn't, we are going to leave."

A second visible pattern in relation to accommodation is the correlation between housing and the type of employment which an individual has. The informants appear to fall into one of three categories:

- single men who are accommodated in camp;
- people working for companies other than the major employers and who therefore receive no company housing, housing subsidies or cost of living grants; and
- people receiving subsidized company accommodation.

Viewed from one perspective, the entire social structure of the community may be understood in terms of these three categories. The three groups usually socialize in mutually exclusive environments. The social identification of people in Fort McMurray tends to be initially in terms of the type of accommodation which they occupy.

As suggested above, the large companies maintain effective control over the housing industry. On the most basic level they create not only the social environment in a general sense, but establish the overall parameters of the patterns of social interaction within the community. Primary social identity is established in terms of housing; secondary identity is based upon one's company. These types of social barriers will be repeated and intensified in the event of another plant using Fort McMurray to domicile employees.

Third, the data clearly imply that the inordinately high cost of accommodation militates against social stability. Who can afford to establish roots in the town and make the community a permanent home? Paradoxically, industry through housing policy undermines systematically the very stability of the work force required to maintain an economically viable operation. This problem may be resolved gradually as the Syncrude Canada Ltd. operation moves into the maintenance phase of operation. However, if expansion were to continue because of other extraction plants being constructed, the whole cycle likely would be repeated in

even greater intensity.

The fourth point suggested by the data is that the mystery of high prices for housing (e.g. \$23,000 for a serviced lot) is psychologically difficult for people. Whether the price is justified or may be rationalized, the populace appears suspicious. If somebody has a valid explanation for the high cost of lots, the public should be informed. If the cost is not legitimate, the public should be informed similarly and corrective measures taken to ensure that the situation is not repeated. Now the aura of mystery surrounding the housing industry exerts a very negative influence upon the community.

#### 2.2.8 Small Businesses

On the basis of superficial analysis, Fort McMurray seems to have provided an unprecedented opportunity for the private entrepreneur to "make a killing." Certainly this is the viewpoint of the public. Indeed, business opportunities have been numerous in the town. However, the public is unaware largely of problems faced by the small businessmen. The perception of being treated unfairly tends to overshadow the possibility that valid reasons exist for the situation.

*- The town seems to be a closed shop and outsiders with new businesses seem to be discouraged in relation to starting up here. We usually buy locally rather than saving up to go to Edmonton. But if my friends and I were on the ball, we would buy on a cooperative basis with four or five other families in an effort to reduce costs.*

*- Over 100 small businesses have gone bankrupt in this town over the past couple of years.*

*- My greatest problem as a small businessman is that I cannot compete on the labor market. When just down the road a person can get a job with one of the plants at a much larger salary and probably with housing or cost of living subsidies thrown in also, how am I going to be able to compete for his services? If I raised my prices to do so, I would price myself right out of business. I really have to wonder if it is*

worth it all when I realize that clerks at the local grocery stores are making almost as much as I am and they have no major headaches in relation to running an entire business.

- Why has the park plaza development not started?

Sometimes I feel as though the local businessmen on town council or with influence on town council veto any new business opportunity. Yet new businesses would really benefit the town, particularly if there were enough competition and variety to entice people to shop in Fort McMurray rather than in Edmonton. All the businesses in town would benefit. But this attitude on the part of business people makes you wonder. There have to be some under the table dealings somewhere to keep new businesses out.

- I went into one local store to buy a product on which the price was not marked. When I went to pay, the price seemed too high, so I questioned it. The merchant told me that if I didn't like it, I should not bother to come back. When all was said and done, it turned out that he was wrong and had charged \$20 too much by mistake. And then they wonder why people go to Edmonton to shop.

- Even though the small business I work for is run inefficiently, the location and the monopoly in town still allow the owner to make money. The same operation in Edmonton would last only a short time before going under.

- I know by personal experience that the smaller service companies remain in operation only as long as they do not step on the toes of the larger companies for whom they are working. If you run afoul of somebody, all of a sudden your payments are 90 or 120 days late instead of being based on 30 day payment periods. No small company can stay afloat under these conditions.

- Anybody can go into business here if he has the right contacts and has his foot in somebody's door.

- The attitudes of the businessmen are geared for a transient clientele, but the local people have to live here also. Local businesses are out to cash in on the boom and as a result they create feelings of resentment. This is very shortsighted.

*Is that extra ten cents in the till today really worth turning your back on ten dollars tomorrow? There will be a time when the situation in Fort McMurray is no longer a seller's market, and then merchants will have to pay the price for their present attitude.*

From the above comments, small businesses in town appear to be at a major disadvantage in competing with major industries in the labor market. Certainly this is a major problem in the sense that the cost of competing on the labor market is one factor which drives up the prices of consumer goods. Also, the same factor appears to be responsible in some measure for the relatively slow expansion of retail outlets in Fort McMurray.

The data also indicate that a large proportion of the informants feel that small businesses in town operate on the basis of monopolies. There is a perceived need for competition; most people apparently believe it would force prices down and produce a wider selection of consumer goods.

A very large segment of the community shops for minor items in Fort McMurray and leaves the purchase of major items until an opportunity is available for a trip to an urban center such as Edmonton. The social function of shopping as entertainment or distraction is a theme which is very strong in the interviews. This seems to be overlooked completely by the local entrepreneurs.

#### 2.2.9 Conspicuous Consumption

Conspicuous consumption of vehicles and recreational accessories as well as other material goods is evidenced in many aspects of daily life. This is typical of resource towns where a sense of affluence prevails. However, in Fort McMurray, a much more subtle conspicuous consumption probably has more bearing on social relationships. This relates to the difference between people who occupy houses as opposed to apartments or trailers.

Some informants' comments provide insight.

*- The transient people in the town are really only*

interested in acquiring things and money rather than trying to improve the quality of life for the community as a whole.

-When I first came to town I had no money. Now I have a little tucked away. It is interesting that I want even more as a result. Before, \$10,000 in savings would have satisfied me, but my goal has changed to \$100,000. Now when I do spend, I spend a lot more than when I just worked in the city. I might wait for a couple of months before I leave camp to go to the city. I throw money away. The excitement of just blowing money is good, but the time away from the camp environment is too short. Are you frugal with your money? Basically, I am, although I do enjoy a little fling and of course, I can afford it. Are there other men in camp similarly frugal? That is an interesting question, the answer to which I can only guess. In my opinion, the majority are not too careful how money is spent. But I have noticed that the basic personality of a person does not seem to change too much. If they can't save in the city, they can't save here.

- This town has been good to me. I have bought a house for \$75,000, a boat for \$8,000, a camper for \$3,500, a snowmobile and car for \$13,500.

- I am amazed the way people buy clothes here. They are purchased in bunches rather than item by item.

- I have periods when I just have to spend money. I put a couple of hundred dollars in my pocket and go to Edmonton just to spend money. I seem to have to compensate myself for the rigors of living in Fort McMurray. A lot of people do that.

This last mentioned point is borne out by comments in the following section.

## 2.2.10 Shopping

The whole issue of shopping patterns and activities is of such importance in Fort McMurray that a separate section seemed appropriate for the comprehensive consideration of the phenomenon. Several points concerning shopping have already been presented in sections above, but the broader range of comments offered by informants are rendered in greater detail



as follows.

- I am really frustrated in terms of the selection of things to buy in this town. The food selection, for example, has improved a lot over the last year or two, but it still has a long way to go.

- I like to shop in Edmonton because of greater selection.

- Food prices were very high when we first came three years ago. Now they are at least tolerable.

- Shopping is adequate here now. I do 95% of my shopping right here in town. If I have a special need, I go to Edmonton.

- Isolation does not bother me too much. But it is too far and too expensive to go to Edmonton. We need good shopping facilities with some large chain stores here in Fort McMurray. There are not enough grocery stores. Too many people have to crowd into the same small areas for grocery shopping. We also need shopping centres in Areas 6, 2 and 5 so that there isn't so much congestion downtown. If you are not there when they unpack the boxes you don't get the choice.

- Many of the goods I want to buy I can't even find here in town. The only thing that I buy here is food. Any specialty items are bought in the city. It is really inconvenient even to go shopping here. You have to fight your way down the hill to get to the store.

- You can't go to another area to shop except Edmonton. Besides, the merchants feel so confident about having the edge on you that they are not shy about telling you to go to Edmonton to shop if you say anything at all negative about their stores.

- It always seems that the very time you have the money to buy something, you can't get it. People want things right away and it is frustrating to wait until you can get to Edmonton. We start remodelling our house in November and five months later it is finished because it took that long for the supplies to arrive. We waited two months for rugs in spite of our being promised delivery in two weeks. I got so angry I finally phoned and

cancelled the order. The rug arrived a half-hour later. I had to take a day off work which cost me \$100 in order to wait for the rug to be laid. They did not even call to say that they had decided not to come. It appears that the bigger contractors get the priority service and all others have to be fit in when they can.

- We sure could use more stores. We have a lack of clothing stores especially for children. There is little variety. Prices are high. We do odd bits of shopping here, but the majority in Edmonton. There is not enough shopping area for the number of people in town.

- Shopping is horrible. I only shop occasionally. The kids get their clothes sent from back home. I do some shopping for myself. Clothes are too expensive and some competition is needed. We could really use a chain store. I don't like ordering things, but I do on occasion because I have no choice. I love shopping and would patronize many more stores if they were here. We certainly cannot complain about the placement of stores as they are centered in the downtown core. My biggest complaint, though, is that I would like to be able to shop and bring the goods home rather than having to wait while they are ordered.

- We have about 18,000 people in town. Forty-six percent are under 18 years of age, and therefore don't buy anything. There are another 1,500 single people who do not buy anything. There are really only 4,000 people buying and this is why when big stores survey here they won't build.

- I make most of my purchases in the city mainly because there are rarely any sales or bargains in the town. We go out to the city anyway for entertainment, so we wait to buy there. Shopping for clothing is improving, but there is still no comparison to the city mainly because of the limited selection here. Besides, I like to go on a shopping spree for a treat, so I wait to go to the city.

- Shopping here is scattered. We really need a total shopping center. Prices still have to come down. They seem to

average about 10% higher here. We go to the city and stock up on a regular basis. Here you have to go to several stores just to find a common item. There are a lot of small stores here which are too specialized to carry a full selection.

- I went yesterday to do some shopping and became impatient and quit. The whole set-up was horrible. I walk in the mud to stores and the selection is poor. We have so many people for so few stores. People in Areas 5 and 2 have to shop downtown. Is there any good reason for not having stores in these areas? I think that the people with businesses downtown are preventing other businesses from starting up. I talk with one merchant who agrees that more stores are needed except for the field in which he is retailing.

Between 75% and 80% of the informants indicate that they shop as much as possible in Edmonton. The range of reasons given for this preference are fairly well illustrated above. However, two points might be underscored. First, one of the most important functions of shopping is entertainment. Even more important, people use shopping, conspicuous consumption and just generally "blowing money" as a means of compensating themselves for the isolation they perceive in Fort McMurray. Most retail outlets in the town seem to operate on a "production line" philosophy rather than providing the atmosphere for shopping to be a special outing or a form of entertainment. The bulk of the consumer market seems to respond by saving their discretionary dollar to spend in Edmonton where the very process of shopping can be made an invigorating and fulfilling social experience.

Second, as with housing, until the community can provide the quality of shopping experience which will cater to people who wish to establish roots and make Fort McMurray their home, the very process of retailing encourages transience and instability. The community cannot be expected to make a successful transition from relative upheaval to quiet and stability until the critical support systems are properly managed.

### 2.2.11 Working Conditions

The final section in this chapter deals with informants' perceptions of and attitudes toward working conditions.

- I am quite used to working long hours. I work from 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 or 11:00 P.M. daily.

- Working pressures are greater here by far. My husband feels that he is working in a zoo. The pressure which comes from the people who work in the camps is a constant hassle. Many of the workers are ex-convicts who can't get a job anywhere else and the company needs help so they are hired. I know of two who robbed a bank in central Alberta and they were found up here working in camp.

- One of the nice things about working in this area is that a woman has an opportunity to work in jobs usually reserved for men. I joined the laborers union and started to work at Bechtel. My starting pay was \$7.80 per hour which was really nice. I shovelled sand, dug and so on and really enjoyed the outdoor work. I like working with the men, too. A lot of women worked out there to have a good time. My only major problem was with the foreman. He said, "Come across, or you are down the road." I reported him and he was down the road.

- I don't like working full-time but I plan to continue part-time. I feel that I should pitch in and help my husband who works long hours. Also there are some things I want and we cannot afford on his salary, so I thought I would get them myself.

- I liked the work at the plant for the first year and a half. The last two months the pressure has escalated as we are pushing hard for the completion of the plant. It is difficult to explain what it is like to live in camp. The food is excellent and basically you can do what you want to do. The social life is very limited, but I really enjoy being by myself. I don't have time now to do some of the things I used to do. All my waking time is now spent on the job. I work 80 to 90 hours a week. I am paid a basic salary plus an hourly rate for over-

time. After a certain point, money doesn't compensate for what you are putting yourself through. It is funny the way that the value of money changes. When I questioned the long hours, I was told this is the nature of construction life. I am a staff person and not union.

- I don't like shift work, but what can I do? My type of work will always call for shift work no matter where I work. Our social life is difficult and our family life is not at all what it should be, but where else could I earn the amount of money I get or where could I have the house I have? We need a good financial backing to make it in civilization someday. As soon as I get my papers, we will move.

- I have a job normally called a man's job. I like the opportunity just to be myself. I am respected for myself just as men are respected for the person they are or the job they do.

- In the service industries, we are under the constant pressure to perform. Things are just going ahead too quickly to even begin to know how to cope with the work that has to be done.

- Sometimes I really feel guilty in my job taking the money I get for the small amount of work I am required to do. I have been reprimanded for working too hard. I have been instructed to drive around the site at a speed not exceeding eight or nine miles an hour. I think it is ridiculous, but that is what I am instructed to do. Nobody seems to want me to put in an honest day's work. I showed my brother my paycheque of \$1,100 for one week's work of 77 hours. It is really boring, but the money is here. I now work two jobs, 5:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. at the plant, then I get a few hours sleep. Then I have another part-time job during the day.

Most of the comments concerning working conditions are sufficiently descriptive not to require further elaboration. However, two points which were raised should be emphasized as they recur in various forms throughout this report. First, the long hours of work experienced by a large segment of the labor force precipitate a variety of social and personal problems including health problems for people who get little relief from the constant cycle of work.

Second, a surprising number of people stated they felt some personal guilt about receiving high wages for minimal work requirements. It would not be inaccurate to state that many of the workers at the Syncrude construction site are of the opinion that the cost of the project is grossly inflated due to the company's acquiescence to being ripped off by the labor force.

#### 2.2.12 Conclusions

The informants have provided information concerning economic organization. The implications of a single industry resource town, particularly in the relationship between economic and social organization are as follows.

1. The overall economic activity in the town is based upon the major companies engaged in oil exploration and extraction. Specifically, the information has indicated that:

- a. informants are of the opinion that the companies do not depict accurately the conditions in Fort McMurray when recruiting or promoting;
- b. the companies basically avoid interaction with the town apart from providing jobs for the people who are brought into the areas;
- c. inter-company rivalry has some economic implications, but more importantly has a major influence upon the social structure of the town, and
- d. the construction phase of Syncrude overlaps with the maintenance phase of GCOS and other operations.

This is the basis of a variety of social problems.

2. Housing is probably the most volatile issue in the minds of the informants. A general lack of housing prevails. However, a basic social division has been created based upon the provision of company housing and living subsidies to the employees of the major companies. People who do not receive these concessions but still have to live in the area experience severe

difficulty with the cost of living.

3. Rapid growth creates a "work overload" which provides an opportunity for workers to make large amounts of money, but tends to leave little time for any other activity.

4. The rapid expansion and growth tends to be psychologically disorienting for almost everyone in Fort McMurray.

5. Oldtimers who never made it in the boom are having difficulty coping with the inflated cost of living created by the explosive development.

6. The populace is very cynical concerning the ethics of the business community as a whole. Residents feel they have been ripped off by entrepreneurs who are making a killing at their expense.

7. People coming into the area to work naively anticipate increased economic opportunity, but seldom seem to expect a compensating inflated cost of living.

8. Small businesses cannot compete with the major companies for the labor force because they are not in a position to provide similar benefits or wages.

9. Lack of adequate or acceptable shopping facilities is a major complaint of the informants.

## 2.3 POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

### 2.3.1 Introduction

Every community has to deal with the problem of social control. Analytically, the aspect of culture which deals with social control is referred to as political organization. Two of the more important concepts included within the scope of political organization are power (that is, the ability to impose one's will upon people) and authority (that is, the right to exert power -- a right entrusted to specific individuals by the community as a whole).

When most people think about political organization, they think in terms of political offices, political parties and politicians. However, the social scientist doing a community study goes beyond examination of these formal aspects of political organization to include the informal aspects. It is necessary to understand not only how the formal system is supposed to work, but in a much more down to earth and practical sense how the community deals with social control. Who really exerts power? Do the people or groups exerting power have the community-given authority to do so or is it imposed? What is the nature of leadership?

The primary purpose of this work is to reflect the residents' views of these issues. People tend to subscribe to many myths concerning political issues. But, insofar as the behavior of people is concerned, it must be understood that their actions are motivated by what they believe to be true, rather than what is true.

Political organization in any community is an issue which is highly emotionally charged. Some of the opinions of informants will be inflammatory and, indeed, may have no basis in reality. The attempt here is to reflect as accurately as possible the viewpoints of the populace. If viewed in this context, the information presented in this section is not only interesting, but highly instructive.



Economic organization deals with concepts such as production, distribution and consumption. The concept of wealth thus becomes an important issue in the context of economics. The manipulation or control of wealth is one of the means by which power may be accumulated or exerted. This is one important reason (among several others) why the analytical categories of political organization and economic organization are so closely linked. The relationship will become much more clear as the data regarding political organization are outlined.

### 2.3.2 Politico-economic Influence of Companies

In a more rigorous empirical study of a resource community, particularly if it were extended over a relatively long time, political and economic influence of the major companies would be analyzed directly in depth. The current work is not so directly interested in what the situation actually is as it is focused upon what the residents believe.

The politico-economic control or influence exerted by companies in towns built on a single resource has been described recurrently by research. In the previous section, several insights were presented from an economic perspective. The following comments add perceptions of power and influence to the picture.

*- The major companies here at least appear to have some reluctance to becoming directly involved in the town. By and large, they have a very low profile. They carry on their business at the plants.*

*- There are only a few lots available for public use in town. People either cannot get the lots at all or they are too expensive. Yet the companies can get pretty well what they want. I think it is because of the companies that the average man doesn't have a chance.*

*- It seems that with our present system of government, we have no tools at all to deal with the multi-national corporations. No one ever anticipated the incredible power which they would build up and wield. We can set up laws which are designed to*

*restrain them but they have their own powers and spheres of retaliation, primarily due to the fact that they are in decision-making positions in areas which go even beyond those of national governments. Multi-nationals can carry on their business fairly or engage in blackmail, whatever they choose.*

One of the more prominent surprises resulting from this research is that when the arrangement of data was completed, the remarks presented above were the only ones relating directly to the political influence of the major companies in Fort McMurray. The point concerning company control of, and influence upon, the real estate and housing market was predictable and has been discussed at some length in the section on economics. But the overall silence on this issue is curious.

Following analysis of the total body of data elicited through field study, and interpreting this information in the light of personal experience in the town, an hypothesis concerning this phenomenon began to emerge. In this case, the lack of comments from informants may be of greater interest than what was verbalized.

We suggest that the problem posed to the major companies by the town is neither of influence nor control, that is, according to our definition of political organization, the problem is only marginally political. Perhaps a more accurate expression of the issue of the company-town relationship is that it poses a public relations problem to the companies. In effect, the companies have little need to exert influence over the town. Establishing and maintaining an acceptable public image is their only important concern. The companies have no problem in relation to the town because it is not in this political arena where decisions of importance to the major companies are made. The data clearly indicate that senior levels of government (particularly the provincial government) are the practical decision-makers, perhaps even concerning town affairs. As a result, it would be the senior governments toward which the influence of the major companies would be directed. The message to the town administration may be that it is largely irrelevant. The oil sands developments are

national and international phenomena. The important decisions take place on other than local levels.

This is not to suggest that the companies do not intervene or exert influence in the political organization of the town. The point is that if pressures are applied they are likely to be channelled indirectly through intervention of senior government. Residents are much more aware of, and vocal about, pressure exerted by the provincial government upon the town.

### 2.3.3 Politico-economic Influence of Local Business

The sensitive nature of much of the data collected concerning the political and economic influence of local business people places severe limitations upon the information which may be presented. In general, informants have been very uninhibited in specifying individuals, events and supporting data concerning these matters. As suggested in comments above, informants frequently expressed that the overall politico-economic control of Fort McMurray rests in the hands of about ten prominent business people. These are the people who are believed to have "connections" or inside information. A strong and adverse public reaction is evident in relation to this belief.

*- Too few people have too much control. The inner circle includes ....*

*- I tried to open a business in town. To begin with, I was sent through every conceivable department in the whole administration in an attempt to get the appropriate permits. I went round and round for no particular reason and was eventually turned down with no explanation. Just by coincidence, several of the existing businessmen in town were against me opening something which they thought would be competition.*

*- You know, it is strange that some people in town can do things which others cannot. Permits which are unavailable to most of us seem to be available for others.*

*- I can't be bothered to invest any energy in the political setup in town. As far as I am concerned, the real power lies with a few people of questionable character who have connections with the provincial government. They always know what to become*

involved in and when to do so. I have been in this town a long time and know most of these people who have succeeded in a big way financially and I would have to say that I personally count them as being dishonest.

- Because of the utter urgency of development in this area, red tape is dispensed with. As a result, corruption is rampant. Also, because of the haste, there is no time to check that work is being done properly, so if anything goes wrong and it was done improperly to begin with, these people are covered.

- As in most towns, it is the business people with power and influence who are able to influence decisions in certain directions.

#### 2.3.4 Province / Town Relationship

Some very strong feelings and attitudes have been forthcoming regarding the relationship between the provincial government and the town. Most information suggests that the Town Board has been effectively emasculated by the provincial government. Another segment of the informants questions whether anybody other than the provincial government is strong enough to handle problems of the magnitude which exist.

- The provincial government is so committed to Syncrude that they have no time for other factions in the town.

- The Town Council must have a feeling of futility at times. They have very little control over anything. They are doing a good job as far as they are limited. For example, land zoning is coming out of provincial offices in Edmonton.

- The provincial government wanted to build a holding center in town for people 18 years and over who are non-violent offenders. This was to be built just behind my home. The homeowners in the area thought that this would be unsafe. It is not working out in Edmonton, so we are a little afraid of the consequences. Besides, our area needs a park and playground area. The neighborhood people got together and went to the Town Board. They appeared at several meetings to fight their case. In a sense, we appear to have won, but there can be no firm commitment from

the Town Board because the province owns the land. We wrote to the Province and received a variety of replies from "We are glad that you people are concerned." to "It's our land and the building has to go somewhere."

- The people who are here now are absorbing the cost for the people of the future. I feel that the provincial and federal governments should be absorbing more of the costs than they are at the present time.

- The Town Council should be abolished and the provincial government should run the town for a period of five years. Then things should be returned to the town. This would only make official what is happening now in fact. The town is not capable of planning and building anything, as they are only allowed to run it. Only a government at the provincial level can build the town at the rapid rate which is demanded. Decisions are made in Edmonton and then are vetoed here. Nobody is capable at the present time except for senior government. The Commissioner is our only hope. His office is the only one doing anything and they are really trying to improve the quality of life.

- One councillor is opposed to Area 1 because the cost is too high. Another councillor is opposed to the first. A third won't vote. The backbiting is ridiculous. Fort McMurray almost seems to have to prosper despite the Council. We have high-paid professionals throughout the town administration, but they are being run by an inadequate council. Things are beginning to happen this year that should have happened three years ago. We need the provincial government because on a local level, we are leaderless.

- The Town Board is doing an excellent job, but their hands are tied by the provincial government. Town planning is a good example. The provincial government can reverse or change any decision.

- The high cost of land is largely the fault of the provincial government because they won't let the land be developed by the town. Service people need housing too and are not subsidized by the companies. Let the housing be equally available to all without letting government have a hand in it.

- The provincial government puts pressure on the town to let land be zoned differently.

- The people in the provincial government making decisions definitely don't have to live with them.

- The provincial government wants to build a holding center for non-violent offenders in our area. If it is built, we would consider leaving town. We fought the issue and appeared to have won. But now the issue is being raised again and we will have to fight it all again. The provincial government will not release the land for either a playground or a senior citizens' home. These are the things we want and need.

- The provincial government severely limits the Town Council in terms of decision-making. Both the federal and provincial governments are getting a lot out of the town. Therefore, why can't they put something back in to help to stabilize the community?

- Authority here is a bit confused. Local people should have more authority both for the school board and the town administration.

- I don't know how you deal with the problems of growth. The whole show should be operated from Edmonton where decisions can be made, but if this is done, where does legitimate input come from? When power is centralized, so many decisions are made by civil servants who are not up for election, may have no idea what local issues and conditions are all about and who never have to face living here.

- As far as town government is concerned, if it were funded to the point where it could make all decisions including the planning of land use, it would simplify a lot of problems.

- In issues that don't really matter the provincial government gives the town administration all sorts of choices. But where big expenditures are involved, suddenly big government is too.

- The civil service is quick to tell the town what it wants or what it can have. But who carries the can when money is wasted or something goes wrong? It certainly is not the civil service. The Town Board is fingered as the guilty party.

- By not allowing local government to make financial decisions, the provincial government is undercutting one of the first principles of democracy.

- It sometimes baffles me as to who is really in control of the town, the Town Board or Municipal Affairs? You hear so often that the decisions made by the Board are overruled by Municipal Affairs.

-Right now the real power and authority lie with the Municipal Affairs Department. I think that the power for local decision-making should lie with the Town Board. Why go through the charade?

The town itself should have received a lot more of the royalty money for the oil resource than it did.

- Power lies with the provincial government. We function as a bedroom community for the tar sands development, and the point is that we are a bedroom community on behalf of the province, not our own community.

- Decisions are mainly made in Edmonton, at least enough to negate any local council decision-making. Chances of making any changes are limited. I am not sure if the local council has the wisdom to know what is happening. They were elected yesterday to face yesterday's problems and they do not face tomorrow. The province is always blamed. Then we go for money and create rifts.

The nature and focus of the political influence of the major companies is further explained by the first comment in this section. Company influence tends to be channelled through the provincial government and exerted upon the community in this way.

As with virtually all resource towns in Alberta which are under New Town status, local autonomy is one of the major sources of contention. In the case of Fort McMurray, the magnitude of development is so vast and political fortunes and commitments of the provincial government are so associated with this one project, that the stakes are considerably higher than normal. As a result, the senior government is very reluctant to relinquish control of any aspect of development.

Informants exhibit a difference of opinion concerning the capability of Town Board to handle problems of major importance to the future of the community. Reservations concerning the operation and function of the Board are reflected further in a subsequent section.

The most important point of all may be the degree to which the average resident feels daily life is affected by the actions of the provincial government. People seem to be feeling a lack of power, independence and self-direction. This may be another factor which reinforces the perceived futility of establishing roots in the community; that is, it may be another factor which supports community instability.

#### 2.3.5 The Northeast Commissioner

Several informants offered comments directly pertaining to the Office of the Northeast Commissioner.

*- The Commissioner is heard more by the provincial government than the Town Board is. In order to bolster his power, he has been made the head of the "Commissioner's Advisory Board." This allows for regulation of all the major interest groups.*

*- Government has appointed the Commissioner and I have no real idea what he does. That is a reflection of my personal ignorance. But I know he has a lot of power.*

*- Who is supposed to be the MLA for the Area -- Ron Tesolin? But we have an appointed MLA and that is Vic Henning. He has more clout than Tesolin ever thought of having. He is a troubleshooter, but in most constituencies, that troubleshooter is elected.*

*- I haven't the slightest idea of what the Northeast Commissioner does.*

*- Because of the general political structure of the area and the community, there is no clear idea of who has authority to do what. If the issue of authority were clear, we wouldn't need Henning, but the way it is, we do need him. Somebody has to get the guys together. He seems like the man to get the ball rolling. So the position has a worthwhile function.*



- The Commissioner keeps a low profile. As a result, he goes over very well. He gets things done as expected from the upper level of government without too much static from the lower levels. The real power lies upstairs and I don't think that means the Commissioner, who is a liaison, although he has the power of suggestion. I am not saying that he is just a messenger boy. He is definitely not a puppet. He doesn't let the government say to him, "Now this is what we are going to do. Go and make it sound nice." He is sensible and logical and this affects how much power he can wield. But the power really lies with the provincial government.

- Henning keeps a low profile, but may be much more effective than it appears on the surface. He has power but is not dictatorial.

Four primary issues are presented in the above remarks. These require emphasis because of the frequency with which they recur in conversations with residents.

First, a large segment of the population still appears to have little or no knowledge of the function of the Commissioner's office. Part of the reason for this may lie in the rapid turnover of residents in the town.

Second, those who understand (or think they understand) the role of the Commissioner are generally appreciative of the "low profile" maintained by his office.

Third, another segment of the population is completely opposed to the principle of the position, though not necessarily to the individual who holds the office. The position is perceived to be a violation of local autonomy.

Fourth, the office of Commissioner is widely perceived to be extremely powerful in relation to local affairs and influential in relation to the provincial government. It is the Commissioner and not elected representatives of the people who provide the liaison with senior government.

### 2.3.6 Town Council

Following are citizens' comments concerning the Town Council in Fort McMurray.

- Fort McMurray is unique. I don't know if this area has all the same problems as others and I don't know if the New Town status is good or not. Most of the Town Board members are new and have never been on a Board before.

- I read the minutes of the meetings of the Town Board. I can't see what they are doing. They talk a lot but nothing happens.

- The personality clashes on the Council are disgraceful.

- Councillors are trying to score points for themselves. They are not working together, but for their own ends. They play to the gallery.

- Everyone wants glory. Nobody wants to co-operate.

- Something is not quite right with the Town Board. I cannot understand how developments that town engineers are against are passed. They are turned down several times and then the developers will approach the members and sway the vote.

- Given the pace of expansion, the services in town are tremendous. The Board members are doing all they can. They are generally a responsive body. They listen as much as they can.

- They are ordinary people doing a big job as best they can.

- There is quite a bit of action behind the scenes. Only before an election can you see a bit of what is going on.

- Local government is in a terrible position. The pressure placed upon them simply because of the pace at which expansion is occurring is unbearable.

- I think that the quality of Board members could be better. They would be okay at a smaller level. But these guys are making decisions that will affect the town for years to come. A lot of them are not experienced enough to make these kinds of decisions.

- The stakes are too high for personality clashes and

*so on. The governing of this town is no small deal, particularly at this point in history. Are they really capable?*

*- The positions of the members of the Town Board should be full-time, paid positions.*

The attitudes of residents concerning local politics tend to reflect the general cynicism about politics and politicians in our era. The informants offered a wide range of opinions concerning the function of the Council and the performance of its members. Only two issues were pinpointed nearly unanimously.

First, roughly 85% of the informants strongly stated that members of the Town Council are placed in a completely untenable position in that they have a very limited range of decision-making power. People frequently referred to the futility of "being in their shoes."

Second, even people who knew nothing concerning the work of the Town Council were aware of the personality clashes which allegedly exist between Councillors. This turns people away from active involvement in community affairs rather than giving them incentive to participate. Again, this is quite counterproductive to increasing community stability.

#### 2.3.7 Town Planning

At the best of times, town planning seems to be a controversial subject in the minds of residents of a community. This is doubly so in a rapidly expanding resource community which is being built from the ground up. People appear to appreciate the difficulty of planning for an older community which has already been "written upon," but have a less sympathetic attitude toward "mistakes" made in new development.

Most informants seem to appreciate the difficulty of the planners' role in a town which is growing at the rate of Fort McMurray. At the same time, almost all informants have a difficult time accepting what appears to them to be the lack of co-ordinated planning. Why are streets paved and then ripped up for sewer installation? Why is the layout of the town so impractical? Why are traffic arteries laid out so that all traffic passing in, out or through town must be "bottlenecked"

in the lower valley area? Questions such as these tend to perplex people.

- The Town seems to make such major "goofs" and wastes a lot of budget money by having to redo things.

- There is poor planning all around. They are digging up Franklin Avenue to replace eight inch sewer pipe with ten inch pipe. It should be 30 inch pipe. The Town knew that 1,000 new units would be built. It is also obvious that ten inch pipe will not be sufficient and will have to be replaced with 30 inch.

- Town planning is ridiculous. There is no room for expansion of stores on Franklin. We could have had a shopping mall across the street from McLeods but apartments were built instead. The Peter Pond Shopping Plaza is still not going ahead. We need more stores and shopping areas so badly. There are too many people trying to crowd into too few stores. I was upset about the article in the newspaper where merchants criticized people for not shopping in Fort McMurray. What do they expect?

- I think that the planners should be complimented on one thing. Their offices are always open and I have used the privilege several times myself.

- If the zoning of our district is changed in order to allow a detention center to be built, I am going to be in trouble because I can't afford to move into a new house.

- A great deal of money has been spent on planning and what do we have to show for results? The whole town is not a well planned area.

- I am confused about the relationship between the provincial planning people, Alberta Housing and the Town. Any community that is growing rapidly has problems trying to relate to the function of each of these agencies. Maybe it is not so confusing in Edmonton, but if you are on the receiving end, it is a different story. The Town says yes to a proposal, the provincial planners say no. Alberta Housing says, "Your plan is not good, so we won't invest."

### 2.3.8 Leadership

It is interesting to note that all the direct comments received from residents concerning the nature of leadership relate solely to the concept of official political leadership and usually to the quality rather than the nature or structure of leadership. This is adequately demonstrated by the remarks which follow.

- I feel that the public automatically distrusts a person as soon as he or she runs for, or is elected to, public office. Political cynicism is such that the average citizen takes for granted that political leadership is corrupt.

- Political leaders in the town are so entrenched in personality conflicts that the real problems of leadership are never confronted.

- The town makes plans and then never sticks to them. When plans are made, they should be implemented rather than immediately turning around and proceeding on an ad hoc basis. The problem is too vast and complex for this kind of fooling around. When new members of the Board are elected, they are usually unaware of what is going on. Continuity of thinking is broken. Instead of making clear cut decisions, everything is tabled. There has got to be a better way. Do you think that the Town Council is capable of making decisions? Oh, yes. But we need more experienced people in management positions within the town administration and a proper delegation of authority to these people. The Board ought to be very careful of the quality of people who are hired to operate the town. But the real problem is that a lay Board is in charge of the experts.

- We also need to develop a better lobby in Edmonton on behalf of the Town. Perhaps all the Boards, town, hospital, school and so on, should go to Edmonton as a unified force. I have learned that if one plays by the official rule book, you never get anything. The people who shout the loudest get the money and attention. Sometimes it appears as though the government doesn't even know we exist as a town. We also need our own MLA. The current situation is ridiculous.

- Leadership could be a lot better. For example, the

*town is slapping a surcharge on trailers because they are not paying land taxes due to the fact that they are renting the land. But the landowners are paying land taxes for the land the trailers occupy.*

As pointed out above, formal leadership in terms of the official political structure is recognized by most informants. As in any community, the formal political structure is stratified in terms of levels of government seniority (e.g. federal, provincial, local). In an indirect way, we have seen in several sections of this report the question of leadership related to the large oil companies and the local businessmen and entrepreneurs. As in the question of company influence upon and control over the town, perhaps more is indicated by the lack of comment than by the content of the verbalized statements.

Apart from the fact that leadership has been sanctioned formally through the political structure, the community appears to have difficulty generating leadership internally. Leaders are scarce throughout the entire range of community life from organized sports programs through more complex matters of community action and concern.

Due to the rapid and dramatic changes which the town is experiencing, the community has not had an opportunity to stabilize in either a physical or a psychological sense. Most people living in the town are "just passing through." They have no roots or stakes in the community, though as time goes on this situation will change if given an opportunity. Political and community apathy and the widespread unwillingness of residents to participate in community affairs are dealt with below. And several other portions of this report point out how certain aspects of community life function to undermine community stability.

On a practical day to day basis, personal attitudes seem to favor a philosophy of "every man for himself" in the tradition of frontier style independence. The attraction of a resource town is the chance to exploit an opportunity for personal gain rather than to invest a lifetime in the building of a community. As a

result, feelings of belonging, solidarity and cohesion are absent. The practical issue thus appears less a question of leadership than one of regulation and control.

Community structure has not "shaken down" yet into stable social groupings requiring stable leadership. The next section points out that people socialize in small groups seldom larger than ten or twelve people and that the composition of the groups fluctuates and changes.

Without trying to rationalize a situation which has many negative consequences, these points concerning the problems of leadership do provide an insight into the imposition of management and regulation by the provincial government. Problems of expansion may be viewed as so urgent that time is not available to wait for the emergence of local leadership. Unfortunately, the practice of external management and control also serves to retard the development of local leadership as well as a cohesive community to be led.

#### 2.3.9 Policing

The information suggests that the enormity of the task of policing the area is overwhelming. The sheer volume of work per man is perhaps greater than in any other place in Alberta. The current size of the RCMP detachment is 30 people.

Most residents seem to be positively impressed with the police service, though they believe that constables are grossly overworked. The success rate in solving crimes is apparently very high.

*- When we were kids growing up in Fort McMurray, and we got into mischief, somebody bawled us out or kicked our butts and sent us home. We knew the police and they knew everybody and we all knew how to get along together within the bounds of what was expected of us. Now you step on somebody's toe accidentally and a nameless, faceless person lays a complaint and a cop you don't know, who doesn't care about you as a person comes along and throws you into the slammer before he even begins to talk to you.*

- I have not had much reason to be involved with the police in town, so I don't really know much about them. The policing certainly seems adequate and I feel basically pretty safe in town.

- I think the police protection is okay, but the detachment needs more men. A foot patrol would really be helpful in some areas.

- I feel that police protection is adequate. I have only felt unsafe on one occasion when a rapist was loose in this area. It is hard to assess the quality of policing if I haven't had any problems. They patrol the area frequently and I have no complaints.

- I feel that the police discriminate against the honest citizen. They are more interested in issuing speeding tickets than in major crimes.

- For a policeman, Fort McMurray is considered a bad assignment. One works long hours and has a lot of overtime. There are 40 men now, but this number will increase in the near future.

- This is an ideal place for a policeman to get a broad range of experience. There is a great amount of work, probably three times the number of files as in a southern assignment. The summer is the busiest and you have to come in on days off just to keep up with the work.

- Law enforcement is the most important part of a growing community. It is important not to slacken or give in. The size of the police force must keep pace with expansion. You can have all kinds of laws, but if the majority don't respect them, you can drive yourself silly trying to enforce them.

#### 2.3.10 Political Apathy

Some of the conditions for general apathy regarding community affairs have been explored. The majority of the community appears to be interested only marginally in community and political affairs and perceives these issues to be irrelevant to daily life. Slightly over 20% of the informants specified voluntarily that they pay no attention to community and political affairs.



A small segment of the population enjoys Fort McMurray primarily because there is so much opportunity to become involved in community affairs on such a wide variety of levels. These people tend to form the small, but increasing core of individuals who intend to make the town their long-term home.

- I am interested in political activity, but only in the sense of observation rather than participation.

- There are a lot of people in town who are not just transients. If people are provided with the opportunity to participate in community activities, they will frequently do so. I was asked to help out at the polls during the last election and I really learned a lot.

- I don't care to follow the political situation in town. When it is time to vote, I try to do so. Otherwise, I can't be bothered.

- We are trying to establish roots in Fort McMurray. We see problems and we have hope that they can be changed. We try to do our part to change them. We feel needed and that is really important to us.

- Most of the people in town are not familiar with local political processes. We are reluctant to come forward and be involved until there is an immediate crisis situation. We always wonder why the next guy is not doing his part.

- I don't get involved too much in town politics. Sometimes it seems that there are too many people who are trying to be chiefs around here.

- We just had another election not too long ago. It was for the School Board. The winner received about 90 votes and the lowest got two votes. It is pathetic to see the degree of apathy.

### 2.3.11 Conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn from the data concerning political organization in Fort McMurray.

1. The influence of the major companies upon the town tends to be channelled through the provincial government. The relationships of the corporations

directly to the town seem to be worked out in terms of public relations.

2. Residents perceive that a small core of local businessmen have a disproportionately large influence in relation to town affairs and also have "contact" where it counts in senior government.

3. Most people appear to be of the opinion that the Town Council has been emasculated by senior government. At the same time, informants nearly unanimously are embarrassed or disgruntled with personality clashes between members of the Council.

4. The nature of the position of Commissioner is still an enigma to a large portion of the population. Perhaps the most common perception is that the office is another example of provincial government imposition of authority upon the town. At the same time, some individuals believe that only the provincial government, primarily through the office of the Commissioner, is able to cope with the current problems of the town.

5. The community appears to have serious problems generating leadership for all aspects of community affairs. Because the town has such a large transient population, people tend not to take interest, nor do they participate, in community affairs.

The perceived, not the formal, structure of political organization in the town is presented in Figure 3. The representation is of the manner in which the residents of Fort McMurray perceive the political system to function in fact.

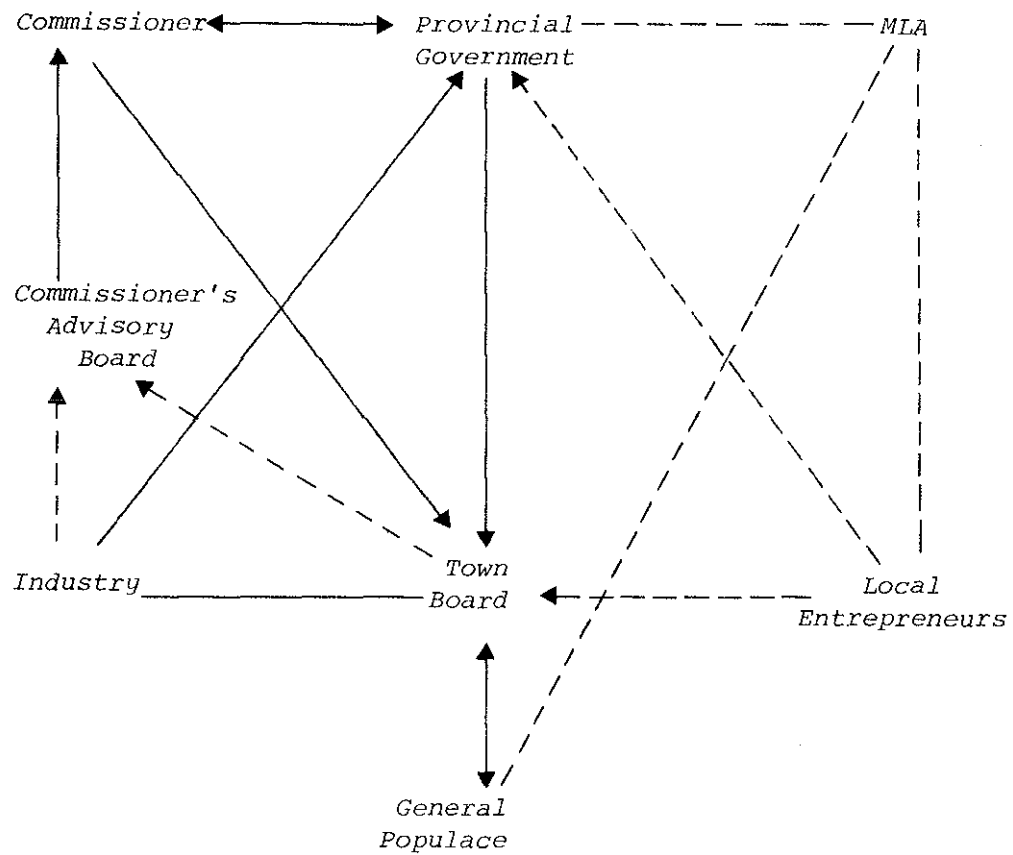


Figure 3. Perceived political structure and function.

## 2.4 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

### 2.4.1 Introduction

Social organization pertains to the total range of interaction between individuals and groups in a given society. More specifically, social organization is an analytical concept which focuses upon the understanding, interpretation and analysis of the nature, structure and function of relationships among people and groups in society. These groups may be formally identified as in the case of families or social clubs, or they might be informal (almost to the point of being unconscious groupings) such as being a sports fan or a construction worker.

### 2.4.2 Isolation

The reader may wish to relate this section dealing with isolation to the portion of the section on World View which discusses perception of the natural and physical environments. Not only does a direct relationship exist between these two sections, but the tendency toward perceptual confusion of issues by informants runs amazingly parallel.

- *I just do not like the isolation. McMurray is just too far from other places.*
- *Our friends and relatives thought we were going to the end of the world.*
- *The first thing we encountered was a feeling of isolation. It was my first time away from home, my first job and I had just been married.*
- *I feel isolated, but have made no effort to socialize. I don't like the tea group mentality.*
- *I spent a lot of time during the early adjustment period just taking long walks with my dog. My husband was always at work and I was always alone.*
- *Having come from isolation in the far North, this place is not isolated. It is like a city.*
- *In the early sixties, we were much more isolated. There was no road and PWA made three flights per week to Edmonton.*

- You get really cooped up here. I feel that to go to Edmonton is too far and costly. I could not afford to travel often and I really feel closed in. I look forward to moving back to the south where both my husband's family and mine will be close. Do people come to visit you here? No! My parents came once and my husband's also came once. We have been to visit each set three times in the two years we have been here. People do not visit because it is too far to travel on a weekend and they don't want to waste their vacation coming to a place like Fort McMurray.

- Being away from a main center is also difficult. We miss entertainment and the interaction with close friends. But you get used to it because of the demands of work.

- When we came we were disappointed because of the isolation. We thought many times of packing up the kids and going home to live in Saskatchewan. I felt confined at home -- like I was in a box. Has your opinion changed over the three years you have been here? Yes. I can honestly say I like it now.

- What is it like to be cooped up with small children in a trailer? It is driving me "snakey." I would like to take the kids swimming or something just to get out of the house.

- The isolation does not bother me at all. I have things to do which interest me.

- Anybody who thinks Fort McMurray is isolated has no conception of what isolation means. To me, isolation means that you can't get out of the community except by charter plane.

- We thought the scenery was beautiful and the isolation doesn't bother us at all.

- I don't mind the isolation. I have no hesitation to travel long distances even on gravel roads. I don't think that life has been altered significantly for us since we have moved here.

- I like the isolation and continue to like the challenge of the North, although I think one's attitudes toward isolation change with the addition of kids to a family. Sometimes you are concerned about isolation because of the kids.

In interpreting these comments, it is important to realize that at least 65% of the informants interviewed came from urban environments to Fort McMurray. (See Appendix 8.1) As a result, the perception of isolation tends to be related to the background of an urban setting in the more southern and populated regions of Canada. The remarks made by the few informants who came from the truly remote communities in the far northern parts of Canada place the relativity of the concept of isolation in perspective.

Also, it is noted with interest that many informants appear not to make a distinction between literal physical and geographic isolation and isolation from other people in a social sense. A tendency exists to attribute isolation from people (i.e. loneliness or anomie) to the geographic remoteness of the town. In Fort McMurray, isolation may be more attitude or fantasy than fact.

An experience related by one of the research team is instructive.

*I happened to be walking down the street one day when a lady whom I had seen occasionally over the past year or so, but did not know, called out the door of her house and invited me in. She appeared to be happy to visit with someone as she stated that she was lonely and felt isolated. I asked her what she did for entertainment. She said that she was completely tied to her house and didn't even take the time to go out for walks. She was obviously tired and had lost considerable amounts of weight. She seemed to have little initiative to do anything. After two years in the community, living in the same house, she did not know the names of the streets which were less than a block away from her front door.*

#### 2.4.3 Social Groups

The following comments very clearly depict the major social groups and structures which prevail in Fort McMurray. Although the town does not accommodate a large number of people who have been resident for a long time, the consciousness of social structure seems to be very strong.

- The Bechtel ladies have an activity program with something happening every day.

- Our company only had ten wives of workers. It was a close and stifling group, believe me.

- If you can get out and meet one person in this town, chances are you break in to a small circle of friends.

- I have been here eight years. I have three friends from the early days here. I don't have time for close associations or friendships.

- So many people have moved in now, people are staying in cliques. The population when we came was 7,500 and now it is over 17,000. In the beginning, we marginally knew one family and then broke into a circle of friends. We don't meet people any more now that we moved into Area 5. You can't socialize spontaneously any more.

- The exclusiveness of community groups is bothersome to me. By this, I refer to the Syncrude, Bechtel, GCOS groupings. The first three questions that someone I don't know asks me are, "Are you a Syncrude wife?" "No." "Are you a Bechtel wife?" "No." "Then you must be a GCOS wife?" "No!" After these three questions are asked, people are confused about what else I could be.

- The old friendliness and "knowing everybody" has gone and is replaced by a large population typified by hostility and anomie. Does your "old crowd" stick together to socialize among themselves? Very much so! My boyhood chums are still my closest friends. Do you interact with native people from the area? No. The number of times I have been to Fort MacKay in my whole life could be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

- I don't like being a company wife and at first attended some of the social affairs, for example, dinner parties. Then I gradually faded from the social scene. I am not opposed to drinking, but I don't like the way in which these affairs are handled.

- In the early days, natives and whites got along pretty good. One of the local men wanted all of us natives moved 25 km out of town when GCOS came. However, the native people

retaliated and won. We had meetings at the friendship center and organized ourselves against this issue. I personally have no grudges against any whites. We get along okay.

- I have found that there are a lot of new people in town just like myself. They are looking for others. I also started working and met some friends that way.

- I gradually got to know people first through the people my husband associated with in his work. At first I was very lonely, but it doesn't take transient people long to make friends.

- When we first came five years ago, I felt really left out of the main social activities because my husband did not work for GCOS. A lot of small things mattered. For example, if GCOS people were having a party on the day that I happened to go to the hairdresser, I had to wait until all the GCOS wives were cared for first.

- I belong to a small black community here. Sometimes I think that we are discriminated against, although it is not like many other communities.

- As far as personal relationships are concerned, people here go for short term relationships. It is easier not to create deep friendships because you know that people are going to leave. But on the other hand, I have social interaction with a wider range of people here than in any other place I have ever been.

- Socio-economic groupings and levels of groupings are not changing very much over time. Each group is just growing larger. Perhaps the professional group is growing slightly faster, but the basic structures do not change. The ghettos (not in a derogatory sense, but in the sense of occupations) are growing more together. This is because there are more common meeting grounds for groups to come together.

- The town and government is making a big mistake in mixing dwelling types here. There are mobile homes beside regular homes. The regular home owner looks down upon the mobile home owner and the latter is constantly reminded that he cannot afford



or get a regular home.

- We do not have very close friends here. People often come over for coffee. To me this is usually a waste of time. I like to work. I usually do not have much in common with these people. In this subdivision, you are expected to be a young housewife and mother and if you don't join that group, you are out. This may not be unique to Fort McMurray, but the fact that the area is so isolated intensifies the problem. In a larger center, I would at least stand a better chance of finding companionship in my world.

- I can't say that I have any friends here -- just acquaintances. One cannot really socialize. It is not safe to be too trusting because they are a different brand of people here. Like a frontier town in movies, people are tough, harsh, con men, drug addicts and alcoholics. I would say that most of the people in camp have at least one of these problems. They are coarse in manners and treatment of others. The people in camp are outcasts who cannot handle city life. Consequently, they just move from camp to camp. They trade hard work and service for a place to stay for the rest of their lives.

- The native problem is always on my mind. How do we become accessible? They are very timid.

- A shift party is an organized party that originates or is funded by the coffee money from the employees at work. It takes place once monthly.

- In 1970, it was a GCOS town. My husband worked for Catalytic and the two groups did not socialize. GCOS employees lived in houses and we lived in apartments or trailers. You were expected to stick with your own. My husband switched jobs. Now we were GCOS. Suddenly we were invited everywhere.

People who would not even speak to you before were now your friends. I did not understand why my husband's job should so greatly affect my social position. Why did I all of a sudden become someone and become part of "the group?" I felt like telling them all to stick it and so I did not go to any of

their functions.

Now we were between groups. Catalytic people were cooler toward us. I was now at a point where I had no friends at all. I rejected the advances of GCOS wives. I am that kind of person. Where I was raised there was none of this stuff and I can't understand it.

All of these homes around here were empty and gradually filled up with people from all over Canada. We were all strangers, but came to be good friends. There was no discrimination. Now I have a wide circle of friends because the town is open. It is not so clannish.

- When we lived in a trailer, we associated only with people who lived in trailers. There is a definite class difference between people in trailers and those in homes.

People who are living in trailers are both socially and politically discriminated against. You socialize only with trailer people if you are a trailer person. Even our former friends do not visit us now that we are in a house. When we lived in trailers across the street from houses, our children came home saying that the children across the street in houses had been told by their parents that they were not to associate with trailer people.

- People here are easy to get along with. People help each other a lot, not like in an established town where you are trying to break in.

- I spend a lot of time in the various lounges in town searching for potential clients. In all the places I have ever lived, I have never seen business people who make so many contacts in the bar rather than over coffee or dinner.

- Bechtel people associate with other Bechtel people. Their life styles are the same. We associate with our own types.

- As a policeman, I find Fort McMurray to be a very friendly place. People try to make you feel comfortable. I haven't found this to be the same degree in other postings.

- Many native people said at the beginning of the time of development that they didn't want white people to come in. I

*personally feel that whites brought work. I am not against them for anything.*

*- I talk to a lot of people who say they have no close friends because they have never been in one place long enough.*

The following points concerning the structure of social groupings emanate from the above comments.

1. On a general level, social groups, even for wives and families, are based upon the company for which the husband works. A very strong consciousness of company groups exists.
2. A second major social division depends upon the type of accommodation occupied. People living in houses and those living in trailers usually do not mix.
3. Social interaction tends not to take place between large groups of people. Relationships tend to be much more personal, seldom allowing for social activities which include groups larger than ten or twelve people.
4. Social interaction between natives and whites tend to be minimal.
5. The Bechtel camp and town are perceived as distinct social entities.
6. Most informants believe that people who move frequently are quick to make new friends. At the same time, transience tends to create short-term friendships which do not become too deeply entrenched. This is another important factor which militates against community stability.

#### 2.4.4 Education and Socialization

The following comments reflect attitudes primarily pertaining to the formal school system in Fort McMurray. However, some insights are offered into the more general process of socialization, that is, the process of teaching a child cultural values in the broadest sense. Socialization includes the process of formal education in our schools, but goes much beyond to encompass

the entire process of learning which an individual undergoes from birth to death.

- The girls really did much better at school in the town we came from. The turnover of staff here is great and the teachers do not seem to be interested at all in what they are doing. Admittedly, this is more prevalent in the high school.

- I certainly have no hesitation to raise my children in this town.

- Only six students from the high school went on to higher education last year.

- Standards of education in local schools are very high. I know because I taught here for a few years. Parental involvement is almost overdone in this town. Parents really avail themselves of the opportunity to interact with school staff.

- The kids in town are being overrun with bad kids. The bad are overpowering the good. There is not enough for the kids to do. Some people are trying to provide opportunities, but they cannot keep up with the demand.

- Keyano College has a lot of fantastic opportunities. The problem is that I don't have the time to take advantage of them.

- The schools are crammed. Even the new schools aren't big enough. Teachers not hired elsewhere are being grabbed here. They should have a psychologist here in town working with the school system because there are a lot of problem children in the schools.

- I think that the elementary schools are good and the high schools are bad. The rooms are crowded. The subjects the students need are frequently unavailable. Gymnasium facilities are limited. There is a lack of qualified teachers here.

- I'll tell you, the school system here is a lot superior to what I thought it would be in a town like this.

- The school system is good and our oldest girl has made a lot more friends here than elsewhere.

- The school system does not promote education. Teachers don't have enough time to keep students interested. They do not

provide students with guidance. The kids might have gone on to higher education if we had lived somewhere else.

- The Keyano concept is great. If you have any initiative, you can do anything you want.

- I have never found that the North attracted the lesser quality of teacher. Some are poor, but there are poor teachers everywhere. We have a reasonably select group. It is important that they like the place they are working as well as the job.

- Honest to God, good teachers would not be here unless they had to. We get the leftovers. Not many professional people would come here by choice.

- They have had two shifts in the high school. There is no reason why it had to come to this. The authorities knew long ago that there would be a need. But they had to wait until the impact actually occurred before they would move.

#### 2.4.5 Kinship

A large volume of material has been written in studies of resource communities concerning kinship. Several authorities have suggested that one of the prominent factors contributing to certain types of social and personal problems is the separation of individuals and families from their relatives and familiar support systems "at home." The following are informant perspectives.

- While we have been here, we have maintained close connections with relatives and friends at home.

- We think nothing of jumping in the car and going to Edmonton to visit friends and relatives. But they will never come here.

- Fort McMurray is a good place to hide from relatives. We were having a lot of problems with in-laws, so we had to get away from them.

- I don't like to be too close to family. I think that our families interfere in our affairs too much when we live near them. Our parents come to visit us occasionally in Fort McMurray. They are very interested in the grandchildren. They like Fort

McMurray.

- Nobody wants to come to visit someone in Fort McMurray. Our relatives stay away and that suits me fine.

- I can't believe how good it was to finally get away from my relatives and come to Fort McMurray.

In all the data from Fort McMurray, only professional helpers such as counsellors, social service workers, etc. offered the viewpoint that "a resource community like Fort McMurray causes social dislocation. Moving away from relatives and friends is a traumatic experience and the individual finds himself in a new environment without support."

This is a very logical and plausible argument. Interestingly, almost no information from informants supports this explanation. The evidence seems to point in the opposite direction, namely, that a significant proportion of the population came to Fort McMurray to get away from what they considered to be oppressive relationships with kin. (See the sub-section entitled Motivation in the section devoted to World View.) Indeed, coming to Fort McMurray may permit many people to gain independence and cope more ably with life than they could in their home communities. Support systems may indeed be lacking, but this phenomenon may encourage overexuberance or "kicking over the traces" rather than loneliness or depression. At any rate, data certainly place the more conventional explanation of the function of separation from kin in question. This would be a profitable object of more rigorous empirical research.

#### 2.4.6 Social Services

Comments of informants concerning social services in Fort McMurray appear below and are reasonably self-explanatory. The issue which received the most attention was medical services and health care. At the present time, hospital facilities are grossly overcrowded and provision for a new hospital of 300 beds has been made. Construction should begin in the very near future. Other medical and health facilities are listed in Appendix 8.2.

- In relation to a few years ago, there are more doctors

in town now. At first I was afraid to go to the hospital here, but now I don't know.

- The level of health care and policing is good. I feel safe here, but I don't feel as good as I did in the early days.

- The people of the town expect a high level of service in a town that can't afford to provide it. Cadillac treatment is expected by many, particularly those coming from the States.

- The hospital is overused because the clinics are overloaded with work.

- The doctors are adequate, though we have no specialists. The hospital does not have sufficient facilities to meet the needs of the community.

- Why was a larger hospital not built sooner? The government didn't feel McMurray would go. Each government department does not talk to another and consequently approval was delayed. The Hospital Commission has made recommendations about the seriousness of the situation here, but they fall on deaf ears. It boils down to dollars and cents. Syncrude cannot help. Health is a government responsibility.

- We could use about six more doctors. Some of the existing ones are more interested in business than in practices.

- I am definitely disappointed with the medical care. There is no surgeon. The nursing care is low calibre, but is improving.

- I feel that most of the doctors here are probably competent but they are too busy. There should have been enough doctors here before the massive influx of people. But they have done it the other way around. I realize how difficult it is for doctors in a community like this but things should be made sufficiently attractive to get more in.

- Doctors are overloaded with work, therefore they don't have time to do their work properly. Good doctors get frustrated and leave because they cannot change things. There are not enough dentists either. It takes months to get teeth cared for.

- I don't like the fighting among doctors. I don't like to say one doctor is better than another. They should get together for a common cause.

- There are not enough doctors here. I will have nothing to do with the hospital here. The rumors I hear are not worth repeating.

- We need more dentists. You have to wait months for appointments. Even emergencies are not dealt with.

- We have doctors from the bottom of the barrel. The hospital facilities are not good either.

- Basically the doctors are too busy. They don't take time to diagnose. They give you a pill and tell you to go home. It doesn't help that the hospital is not equipped to handle emergencies. The stories I hear scare me.

- There is poor communication among doctors and between doctors and the community. I would have minor things taken care of here, but would go to the city for anything important.

- The gossip about the hospital frightens me. The stories would prevent me from going to the hospital here or from allowing any of my family to go.

- Medical services are 100% improved over the last few years. But we are still desperate for dentists.

- When you look back upon the medical services here you can see what has been done. When you look ahead you wonder.

The consensus of the population of Fort McMurray is that medical services are inadequate and because planning appears to be lagging behind need, health services will continue to be a problem into the future. The usual difference of opinion prevails concerning the positive or negative features of medical personnel, but all agree that the doctors are grossly overworked and more assistance is needed. The need for more dental personnel is doubly pressing.

Some comments concerning the media in Fort McMurray are also of interest.

- Television in town is terrible. Radio is generally okay.



- I rarely listen to the radio because I don't like the music they play. I think the newspaper is good, though they could give a little more information about local events. They should also research their material more. I don't like the violence on TV, but that is not a Fort McMurray problem.

- Publicity in general is making Fort McMurray out to be something we are not. I think that the big money is not made by the town people but by the guys staying in camp.

- I find the newspaper is informative and I would like to discuss more of what I read.

- The newspaper has little in it. As far as radio is concerned the announcers should try reading the news before they present it.

- By and large, the media serve us well for a community of this size.

- Radio has improved immensely. The newspaper is a fair summary of what is going on.

Several people expressed a need for a day care center to supplement the social services in Fort McMurray.

- Day care is just not adequate. It is important for women to work to maintain a sense of independence.

- Baby sitters are impossible to get. Day care must be improved.

- I would like to see a day care center in an old folks home. Fort McMurray needs both badly. It would solve two problems in one facility.

A few citizens made comments about general services around the town.

- Town services are generally good. It could be kept a little cleaner, but it is impossible to keep up with construction as it is.

- Parking in town is bad. People who work downtown should not be allowed to park on the street. If it can't be overcome in any other way, meters should be put in.

- Bus service is lacking. This is needed especially

*for people who live up on the hill.*

The Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission (AADAC) is active in the area, but seems to be grossly understaffed. Alcohol abuse in the area is immense. People experiencing the services of AADAC have been very complimentary, but relatively speaking, the programs just do not reach the people.

*- AADAC are doing a great job. They are certainly trying to confront an overwhelming problem.*

Preventive Social Services (PSS) is a very active program. However, the program is another example of overlapping jurisdiction between the province and the town. These data suggest that this has caused frequent difficulty for the program. The activities of PSS are relatively well known around town. This group provides a wide variety of services including:

Community Counselling offers individual, family or group counselling through associate counsellors under the guidance of a consulting psychologist.

Home Visitors is designed to assist families in their own homes when the home life has been threatened by illness or any form of disequilibrium.

In-Put is a new concept, enlisting through co-operation, the aid of all Fort McMurray resources for programs designed to meet specific requirements of citizens, especially in terms of Family Life Education.

Aid Service provides a telephone information/referral source giving connections to businesses, clubs, organizations, leisure time activities, directions and referrals to specific resources, local or otherwise.

Dial-Help Line is an immediately available telephone contact to people suffering extreme distress or concern.

Senior Citizens, a minority group in Fort McMurray, receive assistance from their own project in order to meet their basic and special social needs.

Day Care, the most recent project, is designed to co-ordinate the establishment of day care programs throughout the

community.

The AID/DISTRESS services are also very prominent. Data available for the first time (See Appendix 8.3) provide some insight into the nature of the calls for assistance handled by this service.

*- I really feel that the people from the PSS program are very warm and the overall program is immensely practical and helpful.*

*- PSS as a program is a waste of money. It is doing something that the people of the community should be doing.*

Through the cooperation of PSS, a listing of all clubs, organizations and agencies active in Fort McMurray area is included in Appendix 8.4.

#### 2.4.7 Churches

The following comments provide some indication of the perceived role of churches in the community. As a generalization which may be grossly inaccurate in specific instances, the population as a whole does not appear to be involved deeply in formal religious activities. At the same time, the activities of the churches vary greatly in focus and intensity.

*- Church organizations are here, but are not too relevant.*

*- We have no church affiliations. We have friends who are active in churches. The United Church is very strong and has a lot of members. The Catholic Church is one of the largest congregations per capita in Alberta.*

*- I have been actively involved in church work since the beginning.*

*- We have no religious affiliations here. The United Church is held in the Clearwater gym. This is not a church. I went the odd time back home. My husband used to be very religious, but he got turned against it and I don't know why he won't attend church now.*

*- I don't attend church, but I would like the children to attend Sunday school. I haven't attended church since I was*

married. Although I feel guilty, I don't need someone after money and preaching something I already know.

- I live right across the street from church and do not go. It is terrible, isn't it? I can't remember the last time I went to church.

- I attend church a little more often now than in the past, but I am still not regular. I guess I attend just because of the kids. No, I like going, too. Our family has always attended church. It was part of our life. But then, I guess you don't have to go to church to believe.

- We lost religious contact after we moved here. We went every Sunday when we lived at home. Maybe it is because we have gotten away from the pressures of our families that neither one of us chooses to go anymore.

- We were both strong church attenders before we were married and came here.

- I don't go to church. I really would not know where to turn if disaster hit.

- I like to go to church. But around here, there is no means of actually getting there if you have no car.

- Of 6,000 Catholics in town, about 3,000 are actually practicing Catholics.

- As a minister, I am surprised by the rate at which kids are beginning to come back to church. Every week I have visits from high school kids who just drop in to discuss religion.

- The community is growing so fast, that as a church we are not able to come even close to meeting the needs of people.

- We have a mission in a different sense. We are not out to "get scalps," but to share with society as a whole. We have contact with 300 families and active involvement with about 135.

- Church provides a bit of an opportunity to mix segments of the community, though it tends to be pinned to particular groups in society. For example, the United Church, Anglican and Baptist tend to be comprised of management level people. If people come

*to church and see their boss, their attendance is not likely to last. The structure appears on the surface to be loose, but it is not. The pecking order is a reality whether we like it or not.*

#### 2.4.8 Socializing

One of the more fascinating aspects of life in Fort McMurray is the patterns of socializing. How do people interact particularly in terms of their free time, recreation and entertainment? To whom do they talk and with whom do they participate?

Small parties in homes and informal contacts in bars, taverns, etc. appear to be the most frequent meeting places. Alcohol and drugs play a prominent role in socializing. Perhaps this is explained in part by the universal comment, "There is no place to go and nothing to do in this town." Cultural events are very infrequent and, at the present, have a limited appeal. As the town moves out of the construction phase of development and more people establish roots in the area, the demand for cultural events will increase.

*- We do not share ourselves readily with other people. Our only social contacts are when we invite somebody from work to come over.*

*- Neither of us find time for entertainment or recreation. I work an eight hour day, but get up every morning at 5:00 A.M. to get my husband off to work. Then I do my housework before going to work at 8:00 A.M. The reasoning behind this is that I will then be tired at the same time as my husband.*

*- When I leave here, I will shop a lot more. This is one of my favorite forms of entertainment.*

*- Trips to Edmonton are a must. Unless you get out of here regularly, you go insane.*

*- TV made a big, but not necessarily good, change in social life. Now we no longer have to create things to do.*

*- The town is good for boys, but not for girls. The girls have nothing to do. There are a lot of available men. The lure of the bar is great. They don't associate with peers, but*

with older men.

- I shop to have fun. I go to Edmonton, stay in the best hotel and go to the theater. I like to pamper myself when I go.

- My only friends were teachers where I worked the first year.

- I feel very tied down with my child. I have lost a lot of contact with people because I don't get out. People I used to be close to are different now that I have a kid.

- After we had been here for awhile, we found friends and stopped going to the city so often. When we go to the city, we pamper ourselves as a reward for surviving isolation.

- I work all day every day. I have lived here 18 months and don't have the foggiest idea who my next door neighbor is and the trailers are only eight feet apart.

- There is nothing to do here now. When I was a kid, there was always something to invent to do. Now there is TV and you insulate yourself from people.

- My crowd and I hang out in the Oil Sands Hotel because it is the quietest place in town and there are always interesting people there.

- The area is definitely lacking in camping and picnic areas. Visitors have a difficult time if they are camping.

- I have no complaint about the eating facilities in town. There are some good movies, though the building needs improvement. So does the behavior of the audience. But I am not discouraged at all now. I have the patience to wait. I am used to living where the facilities are poor.

- As a family, we do not do that much together. We used to camp a lot at Anzac, but there are too many people and they are too rowdy now. I tried to play in the senior commercial leagues, but you have to be a top notch player or know somebody in the league.

- Children have nothing unless they are into sports. They seldom show family shows at the theater, and the lineups are long. We really need another theater.

- The cost of going out here is too high. We would rather have people in or visit them.

- Our only entertainment is to have couples over to the house. My husband skidoos a bit or uses his trail bike. He really enjoys it here for those reasons. I don't like it because I am tied to the house with a small baby.

- I go to the city as often as possible to escape.

- You can't go to a lounge or bar because they are always full. You have to go at 6:00 P.M. to get a seat. People are poorly disciplined at the show and wreck the whole thing.

- My husband doesn't drink because he is an alcoholic. What else is there to do here? We go out to dinner once in a while, but in general, we just save our money for a major holiday once a year.

- I am becoming more aware of the joys of physical activity. You have to make your own recreational program here.

- If you don't care about sports, you are out.

- There is nothing for the kids in the area in which we live. They have to go downtown for everything.

- I don't really have anything to do all day. I go for walks, skate and have started some new hobbies. You have to do something or you go crazy. It is not like the city where you can take a bus and go anywhere. I hope to take a driving course soon.

- Actually, we don't do much of anything. We attend small house parties, but there are never any large affairs to attend. It would be good to have a nice place in town where one could drink and dance.

- I read a lot. I never attend social gatherings. We used to go to the bar, but you have to go in the middle of the day to get a seat.

- There are too many social activities centered around booze. Even meetings have booze present. I am not opposed to drinking, but it should not be the drawing card. The only successful functions are centered around liquor.

- In order to camp around here, you have to go and park your trailer about Wednesday in order to get a stall.
- Entertainment is restricted to visiting in the evenings.
- Recreation is lacking. I can't go to the bar every night and drink for six hours either.

- A lot of girls come to town to take the guys for all they can get. If they have six possible dates, they take the one who offers the most. It makes it hard for those who are not like that.

- I think I would die without television.

- I don't go to the bars at all. I hate to turn my back on anyone. I'm too nervous. I nearly got hit with a beer bottle once. It is too dangerous. Women get attacked all the time. It is unsafe to walk at night. Women get attacked coming home from the late shift. What else would you expect with such a lack of women in town and a lot of healthy men? I used to go to the bar with my husband, but he drinks at home now.

- What else is there to do? By the time I finish work and spend a little time with my family, it is time to sleep or go to work again.

- There is nothing else to do other than to go to the bar. But it is important to remember to take your boxing gloves and be sure your girlfriend wears a crash helmet. We go to a lot of house parties, too. What more is there to say other than if you want to socialize, you can drink, smoke dope or eat?

- As a single man, it is hard to socialize because there are so few women. You can't find a girlfriend.

- The recurring statement is that there is nothing to do in Fort McMurray. That is not true. There are lots of things to do if you want to find them.

In almost all situations, drinking either is the entertainment or is an accompaniment. In some social spheres, dope smoking is also an integral part of socializing.

As suggested in a previous section, few people seem to realize that shopping is one of the most important forms of enter-



tainment for the local people. Due to a perceived lack of acceptable facilities in the town, most shopping tends to be done in Edmonton. Shopping is also used as compensation for perceived deprivation or isolation.

Socializing is usually done with fellow workers from the same company. It is almost always within the context of small groups such as visits with another couple or a few close friends.

#### 2.4.9 Social Problems

The reader should bear in mind that a social problem is defined here as a social situation which is troublesome or vexatious to the participant in the situation. This section reflects the problems perceived by the informants. These problems may or may not be the same as those identified by government, industry or anybody else from outside the community. In fact, the viewpoints and emphases offered by informants provide one of the most comprehensive and accurate reflections of the difference in world view between residents of Fort McMurray and other communities. (See the next section.)

What kinds of social problems are experienced in resource communities? Are they any different from the problems experienced by the residents of other types of communities?

Below is a listing of comments pertaining to social problems in general followed by remarks which point to specific types of problems.

- *The trailers we live in are piled one on top of the other. I believe they are truly an unsafe distance apart.*

- *Why are so many things being crammed so closely together when there are millions of square miles of open space all around?*

- *The trailers were never completed, nor was the trailer court for that matter. There was never any landscaping. Playgrounds were promised a couple of years ago and were only partially completed this year.*

- *I think that there are no more problems here than in any other community. But I think that a lot of people are bothered by personal problems which are never visible to anyone else.*

- The town is too cramped with too many buildings being placed too close together.

- This place has really frustrated me. I have become run down and overweight.

- The problems here are not caused by resource development per se, but by the development of the town.

- Drunkenness is a problem for the teenagers. There are too many changes and they want to be a part of them all.

- Our teenagers come home drunk fairly often. Yes, they are underage. How do you cope with this? I leave them to make their own decisions. Do you see this as a problem? Not really. It is the way things happen here. Do they see it as a problem? I think one might, but does not know how to find the way out.

- Here we turn all our problems inward because we do not have any close friends to confide in.

- The primary problem here is mistrust between people. It is now a town of strangers stepping on each other and cutting each other's throats. For example, locking doors was never heard of in the old days. Now you would not dare not do so. Again, I don't know anyone in this apartment although I have lived here for several months.

The second thing is that there is nothing for you to do if you don't play hockey. The alternative is dope and booze. Are booze and dope viewed by you as problems or are they just a normal part of life? Well, if you don't drink, you are not accepted. Macho is determined by the capacity to drink. Also, "fun" is measured by the amount drunk last night or by the size of the hangover. I don't know. I may be an alcoholic. I drink a lot. Does that bother you? No. I have no intentions of quitting.

- A lot of social problems here stem from apathy and lack of information. A lot suffer from TV-itis. People are here to make money, pay their debts and get out. They have no community involvement. It is a "halfway community" for them.

- I have less problems here. I was cheating on my wife before I came. She gave me an ultimatum. McMurray was in part

an attempt to make an honest go of it together. We have been a lot closer since moving here.

- There is a real problem with drugs and liquor in the schools.

- Liquor sales in this town are higher per capita than any place else in Alberta. (Author's note: Our personnel have never worked in a resource community in Alberta where this claim was not a prevailing myth concerning the town in question.)

- One important social problem that is often overlooked and is really here in a big way because of the overworked medical staff, is the indiscriminate dispensing of prescription drugs by the doctors.

- Drugs are a big problem here. They are much more openly used than in other communities I have lived in. There are no social pressures against using dope.

- We send our children out of town to go to school as a preventive measure in regard to juvenile problems.

- Here it is like a microcosm of things that go on in a city, but they are really concentrated here.

- Anyone who comes with problems will have them intensified and enlarged here. Everything is closed in. You can't run away here.

- There is no place anywhere that is perfect. Although the specifics of the situation are different here, the basic needs are no different. The whole trick is to be flexible and grow with the changes.

- My marital problems have been resolved here in Fort McMurray. That is something when you consider how long they had continued before we came here.

- There are not enough women. We need a legal house of prostitution. Lack of women is one of the causes of alcohol problems.

- We badly need a hostel for transient people. It might be termed an emergency.

- As a whole, progress for Alberta is tied to oil. But

in order to obtain it, an awful lot of people unnecessarily have to suffer a great deal because of lack of housing and a true picture of conditions here not being presented to those moving in.

- Our largest social problem is the lack of social responsibility particularly because of a lack of commitment to the community on behalf of the people who are moving in here.

Several of the informants provided perspectives on marriage and family issues. The following comments focus the problem more clearly. The information also suggests that a remarkable number of marriages have survived and prospered as a result of people moving to Fort McMurray.

- Fort McMurray can be very difficult on a marriage, especially if each partner has a different attitude toward staying.

- There is not time for a home life when men have to work as they do. This is very hard on us.

- We have all kinds of problems with our marriage, but we brought them with us. They did not start here.

- There is a lot of marriage breakup here. People are very young and women do not know anyone but their husbands. Then suddenly he is working all the time and she is left alone.

- Living in an apartment put a strain on our marriage. We are always at each other's throats. The apartments are small and not soundproof. It gets to you to have to always listen to others live.

- Nobody I know here is happy with their family life. I don't know if it is due to long hours of work and shifts or not. There is a lot of cheating and unhappiness. Nobody knows what they want. I have girlfriends who are having affairs and the parties involved can't separate. So they live from day to day. Maybe it is the excitement. The guys coming home are tired, dull and dead. The women need attention and these fellows are not capable of giving attention. A group of women have even got together to try to figure out the problem but no answers have been achieved. The women do spend long hours at home trapped with children and they become restless. If something develops because

of an affair the people involved leave town. The place is too small to survive. People do not forget these events even after the fact.

- McMurray has helped our marriage. We were having serious problems that were money oriented. With the increased income, our problems are decreasing.

There was much comment concerning the living conditions in Fort McMurray. It is obvious from the total data that conditions have improved over the years, and problematic conditions at the present will disappear only when the community stabilizes and provision of amenities catches up with the expansion of population.

- I hate living in a trailer. I feel that I have been stuffed into a corner to wait out the transition.

- There was no preparation for life in Fort McMurray. In those days, we had sidewalks, but no landscaping. Now the area is in the center of town.

- We got a house after two years. It really changed life to have a home.

- The positive side of living here is the people. The negative side is the conditions.

- Despite the closeness of the trailers here in the court, life is really not bad.

- For the pace of growth of the town, things are not bad. Anything that I need is here.

- Trailers are too close together. I would like more room. Noise is a problem and privacy is difficult.

- McMurray is a fast-moving place. A lot of people have a hard time just toning and slowing down to relax. To move at such a fast pace puts your system out of gear.

- I have more money and a better life here than anywhere else.

- You can make it if you want to. If you don't that is your problem.

- There is not enough space in town for the population. We don't have a decent auditorium for a live theater or musical

group, so this kind of entertainment is limited.

- In many ways the expansion helped the native community with jobs.

- I am disappointed with shopping facilities and also with lack of recreation and entertainment.

- When we go to Edmonton, all the children want to do is play on the grass. That is how much they miss it.

- If conditions do not improve, we will not be staying here. I think they will, but if another plant starts the whole thing again, that's it.

- Landlords have everything their way because of the demand for accommodation. Particularly in the trailer areas, just try to get something fixed.

- There is no accommodation for single people except in camp.

- A couple of thousand new people will come in to run the Syncrude plant when it is finished. They won't put up with this. They will force upgrading.

- This area has been in existence since 1970 and does not even have a park. The children have to play on the streets.

Some residents see crime as a problem in Fort McMurray, although complaints related to crime are relatively infrequent. This is an interesting point in light of the volume of work experienced by the RCMP. Crime obviously exists but the perception of the problem does not appear to be proportionate to the incidence.

- There seems to be a fair amount of crime and corruption, but this is systematically hushed by the police.

- Crime is no greater here than anywhere else if you consider the size of the town and the number of men with no attachments.

- We call McMurray "Little New York" because of the incidence of crime. What I cannot figure out is why it is all hushed up so much.

- The drug problem is more in camp, but is bad enough

in town.

- I don't think there is any more crime here than anywhere else. But we really have no idea of what goes on. Everything is kept under the table. We have police friends that tell stories that would make your hair stand on end.

- There are a lot of drugs. My only fear is that they are starting to appear in the elementary school.

- There seem to be a lot of sexual crimes against children by transients. The town attracts all kinds of people, including criminals.

- There is a lot of prostitution. They come in from Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary. Basically they are left alone unless they rip somebody off. There are also a lot of drugs. Most comes from Vancouver. Most is hash and pot, with a bit of cocaine. There are only about 15 known heroin addicts in town. The drug trade is not highly organized. It is mostly individuals bringing it in on an itinerant basis. Nobody gets as upset about soft drugs as they used to.

Some informants have noted special difficulties experienced by women and by elderly people. Research has pointed recurrently to the fact that resource towns tend to be oriented toward the needs of the men, and thus present specific difficulties for many women. This issue is amply demonstrated by informants. As suggested elsewhere, very few elderly people live in the town. Fort McMurray exists primarily for young people. Older people, particularly those on fixed incomes, simply cannot survive.

- Quite a few women who stay at home end up having problems. The husband has dragged the wife up here against her will and then she has difficulty coping.

- I am desperately lonely. My husband's job keeps him away constantly.

- I had trouble, but I decided to make the best of it because my husband is happy with his job.

- Women cannot go to bars alone. Men outnumber women by a large margin. Any woman who goes alone is automatically

*branded as wanting to be picked up.*

*- I don't know a married man who has not had trouble with his wife because she is left totally alone while he works all the time.*

*- It is a shame about our senior citizens. McMurray has a living history which would be good for the children to know. It is very poor to lose this asset. But senior citizens cannot cope with life here. We are very much in need of a senior citizens' home. Why should they be forced out of town just because of progress?*

*- Older people are being shoved aside, not purposely, but as a result of "progress."*

#### 2.4.10 Conclusions

The data from this section could provide the basis for an endless variety of discussions and conclusions. However, for present purposes, only the major issues concerning social organization will be underscored.

Isolation is a theme which one hears a great deal in Fort McMurray. In truth, the community is remote, but links of several varieties are readily available between the town and urban centers "on the outside."

Careful analysis of the data seriously questions whether the feelings which people experience and attribute to geographic isolation might not be ascribed more accurately to a sense of isolation from people (or what sociologists refer to as anomie). All the "talk" or "gossip" surrounding feeling loneliness or "separation" from the world focuses attention on the fact of relative remoteness. However, the manner in which informants have expressed viewpoints relevant to isolation suggest that not having roots in the community or not having close friends may be the more acute problem. A sense of not belonging to the community keeps the minds of people focused upon "home" being elsewhere. Thus, one says he feels isolated.

The factors which influence the structuring of prominent social groupings in the community have been examined closely.



The following principles appear to prevail.

1. People tend to maintain social groups based upon the company by which they are employed.
2. The type of accommodation which people occupy tends to influence directly the social milieu in which they participate.
3. Social groups as a whole tend to be very small. Rarely is socializing done in groups exceeding ten or twelve.
4. The camp/town identity provides another significant social division.
5. People usually do not become too deeply involved with others. Friendships tend to be relatively superficial and short-term because people are in town for only a short time.

Contrary to the explanations that social and personal problems are attributable to some extent to individuals being away from relatives and familiar social support systems, this data indicates that a large percentage of informants consider this a positive rather than a negative phenomenon. (The more conventional explanation is not necessarily mutually exclusive from the conclusion suggested by the present data.)

The major problems in social services to community are: (1) medical and health services; (2) lack of day care facilities; and (3) the difficulty which social service agencies have in communicating with the public.

Social problems tend to be defined differently by various groups in society. In other words, what is troublesome for the residents of the community may be significantly different from what government or industry consider vexatious. The whole question of deviance (in terms of value systems and behavior) must be viewed against this contrast.

Finally, living conditions are improving at a rapid pace, though perhaps still too slowly to keep up with the overall expansion of the town. The people who experience the most difficulty seem to be those from urban centers. The small

portion of the population attempting to establish roots, the foundation upon which community stability could be built, is willing to wait out the difficult conditions pertaining to the present construction phase of Syncrude. However, they are not willing to go through the whole construction phase again if another plant is built. If this core group is lost to the community, the upheaval and turmoil associated with another construction period would make the present problems in the town seem mild by comparison.

## 2.5 WORLD VIEW

### 2.5.1 Introduction

In the most general sense, world view, or ideology, refers to the way in which people explain or rationalize their relationship to the cosmos. It is an attempt to integrate various aspects of life and to provide them with meaning. The need to provide meaning to one's existence appears to be a common trait in all cultures. As a result, the central focus of world view addresses the question, "Who am I?", "What is the meaning of life?" To repeat, people of all cultures address this issue in some form in an attempt to provide an explanation of why life is as it is.

In some instances, people develop highly sophisticated and intellectual philosophies and would be able to provide a very systematic explanation of their system of beliefs. Others tend to devote relatively little effort or thought to the matter and therefore tend to be unconscious of any formal ideology.

While the ideologies to which individuals or societies adhere sometimes do take the form of a very systematic philosophy, as is the case with many religions, world view need not be founded upon logical consistency in order to be effective or useful. The specific attitudes, beliefs and values which comprise a world view or ideology actually may be mutually contradictory and still serve to orient an individual to the world about him.

The basic building blocks or elements of world view are the attitudes, beliefs and values held by individuals. These are so ingrained from infancy to death that the majority of the attitudes, values and beliefs held by an individual may be completely unconscious. However, reflections of these entities are seen through the words and behaviors which are spoken or enacted. In order to understand the intricacies and complexities of human behavior, and more specifically to gain insight into what motivates behavior, one must attempt to determine not only what is objectively true concerning human events and social situations, but more importantly what people believe to be true.

This leads us to another extremely important problem in the study of human behavior. A difference always exists between what people say they do and what they actually do. To place this point within the context of world view, people may say that their attitudes, beliefs and values are of a certain nature. But there really is no means of confirming their statements without opportunity to observe their behavior over a long period.

This is the primary reason for conducting community studies through participant observation, that is, by living in a community and having opportunity to assess whether people do what they say. Studies which deal at arm's length with a community and rely solely upon words are unable to confirm whether the stated information is of ideals only (what ought to be true) or of manifest behavior (what is true). As Deutcher (1966:239) says,

There is adequate reason to suspect that behavior towards words about social or cultural objects (i.e. responses to questions) may not provide an adequate basis for inputting behavior towards the objects themselves (i.e. responses to the people or situations to which the words refer).

In a small, homogeneous society similar elements of world view tend to be shared by all members of the community. In such communities, value is placed upon trying to make the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of all individuals as similar as possible.

However, our own society is organized according to a very different principle. Our society is very large and heterogeneous. Value is placed upon a large measure of personal freedom in beliefs and behavior. Within certain relatively broad limits, we engender the attitude in members of our society that it is the personal right of the individual to subscribe to the value system of his choice. Our emphasis is expressed in the adage, "Do your own thing." We tend to admire and respect people who capitalize upon individuality and independence. In principle, our society tends to be organized along the lines of diversity which results from our emphasis upon individuality.

As stated at the beginning of this report, one of the purposes is to attempt to "see the world through the eyes of the people," to come to some understanding of their world views. Obviously, the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of residents of Anzac or Fort MacKay might be quite different from those of residents of Fort McMurray.

However, the present concern is Fort McMurray. The residents of the town manifest great diversity of behavior. The community is very heterogeneous. The questions which might be asked concerning world view or ideology are as follows:

1. Are there any aspects of world view (values, attitudes or beliefs) which appear to be shared by all, or large segments of the population?
2. Do these aspects of world view differ appreciably from those of any other community?
3. What are the motivations for people to come to Fort McMurray?
4. What are the positive and negative attitudes of individuals toward life in this community?
5. How do people perceive the physical environment of the community and what are their attitudes toward it?

#### 2.5.2 Values and Attitudes

A collage of comments concerning values, beliefs and attitudes of personal importance to people follows. Many of the comments touch upon deeply private thoughts and feelings of the informants. On the surface, this might seem to be an unintelligible smattering of unimportant garble -- a kind of shotgun blast of irrelevant and subjective comments. Deeper consideration, particularly in light of information from previous sections, will provide many subtle insights into values, attitudes and beliefs of the informants, as well as some very thoughtful perspectives. In a sense, this section allows a look behind the curtain of economics, politics and social organization into the inner thought of the people.

- I am really a bush person. How things have changed in the area here. All my old favorite places have been developed and changed. The privacy of the bush areas has been destroyed.

My values are different from those of the people in the city.

I see myself as a basic loner. There is a time for friends, but they are not that important. I am willing to share my likes and dislikes, but there are not too many people who have similar attitudes.

I don't spend too much time in one place. I would like to try some other kinds of things. We like to keep moving.

- When we first came, I lived for the future. I looked forward to the day when we would leave. Now I take things as they come. Teaching has changed me also because I used to be apprehensive about what might happen. For example, I didn't stand up to my parents. But I found that I could take the world as it came.

When I first came up here, my job kept me going. It was what made life meaningful.

- Nobody cares about the town. It is becoming a mess.

- You have to be a certain breed of person to live here. First, you can't expect too much. Second, you have to make something out of it rather than sit and wait for things to happen.

- Development is happening so quickly that it is literally psychologically unacceptable to some of the engineering staff in town.

- I want to stay beyond the time that we agreed to with the company. But my husband is very negative about the town because he works day and night. It is really running him down.

- Since living here, my aspirations have changed. I used to want to be head of a very large operation. But here, a more modest operation is completely satisfying. I want to see the construction phase of the town completed. Then I will reassess how I feel. But I will likely stay here for the rest of my life.

- McMurray has been good to people in the sense of giving them an opportunity to make lots of money. But many live in an

unreal world. They have locked themselves into the town and concentrate so abnormally upon work that they are completely unaware of what is going on around them in the town, country or world. I don't know if it is a lack of concern or whether it is simply an indication of the times. People work constantly just for the sake of money. They can't see any other meaning to life.

- I sense a negative feeling on the part of people around me in the community. People here seem to complain in general more than in other communities. Why? Well, the nature of the work gives them more money and they expect more, but they don't want to contribute themselves to the community in order to have more. In most instances, people have to give before they can take or receive. Also, because their minds are not stimulated in other ways (for example, in terms of world or community events) there is nothing else to do but complain. I feel sorry for the person who is angry at the community. One has to work actively at solving problems, not wait for others to do so.

I feel that I have some close friends here, but I am not even close to being settled here. I am looking forward to the day when Syncrude is built and more stable people arrive here to stay. Like anything else, I can't expect to have everything right now. It takes time. I have to work at it. (This informant came to Fort McMurray in 1975.)

- Last year, I was elected president of a local organization for children's activities. I spent every night after work and every weekend organizing. I had to listen to all kinds of complaints. The executive in the organization disappeared so I had to call on friends to help me keep things going. As far as parent participation is concerned, it has to be the worst of any place I have ever seen. They want their children to participate, but will not assist in any way. We end up being a group baby sitting service for parents who want their children out of their hair for a couple of hours. You have to almost railroad people into accepting community responsibilities here.

- This is a good place for someone who wants to make

a quick buck. But unless they make a few improvements, I wouldn't want to spend the rest of my life here.

- I don't like to live in a town that I cannot feel a loyalty to.

- We don't feel settled in a company home, so we bought our present home. It made a big difference. We had no attachments while in interim housing, but when we moved and built a new house, we had a real sense of belonging to the community.

- I still feel isolated after so many years. I feel as though I would like to bust out and enjoy myself in the city. I feel that it is very distant. I have friends here that I can share personal things with. The real reason for the feeling of isolation, I really cannot specify. I just feel it.

- One thing that bothers me is the people's lack of belonging here. They make their money here and then leave. Homes are not taken care of. They spread bad news about the town because they don't care and leave a bad impression elsewhere about McMurray.

- We have had friends belonging to the same company during the time we have been here. But we are not community minded, nor were they, because none of us ever had reason to be. Do you think that you didn't get involved because you are transient? Yes. My husband has been transferred ten times in his job. I have moved only two times with him since we were married. Perhaps if our children were older and going to school, I would be more involved in community life.

- I think I have a different attitude because I am leaving town. I feel more positive. What would happen if you found out that you had to stay? I would go strange and have a nervous breakdown.

- Has anything unique happened to your life because you moved to Fort McMurray? No, not really. Things would have been about the same if I had been transferred elsewhere.

- Friday afternoon leaving camp, I had an accident driving alone on the road which was under construction. Nobody would stop. I had a bad laceration which eventually required 35 stitches.



Finally, a friend stopped and took me to the hospital.

- People have to be sure of themselves and know where they are at and where they are going. Most people who are here have no idea. They are at a stage where this is just a place to come and drift into and leave.

- I think that most people wish that they could have what they have here, someplace else. Yet one can create a quality of life that is really good for oneself if you want to. For example, the ability to have a walk in the woods is very dear. There is the bare beginnings of a sense of community developing. Some of the people who are now coming into town are quite excited about living here. This attitude catches on and will make for the possibility of a community in the future.

- I hate snowmobiles running loose around town. I don't understand why people don't respect property. The town is very cosmopolitan in a sense. It is amazing that we don't have more problems considering the size of the town. It is a learning experience to live here. If you are serious about work, it is exciting. A person can try many new things rather than continue to slide with only one thing. You can promote new ideas in my line of work. In the city, everything is done for you. Here, nothing is done and if you want it you have to get it done yourself.

- What have you learned during your stay in Fort McMurray?  
I have learned to appreciate nature. Now I do a lot of outdoor activities. I have also learned to appreciate different types of people, different nationalities and so on. You have to learn to get out and make your own kind of fun or you don't survive. Generally, it has been a good experience. I have no major complaints, although the growth has upset us. But now it is time to move on. Maybe we can move closer to friends and family.

- When you first came in 1970, how did you feel about staying? I cried a lot. I was looking forward to leaving. I saved \$5,000. When we moved here, I had nothing. My husband would have spent it doing the things which interest him. I am not the outdoor type and that is all there was here.

*I still haven't reconciled myself to living here. But when I went back home for a visit, I couldn't breathe. The humidity was too high and the traffic too hectic. I couldn't go back to the city. Even Fort McMurray is too big now. It is impossible for the town to keep up with the fantastic population growth.*

*- We all want something out of the town without having to put anything back in.*

*- I tend to get too involved in community affairs. I really get caught up in the hectic pace of growth.*

*- Nobody has any sense of community spirit. We all consider someplace else to be home. Would you be buried here? We have plots in another community, but if our children get married here and stay, we would be buried here.*

*- Our goal is to move to a quieter town. But right now, I don't think we would survive a small town. I like people milling around. I have been to small towns and they talk about the same things day after day. You get to know everyone in one day. We are not fast-moving by any stretch of the imagination, but we like to do things. The adventuresome spirit of doing things is part of our lives.*

*- The present population of Fort McMurray has been very tolerant of Fort McMurray, but the permanent staff who will come into town will not be.*

*- You might call me a bit of a vagabond. There is no real sense of purpose in life except for seeing the world.*

*- I smile a lot, but it is no indication of what is going on inside. But I try not to think about life too much.*

The following list suggest where emphases should be placed in order to accurately interpret the data.

1. Without exception, residents who have been in Fort McMurray for a long time and particularly those who were born and raised in the community point to the psychological trauma of the changed landscape. The physical symbols which had meaning for them have been destroyed. As a result, the area does not feel like

home.

2. Very few residents of the town have a sense of belonging to the community. Most people still think of another area as home. While this tendency is changing, it is surprising to see that long-time residents have this attitude.

3. It is evident that many of the informants perceive their own value system as significantly different from that of people in southern cities or from the more conservative rural areas.

4. A number of informants emphasize their belief that the quality of life in Fort McMurray is likely to be exactly what an individual makes of it. In other words, a person is not acted upon as a passive agent in an active environment; each person is responsible for responding to his social milieu and his natural environment.

5. For men, the key issue is the perceived relationship between the long and continuous periods of work and health problems usually related to being "run down" or depressed. Similarly, women have a tendency to experience depression and health problems, such as obesity, in response to the boredom of being cooped up in a house or trailer, frequently with small children, for a long period.

6. People are living for acquisition of money and material possessions.

7. Even though people frequently enter the community with very negative expectations or through their initial experiences may be very negative, adjustment over time seems to be the pattern.

8. It is evident that the world view of people in this community is changing with the changeover in personnel from the construction phase of development to the maintenance or operational phase. Attitudes which would support a more stable community life style are

occurring more frequently.

9. Every one of the professional people who assist people or the community with solving personal or social problems seems to be overburdened with a sense of "Problem." Their frustration tends to make them feel they are the only ones trying to cope with the real issues and, in so doing, they take the weight of the world upon their shoulders. These attitudes and behaviors of the helping professionals has been documented in other studies of resource towns where social and personal problems are prominent.

### 2.5.3 Motivation

The following comments document the range of factors motivating individuals to come to Fort McMurray. Reference may be made to Appendix 8.1 for a quantified listing of the primary motivations which informants participating in the life history interviews said influenced them to come to the area.

- *We are working for a house someday, but will not purchase one until we have retired or at least have a settled job.*
- *We are all here to make money as quickly as possible.*
- *I came to escape a domineering woman.*
- *We were not displeased to leave Edmonton. I could not get a teaching job. My husband was away all the time. We received an offer of company housing here. We wanted to get away from our relatives. The move was easy because we had no family. But the most important reasons for coming were money and the promise of company housing.*
- *We were stepping into independence, but not leaving any specific problems.*
- *Money is the greatest attraction here.*
- *Well, I was born here and I keep coming back. I think the change has been good because old Fort McMurray was in its death throes. Now things are being developed which will pave the*

way for survival. But change has been too much, too fast. The present community is bizarre. It has no roots or footings.

I do miss the old friendships. The place for people now.

I guess I came back because my Mom and Dad and relations are here. I stay because I have an unusually good job. When that is over, I will leave again. I cannot stay here all my life, but I keep coming back.

- I left the town where I was living with my wife and came here because of personal problems. She did not come with me.

- I got drunk in another province and woke up here. I had nothing so I stayed in order to find some work.

- I was told by a friend that drivers here made six to nine dollars an hour. Unfortunately, he forgot to add that this was only for union men, so I had to take a job at \$3.50 per hour when I first came.

- I couldn't make a go of it where I was living. I just couldn't make enough to support the family. Also, I wanted to get away from relatives.

- People from other parts of Canada hear great stories of unending money in Fort McMurray. They come for the almighty dollar.

- Fort McMurray is a good place to hide from relatives.

- People are here just to make money and have a good time. They really don't give a damn about the town.

- We moved because my mother was constantly giving my husband a rough time.

- I came for the adventure and the challenge. There is a call to adventure. But I think that 75% come for the money; 10% can't work anywhere else; 15% are here for adventure.

- I came to town to get a change of scene. I wanted to get away from my family. I wanted to be alone. Everybody wanted me to fit the standard mold. I would never move back. It has made such a difference to be able to live without an unbearable family influence.

- *I only came to get my husband out of an environment he could not cope with.*

- *A lot of people are attracted here because it is a last chance to make good. They are losers. Some do succeed, but most never change.*

These comments include the full range of primary and secondary reasons provided by informants for moving to Fort McMurray. The primary reason, usually well verbalized and conscious, given by informants often turns out not to be as strong as the network of secondary motivations within the individual. Most of these secondary motivations are less well articulated and more unconscious.

Appendix 8.1 documents primary motivations which led informants to Fort McMurray. Note that approximately 30% of those interviewed to ascertain life history information state they were transferred to town by their company. Consequently, they are usually very quick to point out that they had no choice in the move to Fort McMurray. Roughly 9% of the informants are life residents of the area. About 8% indicate that adventure was the most important drawing card.

Twelve per cent of the life history informants state they came to Fort McMurray in order to escape personal problems in the communities from which they came. Close to 35% listed this factor as an important motivating force, though it may not have been pre-eminent. Of these people who felt that moving to escape personal problems was an important (though not primary) reason, nearly all tied this issue to escaping what they consider to be undesirable influence or interference of relatives.

Only about 12% of the informants say that the desire for money is the sole reason for working in Fort McMurray, but over 75% included the prospect of major financial gain among the prominent reasons.

Apart from the direct implications of the data regarding motivation to come to Fort McMurray, one important issue tends to emerge regularly from "between the lines." When information in this section is viewed against the picture of community life,

the probability of a significant, perhaps even major, portion of personal problems experienced in Fort McMurray (or any other resource town) being imported looms very large. As several informants have pointed out, "Life in Fort McMurray is very much what you make of it yourself." Surely, many of the social and physical situations and circumstances intensify personal problems and even create difficulties quite independently. However, particularly the life history interviews present very convincing evidence that people attracted to the town (particularly in the construction phase) may be moving from other situations rather than to Fort McMurray.

#### 2.5.4 Perception of Environment

Data relating to the manner in which people perceive the physical or natural environment of Fort McMurray follow. The only information which has been excluded from this sub-section is that which related to a feeling of isolation experienced by many residents. Isolation is discussed in the section on Social Organization.

*- The town is generally dirty and this is due mainly to a lack of cleanup services. The dust and mud were intolerable at first, but the situation gradually improved. But the other day I washed my curtains and windows in the trailer and a dust storm came up and completely wrecked all my work.*

*- The extremes of weather are not particularly bothersome to me. The physiography of the area is really very attractive.*

*- The area is so built up that all the familiar symbols and landmarks are gone. I can't find any geographic symbols which bring back good memories.*

*- The muskeg interferes with a lot of outdoor activities, but all terrain vehicles do help to get around.*

*- We moved to Area 2 because we could never see the sun from the valley.*

*- The climate has driven some of our friends away. Others are staying here for working purposes, but have bought land on Vancouver Island for retirement. We don't think that*

way, otherwise we would not have built a home here. If one looks at it as only a temporary situation, one doesn't become as involved.

- We are going to have to accept pollution. I think that the tar sands plants are going to pollute and the task of controlling is going to be so prohibitive that it will come down to shutting down the plants or preserving the environment. It would cost \$60,000,000 for GCOS to put anti-pollution devices into their operation and they would go belly up if they did.

- We came in 1967. What were your expectations? I thought there would be a lot of trees after coming from the prairies. The roads were terrible and it was cold. We came down a long hill and saw a nice little community. We were supposed to move into a trailer. It was a filthy mess. Everything was covered in mud. There were feces on the floor and the mattresses were soaked in urine. I wanted to leave right away. But the furniture arrived. The weather dropped to 50° below. I was sure misled about the weather. Then we moved to another trailer which was not in much better condition.

If the perceptions of informants are an indication of "reality," the whole issue of negative psychological influence of the natural environment appears to be grossly overrated or misconstrued. It might be argued that residents are not aware of the negative impact of the natural environment. However, one must be aware that functional psychological explanations of the unconscious frequently may be more a reflection of the mind or thought process of the researcher than of the research subject. In general, the natural environment does not seem to be perceived any more negatively than in any other community in Alberta.

The physical environment of the town is another matter. Many people do have difficulty accepting some aspects of the town layout or physical conditions of a town constantly expanding, thus perpetually under construction. Again, it appears that if the community were given the opportunity to stabilize, perceived negative psychological effect of the "natural environment" often confused with the physical environment of a town under construction,



quickly would be seen in a less prominent perspective.

#### 2.5.5 Ideology

Glimpses of the ideologies of residents appear throughout this report. The few direct statements of life philosophy offered by informants are presented below. This is curious when one considers that particularly in the life history interviews (though in many other situations as well) direct opportunity encouragements were offered informants to discuss their "philosophy of life."

- Fort McMurray changed my outlook on life. I got a settled down feeling here. I didn't used to care about what happened from day to day. I just lived from day to day. I was a vagabond with a few dollars in my pocket. Now I want a more conventional way of life. I have established a good base, especially after buying a home. Now I have roots for the first time. I must confess that I am lonelier now than when I was on the move.

- I just could not quit drinking. I had lost everything including my wife and family. There was no meaning. But I got straightened out here and found God. Things have started to change. I have something to live for largely because I have been reunited with my wife and family.

- People place an emphasis on pleasure here. Back home things were much more serious and settled. People here are putting pleasure first. They take a lot of things for granted here.

- I admit to having no real purpose in life. I just want to wander. So the time I put in here is necessary in order to allow me to do some of the things in life that I enjoy, travelling being number one on the list.

- Mindless technology is a concern. Suzuki seems to be right on target. Science is good, but people must know something about what is going on. People become pawns in resource development and our technical society. The attitude is, "What are a few casualties along the way?" Unfortunately, this view of the casualties of resource development is not at all uncommon.

People frequently say they turn their backs upon philosophical issues because of "lack of time" and "pressure of work." Whether these factors squeeze out thoughts about the meaning of life or the potential trauma of such thoughts motivates activities which serve to override thought is a difficult and probably unanswerable question.

Many of the data seem to indicate that people are confused, even distraught, about finding meaning for their existence. Many people argue that this characteristic is typical of the kind of people attracted to Fort McMurray. Certainly, no empirical information has been forthcoming to confirm that individuals in the Fort McMurray area are different from people in any other area with regard to this issue.

Materialism as a prevailing ideology is overwhelmingly evident in Fort McMurray. In the conclusion to this section, time will be taken to examine some of the implications of the materialistic living as it is evident in Fort McMurray.

Data indicate some individuals have come to Fort McMurray in response to great personal upheaval and adversity. About five percent of the informants who provided us with life histories tell their problems have been solved as a result of coming to Fort McMurray.

#### 2.5.6 Positive and Negative

The final sub-section of this section is a collection of positive and negative values which informants harbor about Fort McMurray. Again, these points should be accepted as part of the entire body of information provided by residents of the community. The viewpoints below require no summary or interpretation.

- *I am scared to death of driving alone to Edmonton on Highway 63. It is such a dangerous road.*

- *There is not enough to do in Fort McMurray. Although conveniences have improved greatly since I arrived two years ago, I think that entertainment and dining opportunities are lacking. Unless a person is into sports, you are on the outside looking in.*

- *I am reasonably content here. But when there are so*

many beautiful places in the world, I think that we are crazy to stay.

- If the construction ends, I will be willing to stay. I am not willing to go through it all again.

- I hate Fort McMurray because the long hours of work and travel time to and from work leave me totally exhausted.

- It does not appear that people here have any pride in what they have. They lack imagination, though they obviously are not lacking in money. But they don't put their money into lasting things such as improving the environment of their homes.

- The thing that I like most about Fort McMurray is the people. One can make friends easily. Most of the people are transient like myself and they are used to making friends. I do not feel that Fort McMurray discriminates against the transient population as many other communities do.

- I really like the opportunity to be involved in community affairs. In so many places, these positions are not available.

- I really don't want to leave now. Even though I disliked it when I came, the past three years have really changed me and I am very settled here now.

- When I came to Fort McMurray, I thought it was one of the most beautiful places I had ever seen. My opinion has not changed. I enjoy the town. It is a great place to get a start in life. There are opportunities here that are nowhere else in Canada.

- I have lived in this town for 54 years and still have no complaints about it.

- The town has been good to me. I have no complaints. If one wants to work, there is unlimited opportunity.

## 2.5.7 Conclusions

Five questions were posed which should now be considered.

1. Are there aspects of world view which appear to be shared by all, or large segments, of the population of Fort McMurray?

First, the general ideology of materialism is a constantly recurring theme in Fort McMurray. The data point overwhelmingly to the probability that the majority of the population at this time are residents of the community in order to exploit some form of economic opportunity. The majority appear to be attempting to get ahead in some way. Consequently people emphasize activities which will provide the material benefits for which they strive and place low priority upon any other activities.

This leads to the second important though not unanimous aspect of world view. The individuals who use the community as a stopover point while they participate in economic exploitation infrequently sense belonging in the community. Home is always someplace else. Consequently, their participation in community affairs is minimal, because their value system does not place a priority upon the welfare of this community.

At this stage of development, the majority of residents are located temporarily in the town. They are just passing through, even if they stay two or three years or more. The prevailing ideology or world view is one which focuses upon relative transience and the non-sensibility of investment of oneself or one's time on effort in community affairs. The collective mentality of the community reinforces or perhaps even places a premium upon instability.

2. Do these aspects of world view differ appreciably from those of any other community?

The answer appears to be a paradox. There is a sense in which the overall world view appears to be no different from that of any other community. At the same time, the value system allows for a broader range of acceptable behavior than would be the case in most other communities of similar size. The types of behavior labelled troublesome or vexatious are much less frequent and of a significantly different nature than in most other areas. Because the range of acceptable behavior is broader, the people appear to be much more tolerant. This will likely change when the construction ends and a more conventional and stable social

structure emerges. The result of these attitudes and values is that behavior which would be labelled deviant in most older, more stable communities is accepted as normal in Fort McMurray. Indeed, as informants imply, people who cannot make it or who are unacceptable in other communities may fit in very well in Fort McMurray. Indeed, they may assume a very positive and productive role here.

3. What are the primary motivations for people to come to Fort McMurray?

The primary motive for entering Fort McMurray appears to be personal material gain. Few people love or choose the community for its own sake. The real issue seems to be, "What can Fort McMurray give me?" People talk as if living in Fort McMurray is the price one must pay to attain financial security or other material gain.

The second most common reason for coming to the town (with the exception of those who come to live in camp) is being transferred by "the company." Again, as is the case in many resource towns, the tendency is to view transfer as the price to pay for advancement. This is not only the view of the employee, but is a perspective shared by the company. Companies tend to use resource development areas as training grounds for their personnel. These are the areas where employees gain experience which they need to climb the corporate ladder.

Third, a high percentage of informants came to Fort McMurray to escape personal problems, primarily difficulties with close relatives. While this point was offered infrequently as the primary reason for coming to town, it was listed as an important motivation by many informants.

4. What are the positive and negative attitudes of individuals toward life in Fort McMurray?

Generalization is very difficult. Throughout this report, the full range of positive and negative attitudes have been revealed. When considered in context, the positive and negative feelings about life in the community are manifest without further examination.

5. How do people perceive the physical environment of the community and what are their attitudes toward it?

It is necessary to divide this consideration into two parts, one the natural environment of the area and the other the physical environment (man made) of the community.

There was virtually no negative comment concerning the natural environment. On the contrary, a number of informants indicate they harbor very positive feelings for and responses to the natural environment. These viewpoints bring into question whether Fort McMurray is in the same category as communities in the far North where studies have indicated adverse effects of the natural environment upon residents.

A similar question might be related to the perception of isolation. Data indicate that urbanites perceive Fort McMurray as isolated while people from rural areas or far northern communities tend to view the community as an urban center. Isolation appears to be more a function of the psyche of the beholder than fact. The most important message of the data in relation to isolation is that Fort McMurray is not a community of northerners, but an agglomeration of southerners living in the mid-north. This goes a long way toward explaining why the perceptions of isolation are as they are.

Fort McMurray, however, does have unique problems primarily due to rapid growth and expansion. The physical environment of the town is continually uprooted by construction; the data indicate considerable stress is created by this. Numerous informants discussed the negative effects of this turmoil.

In this environment, a notable issue emerges relating to helping professionals. Of necessity, they focus upon such a community. Inevitably, there is not enough manpower to cope with the problems perceived by these helpers. Consequently, these professional people become overwhelmed with an acute sense of problem. The public at large is much less pressed. Also the public attitudes tend to be focused very differently from those of even the helping professionals let alone government or industry. Nonetheless, it

is the helping professionals to whom falls the responsibility of publicly discussing community issues. Their bias colors information generally available about perceptions of the physical environment.

That most people adjust over time to life in Fort McMurray is apparent from the data concerning world view. Most people seem to dislike the community initially, but make significant and often unconscious adjustment to the life style.

It is stated above that in a sense the world view of residents of Fort McMurray is not different from that of our society as a whole. Upon consideration that the populace comes almost exclusively from southern Canadian communities, this point is readily understood. Fort McMurray is a microcosm of the larger world. In a sense, it is a little more raw or less sophisticated at the present than the more stable communities of the South. As a result, the basic values and attitudes of our society are readily observable without layer upon layer of sophistication and complexity to obscure the reality. Observable in Fort McMurray is an ideology of materialism; the implicit belief that man's right is to extend or gain control over the environment for purposes of exploitation; the belief in the right "to do our own thing"; the belief that social and physical environment rather than attitudes toward these entities is the cause of human problems. All these reflect the positive and negative features of the core value system of our culture as a whole. In Fort McMurray, these values are just a little more "up front," a bit less masked, slightly more blatant than would be socially acceptable in many other communities in Canada.

### 3. ANZAC

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The initial visit to Anzac was during October 1976. Plans were made then for regular interaction with the community during January 1977. In fact, field work took place during the last two weeks of February and the last two weeks of April 1977.

Initial contact was made with the executive of the Anzac Citizens Association (ACA). This was followed by general visiting and observing about the settlement. While an interview structure was used in discussions with residents, no check list questionnaire was used.

It was immediately obvious there were strong feelings about being studied by "fly through" outsiders. Once residents were sure this was not a two day door-to-door survey they were most generous with their time and information.

It must be understood this research was not done through participant observation in the pure sense of the method. Although observation of the residents interacting within the settlement and with outsiders was possible, data basically come from what people "said" they felt or did on certain issues or occasions. This may in fact be different from what might have been observed while living in the community for a long time.

Work was focused on the settlement of Anzac, but in the course of field work there was interaction with several members of the Gregoire Lake Indian Reserve.

#### 3.2 GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The settlement of Anzac is located on the southeast shore of Gregoire Lake approximately 50 km southeast of Fort McMurray. The Northern Alberta Railroad line runs by the east side of the settlement. Anzac is 23 km by road off highway 63; 40 km by road from Fort McMurray (see Figure 4). Approximately 11 km of this road is oil surfaced; the remainder is gravel.

Activity in the area is focused on Gregoire Lake and the Indian Reserve (see Figure 5). The west side of the lake has



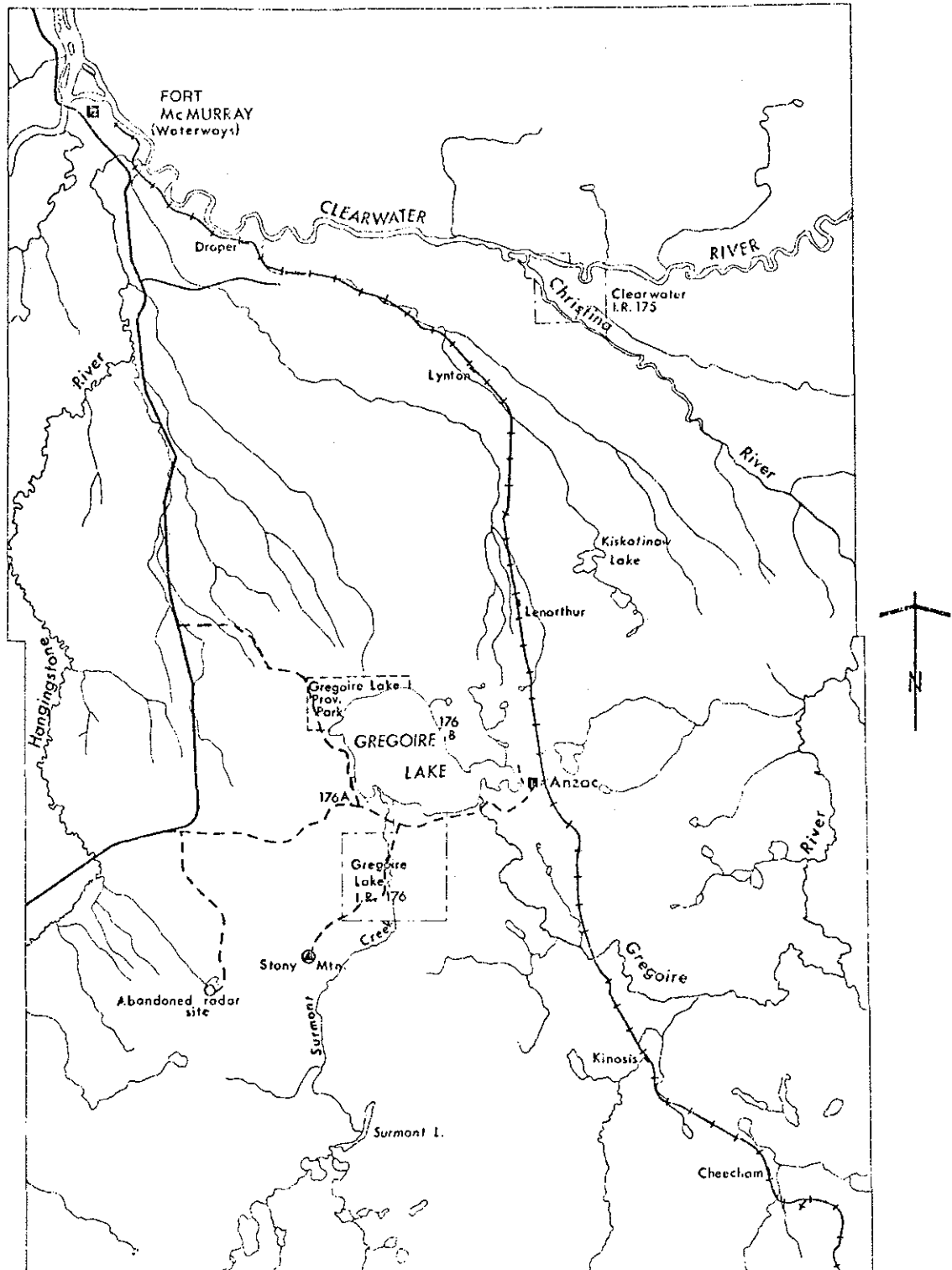
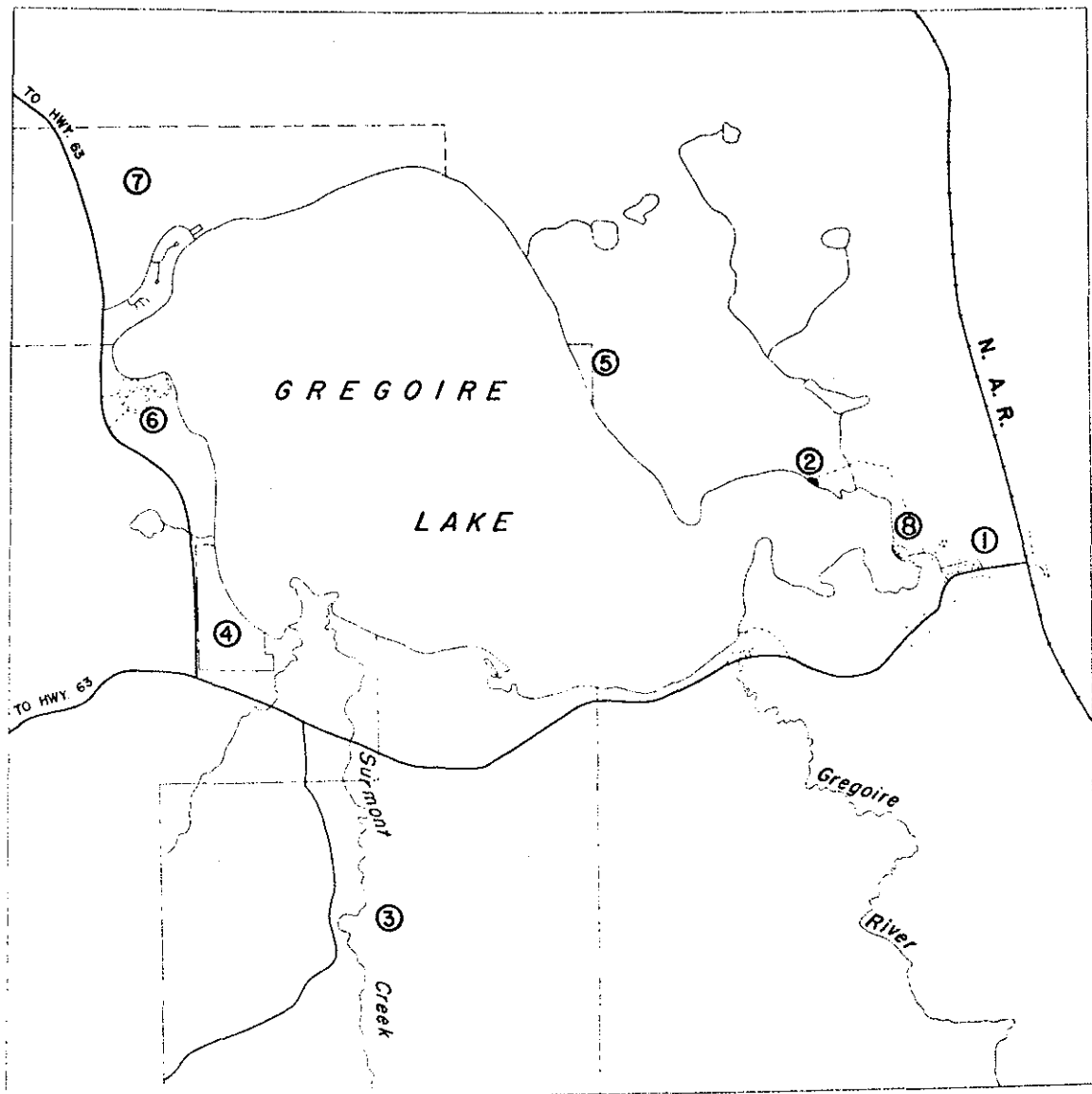


Figure 4. Anzac general location map.



Scale: 1" = 6600' approximately

#### LEGEND:

1. Community of Anzac
2. Private church campground
3. Indian Reserve, no. 176
4. Indian Reserve, no. 176 A
5. Indian Reserve, no. 176 B
6. Cottage development
7. Gregoire Lake Provincial Park
8. Gregoire Lake Recreation Area



Figure 5. Gregoire Lake area.

Gregoire Lake Provincial Park on the shore and a resort cabin development of approximately 60 cabins. The Gregoire Lake Indian Reserve lies on the south shore of the lake (see Figure 4). Amoco Canada Petroleum Company Limited operates an in-situ pilot project on about 20 hectares of land leased from the Reserve.

Alberta Parks, Recreation and Wildlife has a Park Warden's office and home across the railroad track from the settlement of Anzac. This site was the former Alberta Forest Service Warden Station.

The general history of Anzac is recorded in Ekistic Design Consultants Limited (1976).

### 3.3 SETTLEMENT CHARACTERISTICS

#### 3.3.1 Community Organization

A basic profile of the settlement of Anzac can be found in Ekistic Design Consultants Limited (1976:15-29). The only update required is to note that Jim's Cafe and Store has burned down; L & J Grocery is now operated as a cafe by two young French Canadians and Pratt's Boat Park now carries groceries.

To understand how oil sands development has affected the settlement of Anzac, one must appreciate the distinction between community in our urban oriented world view and the settlement on the southeast shore of Gregoire Lake. It is our experience that the residents of Anzac are not knit together by a common bond be that world view or interdependence. In fact, most informants interviewed expressed only minimal interest in the community as an entity, but rather were concerned with personal security on their property and their economic well being. The only issue on which there is a solid bond is concern for the overcrowding of the settlement by the recreation-seeking weekenders from Fort McMurray.

Apart from that, everyone alleges fairly strong support for the Anzac Citizens Association (ACA), yet attendance at meetings and commitment to decisions made by ACA seem fairly low.

Several informants suggested the ACA was mainly a project the women worked on and was not really anything in which they wanted to get involved.

Traditionally the settlers in Anzac (Willow Creek) lived without community organizations, land title, land zoning, or community planning. Now, with population growth in the general area and the ever increasing presence of government, they are forced to face concepts foreign to their way of life. One cannot overstate the effect this has on their daily lives.

### 3.4 ECONOMICS

Traditionally residents of Anzac lived off the land by hunting and fishing. The fur trade brought trapping as an activity to generate cash or trading material. Wage labor followed World War II particularly during the mid-fifties with the construction of radar sites and related work by Bell Telephones. The early 1960's brought the construction of Highway 63 and Great Canadian Oil Sands.

Today with the increased opportunity for work and the higher wages, laborers can earn between \$800 and \$1,200 per month

Many of the houses in Anzac are of modest construction. All have electricity but most do not have running water. Most families have a vehicle. Skidoos or motorcycles are not uncommon.

Although no formal labor survey has been done, it is estimated that eight to twelve Anzac people work for wages either with Amoco or in Fort McMurray. Public Assistance supports two mothers with dependent children and three families for medical reasons. These figures appear to remain constant from year to year.

There is little evidence to indicate Anzac residents have any significant debt. Most shopping is done in Fort McMurray with the exception of occasional items like bread and milk purchased from local outlets.

Alcohol consumption is evident but does not seem to be a source of vexation to the settlement. Agencies like the Mounted Police state emphatically they have no problems with Anzac. Some of the non-drinkers in Anzac allege those who drink "spend all

their money on liquor."

### 3.5 LAND TENURE

#### 3.5.1 Present Dispensation

Land use in the settlement of Anzac is controlled by Alberta Energy and Natural Resources, Forestry Division. The area falls within Alberta's Green Zone classification. Under present land use policies it is possible for local residents to secure a lease ranging in length from one to 25 years. These leases are approved only for the surveyed subdivision (See Figure 6) or a more recent temporary survey plan number 1508. Unfortunately, much of the land still available is not suitable for residential purposes. Also some of the traditional homesites on the south side of the road were not included in the survey.

To qualify for a lease a person must have been a resident before 1963 and have a local job which keeps him in Anzac. This would mean employment in trapping, Amoco or Parks. The question of eligibility is a matter of some contention. Such questions as children of Anzac residents who wish to live there and work in Fort McMurray seem to tread on grey areas in the regulations or their interpretation. Native people from the general Fort McMurray area who did not specifically live at Anzac also pose a problem with eligibility.

During a visit to Forestry's office the researchers encountered an extremely upset elderly native woman. She was presently squatting on crown land near the highway south of Fort McMurray, and had just been given notice to vacate the site. She had no place to which her trailer could be moved. She claimed to have applied for a lot at Anzac at least three months before. The application had never been approved. Now, she was being forced to move. But where?

Clearly, she could not move into Fort McMurray. Forestry advised that she was not eligible for a lot at Anzac because it had not been her traditional home. Finally in frustration she cried, "God made this earth for men to live on and now the white man is kicking us out!"

The outcome of this situation remains unknown, but the

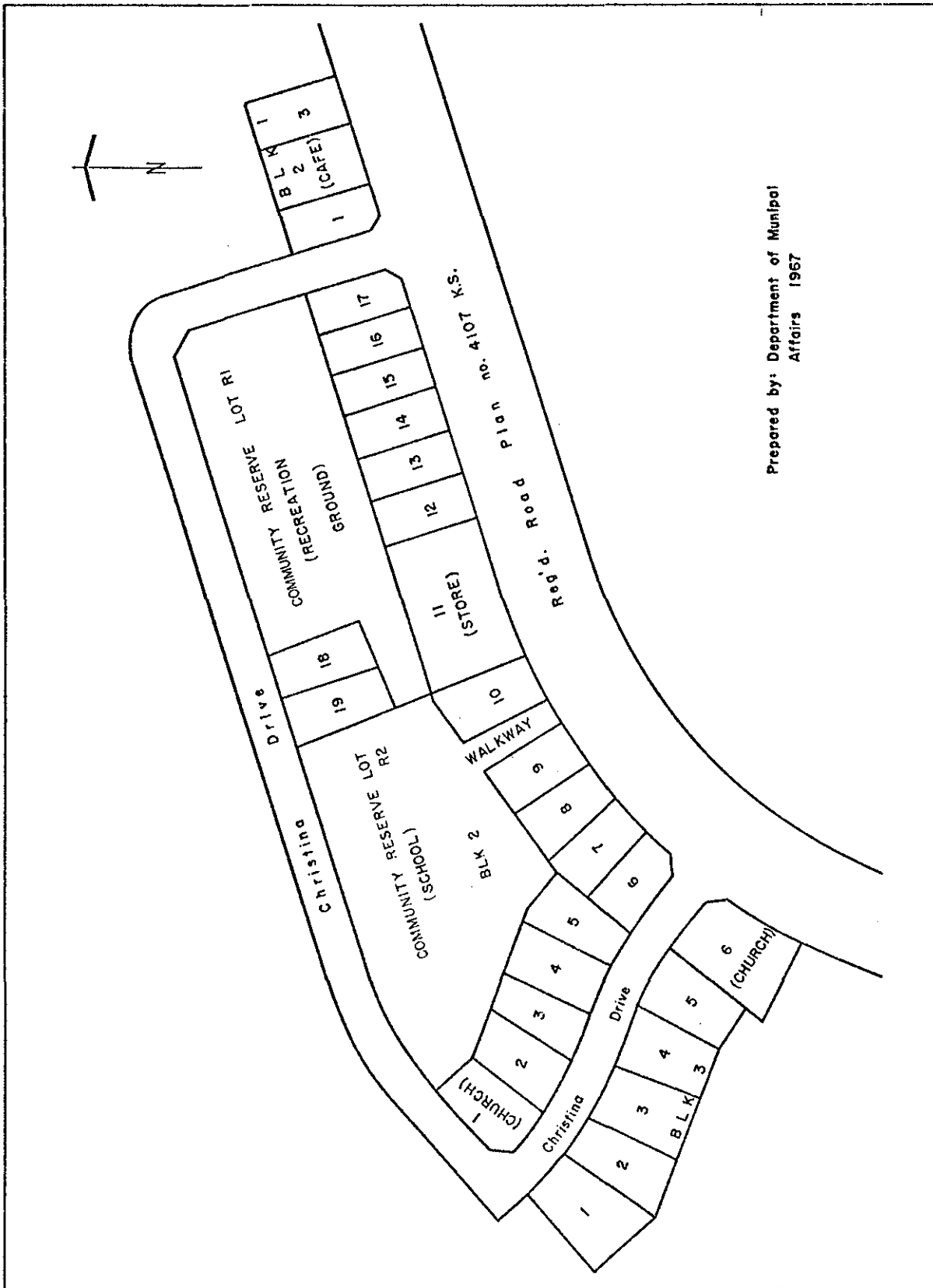


Figure 6. Anzac surveyed subdivision, 1967.

message is clear -- government is now applying southern land use rules with a pronounced effect on native people in the North.

Forestry's crackdown on squatters who have recently come to the Fort McMurray area is bringing an end to the policy of ignoring native squatters in the same area. Anzac is the only place in which native people's claim to the right to live in their traditional homes is not being challenged by eviction notices.

The administration of existing leases appears to operate with varying degrees of success. During the final field visit an 80 year old woman, resident of Anzac for 60 years, received an order to vacate her lease and clean up the site within 30 days. Apparently her lease fee of approximately \$9.50 was late in being paid. Her neighbor advised there is considerable difficulty involved for this woman to get her mail. It goes to General Delivery and is often given to the wrong person or merely lost in the shuffle. This woman had faithfully paid her lease fees previous years and now received this notice to vacate. Hopefully this matter will be resolved by the time this is written.

### 3.6 THE LAND TENURE SECRETARIAT

The ACA formed a Land Tenure Committee to deal with government in matters relating to land tenure. The government placed these land claims under the jurisdiction of the Land Tenure Secretariat of Alberta Municipal Affairs. Officials from the Secretariat have had several meetings with residents of Anzac to try to determine the best way to resolve questions surrounding land claims.

The Secretariat believes the people of Anzac are divided or perhaps simply uncertain as to what they want. The Secretariat has proposed a major fieldwork or outreach project to expand local awareness of issues surrounding land tenure. The Secretariat has brought in two lawyers from Edmonton for a workshop on rights and regulations affecting land tenure.

The outreach project would consist of a local person as a bilingual project manager, a part time secretary and funds for

material for a community hall including offices, secretarial space, conference or meeting rooms and library. Additional resources in the form of information and manpower would be pumped into Anzac so that each and every person will have an opportunity to be exposed to important information on legal and taxation questions and to present his or her ideas on land tenure.

While this proposal has great merit from the viewpoint of community development and problem solving, it is viewed with some skepticism in Anzac. Many informants do not want to go through such a major process just to secure their land. Perhaps their sentiments are represented more fairly by saying simply they feel this is all unnecessary to their claim for land. Older people just want a simple lease and then to be left alone.

If the Land Tenure Secretariat is able to locate persons with the necessary skill and energy, interest in the project might well increase when people see the potential. Unquestionably there is extreme difference of opinion about what the people want for land tenure. Many would like the security of deeded land, but fear taxation similar to Fort McMurray and the loss of freedom that would accompany organizing their settlement. Others believe some variation on the present lease idea affords sufficient security without getting too complicated.

### 3.7 RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Resource development is affecting Anzac in two ways. The Amoco project brings resource extraction to Anzac's doorsteps. The distance from Syncrude and GCOS limits their effects somewhat. Both bring the potential of wage labor.

Most Anzac residents choose to work for Amoco rather than drive to the other projects. Wages appear to be comparable. Any difference in wages would be eaten up easily by the cost of driving to Syncrude or GCOS. Long working days and the time spent driving make construction work even in Fort McMurray untenable.

Amoco has not had a lasting, observable physical effect on Anzac, but residents were once forced to vacate their homes for fear of health hazard from escaping poisonous gas. Sentiments



appear to have cooled about this frightening event with time.

Amoco representatives have met with residents and assured them every opportunity would be given to local people for employment. Unfortunately, many of the jobs require high school education thereby eliminating most Anzac workers.

Amoco holds surface mineral leases on most land around Anzac. In one meeting an Amoco representative assured ACA they would not move people's homes for exploration work: "We will drill in your garden, but we will leave your home alone. If we have to move you we'll pay." Every informant predicted major growth at Amoco. They fear issues like housing for Amoco workers, railroad linkage and pollution will all threaten their settlement. Most also said the restriction on development in the Green Zone would be lifted quickly if Amoco pushed.

No one from industry or government was willing to state just what is planned at Amoco. However, if it does expand as everyone expects, the serious concerns people have are likely to be realized. Several informed sources suggested when Amoco's extraction method pays off, development could rival Syncrude in size. Amoco claims needed workers who cannot be hired locally will be housed in Fort McMurray or Edmonton. It appears the effect of Amoco on Anzac is merely beginning. Indeed, its total existence may be threatened.

Developments at Syncrude and GCOS have not had a direct physical effect on Anzac nor are they likely to. The tremendous population growth in Fort McMurray that accompanied oil sands development is another matter. Gregoire Lake has become the recreation spot for recreation hungry residents of Fort McMurray. Specifically the lovely beach in Anzac attracts hundreds of people from Fort McMurray evenings and weekends all summer. From Friday night to Sunday every road in Anzac is bumper to bumper with cars. This traffic creates a serious hazard to children and generates intolerable dust and noise.

The beach is administered by Alberta Parks, Recreation and Wildlife and is called Anzac Recreation Area. Parks officials propose restricting the site to day use only beginning on the

24 May weekend, 1977. This, plus additional enforcement power for wardens, is expected to prevent many of the serious problems of previous years.

All informants believe resource development has significantly driven prices up in the region. The increased wages and increased selection available now is attractive to some but most question whether they are "really any better off."

Few Anzac people are applying for jobs with the major companies. Syncrude has an active outreach program to relate to native people, but it appears to attract more urban oriented natives from farther south. Some children of Anzac residents do work in oil sands development but they live in Fort McMurray. Several informants stated they had children who wanted to move to Anzac and work for Syncrude or GCOS, but they did not meet the lease eligibility regulations for land in Anzac.

### 3.8 GREGOIRE LAKE PROVINCIAL PARK AND ANZAC RECREATION AREA

During the field work, Alberta Parks officials and North East Commission officials met with ACA to review plans for Gregoire Lake. Anzac Citizens Association had requested permission to take control of the Anzac Recreation Area beach and operate it as a fund raising venture. The ACA also requested permission to operate a concession on the beach.

After much discussion it was generally agreed Parks should continue to operate the beach area, but that it would be changed to day use only. This means that at a prescribed hour everyone including Anzac residents would be kicked off the beach. Many Anzac residents consider this a major infringement on their freedom. With the beaches crowded all day, they have found late in the evening to be the only time they can enjoy the area.

Parks Officials advised this year's construction plans will increase the facilities at Gregoire Lake Provincial Park to 170 camping stalls, 40 picnic sites and a group camping area. It is hoped this will take up the demand from closing the beach area. Every indication is this will not begin to meet the demand. In

all likelihood additional free camping on the lakeshore and in the settlement of Anzac will be a common occurrence.

### 3.9 COMMUNITY PLAN

The idea of a community plan for Anzac has surfaced many times. Ekistic Design Consultants Ltd. recommended it in their work on a Northeast Alberta Regional Plan. The Northeast Commissioner's office has advised the ACA it would look favorably on a request for funding such a plan. To date this idea has little appeal to the residents of Anzac.

A fundamental issue of the effects of oil sands development is that with it have come our organized, formalized systems of controlling life. The traditional residents of Anzac have evolved a method of dealing with their interaction and this does not include community organization, community planning, land use zoning, leases, land title, taxes or eligibility for residence.

Obviously the need for planning in northeast Alberta will necessitate a plan for Anzac. Increase in regional population and an increase in the presence of government, with all the trappings of our society, is forcing change on the people of Anzac. This change is not necessarily perceived as an improvement in the quality of life. Indeed, we would be hard pressed to demonstrate that it is an improvement.

The reality of change is taking place and the integrity of a settlement is at stake. Change is inevitable, but the issue of integrity rests in whether people are given the right to become fully aware of its implications and allowed to exercise whatever choices they have.

Complicating the question of a community plan is the fact that planners tend to be urban oriented "dudes" with very little understanding of or empathy for the cultural differences of these northern people. The successful way to build a community plan for Anzac would be to stage a major live-in research and planning operation. This should probably go hand in hand with the proposed land tenure project. Unfortunately the level of commitment to this process by the older residents of Anzac may be very low.

People simply cannot see reason for all this activity.

Undoubtedly high priced planners could be set to the task of drawing up a plan for Anzac. The plan may even be quite sensible in our terms. However, unless considerable time is taken to live with the grassroots people of Anzac, the plan will not reflect the aspirations of the traditional residents of that settlement. This research demonstrated people have little patience for planning done by outsiders who do not have to live with the results.

Finally, if the government is to be serious about a community plan done with the people of Anzac rather than for them it should be prepared to accept a plan which may be inconsistent with the Northeast Alberta Regional Plan. Once already in the situation vis-a-vis the beach the community's resolution to land zoning would not have been consistent with the plans for the region.

### 3.10 RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

Before the oil sands development the only interaction between government and Anzac was through forestry officials. Everyone interviewed agreed there was a long history of warm and friendly relations. Forestry officials were quick to assist people from Anzac and vice versa.

The present situation with Alberta Parks is not nearly so amenable. It appears the local Parks Officer is well liked but the Parks Administration is another matter. Many residents feel the Parks people have no regard for the quality of life in Anzac. Parks' only concern is "recreation for Albertans."

Delays in responding to ACA's proposal for the beach and the eventual decision to keep operation of the beach in provincial hands resulted in many hard feelings. Although Alberta Parks may have had just cause for concern about the capability of ACA to operate the beach, the entire matter might have been handled in a more creative manner. A one year trial period for ACA could have given the local people valuable experience and a sense of involvement in their destiny. Certainly operation of a beach recreation site is not outside the realm of possibility

given the proper assistance. There are several examples of community or native operated recreation sites which are very successful.

Considerable tension existed on the issue of a weir the government installed on a drainage creek to raise the level of Gregoire Lake. No one, including government officials, has been able to demonstrate why the weir was built and particularly why the water was raised so high. Some of the surveyed sub-division of Anzac is actually flooded by the high water. Large areas of scrub brush and marsh land is now flooded and trash is being washed into the lake. Allegedly some farm land on the south shore of the lake was also rendered unusable.

ACA made many representations to government to have the weir removed. Finally, in a February 1977 meeting with officials from the Northeast Commission, Alberta Fish & Wildlife, Alberta Parks and ACA it was announced that Alberta Environment had control of the weir. If Fish & Wildlife and Parks would submit letters of non-objection, the Northeast Commission staff would request Alberta Environment lower the level of the lake by two feet and carefully monitor the results. The ACA will be given an opportunity to participate in this evaluation process.

The initial construction of the weir and the painfully slow process of untangling the authority to lower the ridiculously high water level is a sad example of government operating with questionable competence in an area that affects the daily lives of citizens. It is to be hoped strongly that government departments will be able to demonstrate competence and credibility to match their authority in the future. If the people of Anzac are to respect government then government must demonstrate competence worthy of that respect.

One bright spot in the settlement's relations with government is the Northeast Commission office. Commissioner Henning and his staff have been diligent in responding to requests for their attendance at community meetings and their attention to concerns raised by Anzac.

### 3.11 QUALITY OF LIFE

Since Anzac is in a major state of change, it is difficult to present classic community profile data on social, political and economic organization. Instead, major issues as they affect the settlement are addressed.

Clearly, the intensive development of the oil sands has had a major effect on the traditional way of life in Anzac. Most informants painted a fairly romantic picture of the old days as a quiet, healthy settlement supported by trapping and occasional wage labor.

People generally agree present employment opportunities present a functional alternative to the modest incomes of the trapping era. The peace and quiet, on the other hand, has been destroyed by the resource exploitation and the accompanying tremendous increase in population. Indeed, there is considerable ambivalence in the settlement in response to the question, "Do you think oil sands development has had a positive or negative effect on Anzac?" Most informants agreed the additional wealth and comforts were very attractive but must be balanced against the loss of freedom. This dilemma has been encountered in all areas where present researchers have studied exploitation encroaching on indigenous people. The trimmings of our way of life tend to be quickly assimilated, but the change in world view is a very long and painful process.

In the western world, the morality of these issues as they relate to advancement of our society has rarely been questioned. "After all, that's progress; we cannot stop progress." Unfortunately the sides to this question fall in polar opposites. Developers tend to see no reason to waste any effort on the dilemma of the indigenous except as it may relate to their balance sheets. Conservationists tend to ignore some realities of the macro environment in an attempt to preserve the past.

A legitimate moral question is involved -- one that must be faced by those making decisions about oil sands development.

#### 4. FORT MacKAY

Fort MacKay is on the west bank of the Athabasca River approximately 17 km downstream from the Syncrude and GCOS plants. Its population consists of Treaty Indians and Metis residents who have lived in the area for several generations.

Since the beginning of intensive resource development there has been considerable interest in Fort MacKay from a variety of sources. The motivation for this interest ranges from purely academic through political expedience to sensational attention seeking.

Most outsiders consider the community to be suffering terrible social problems and to be extremely volatile. It is generally reputed to be violent and dangerous. Many officials in agencies or organizations with some relationship to Fort MacKay cautioned that it would be both difficult and dangerous to do field work in Fort MacKay.

Problems in Fort MacKay are complicated by the fact there are two factions in the settlement: the Treaty Indians and the Metis. They live in physically different areas of the settlement and allegedly have considerable hostilities between them. There is no organization which speaks for the community or that can be used as an entry to the settlement. During forays into Fort MacKay, the complexity of the community and its problems was blatantly obvious.

The community is facing many new influences with the arrival of the resource exploitation activity. One might argue that the influences are not totally new. The influences of altering the landscape, high dollar wage labor, easy access to alcohol, public assistance and many such trappings of industrialized society are much closer than they have been before.

This research was complicated by being 765th in a chain of people and agencies "doing things to Fort MacKay." The only researcher who has been able to successfully solve the problem of rapport with the settlement is a student from the University of Calgary who spent the preceeding winter in the area researching trappers. Two ingredients in his success warrant noting:

first, he was dealing with a concept the local people could relate to, namely what was happening to trapping because of other activity in the area; second, he moved into the community and lived in a tent until the residents got to know him.

The time available in this project and the season during which field work was conducted prevented a similar approach to the community. Indeed, during the term of this research two chiefs died and it was not until February that the present chief took office.

Shortly after he took office the new chief made overtures to Commissioner Henning about the relationship of Fort MacKay to the outside world. The chief was concerned by the lack of services and programs in his community and was familiar with a long term research and planning project underway in Fort Chipewyan. The Commissioner expressed interest in doing whatever he could to help the community, but he was concerned that whatever was done should be done with the support of the chief and council.

At this point Applied Research Associates was able to fill an interpreting role between the chief and the commissioner. The chief was saying he did not want a short term research project. He wanted someone who was willing to move into the community for a minimum of three months; someone who could get practical answers to some very fundamental questions rather than research for a bookshelf.

Rather than continue this research project and jeopardize the natural movement in the community, Applied Research Associates assisted the chief in articulating his wishes to Commissioner Henning. A proposal for a three month live-in study is in the making. There is reason to believe this will be completed by fall, 1977.

To point out the hazards of short term research and the lack of first-hand participant observation, return to the question of alleged violence in the community for a moment. A researcher experienced a most illustrative event.

In the middle of the night, Fort MacKay RCMP received



a call that there was a terrible riot in Fort MacKay. The informant suggested this was a major disturbance with many lives in danger. Two police cars were dispatched to MacKay in true motion picture fashion. About this time, the officer in charge tracked down precisely who it was who "brought the word." Upon confirmation the wheels of cynicism began to turn. Indeed, when the officers arrived in Fort MacKay they discovered the riot consisted of a family drinking dispute where an adult male had struck at his partner through a window cutting his arm and someone else had administered a black eye to an onlooker. The frequency of this sort of sensationalism appears very high. Unfortunately this type of information spreads far more quickly and broadly than does the truth.

The above notwithstanding, the situation at Fort MacKay is very serious. The settlement is threatened by social influences mentioned earlier and the potential for serious trouble (for the residents, government and industry) is very high indeed. Further, the very existence of the settlement may be threatened by the resource exploitation.

It is hoped that the extensive research project proposed for this summer will answer many important questions for the people of Fort MacKay and for those who look from a distance at or act in the oil sands area.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

No necessity exists to repeat the issues of this report yet one more time. The intent is to bring this report to a concise conclusion.

In a very simple way, culture may be defined as the way of life of a group of people. In more academic terms, it is defined frequently as the integrated system of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviors (and the material consequences of these) which are learned, shared and passed from one generation to another. Culture does not exist in reality, but is a concept used to explain and to interpret human behavior. The concept of culture is always tied to a group of humans living in a specific geographic area, that is, culture is tied to the concept of society. A society possesses a culture in much the same way as an individual has a distinctive personality.

When the culture of a given society or community is analyzed, one method of completing the analysis is to artificially and arbitrarily break culture into components. In this case, these aspects of culture are referred to as economic organization, political organization, social organization and world view or ideology. For an academic, this procedure might seem a gross oversimplification of very complex issues; but it is a handy way for members of a community to conceptualize and understand community issues in an objective and analytical way.

The most important issue concerning culture for the present purpose is borrowed from the academic definition presented above: "Culture is an integrated system..." As stated in the introductory section, the implication is that events which happen in everyday life to real people have been artificially segmented into analytical categories of economic organization, political organization and so on. This had to be done in some manner in order to provide a written description of the total way of life in Fort McMurray as perceived by residents. But the reader must reintegrate these categories in her or his own mind in order to see specific issues against the background of the whole picture.

Bearing this in mind, now turn to confront the four questions posed at the beginning of this document.

1. What is happening to the people in the Athabasca Oil Sands Area?

First, the people who were born in the oil sands area (white or native) are experiencing an unsolicited invasion of their territory. Some have been able to accommodate or perhaps even to exploit this invasion. Others (perhaps the majority) are casualties.

Second, the people moving into the community generally are experiencing the logical implications of their motivation to enter the community. Because people are pouring in at such a pace and in such large numbers, structural problems such as provision of accommodation, social services and management of growth are nearly impossible to deal with under present conditions. If the influx of people were to occur after the amenities and organization had been put in place, rather than both occurring at the same time, many problems would be averted or at least substituted by more manageable difficulties.

2. Why is it happening?

Four major answers may be given to this question.

The speed with which the town had to be built did not allow time for proper planning and execution.

People are coming to get what they can for themselves rather than to invest themselves in the community. This motive is encouraged explicitly and implicitly by government and the companies.

The people who are coming are southern urbanites not accustomed to the physical or psychological conditions of resource towns. Indeed, they have extremely unrealistic expectations.

Above all else, despite the best of intentions nearly everything about Fort McMurray reinforces community instability. The community goes through cycle after cycle of upheaval, each of which is more devastating than the one before.

3. Is it good or bad?

This value judgement is possible only for individuals

to make for themselves. However, if the intent is to build a stable community which may be first, home for the residents and second, a place to earn a living, the present development may be viewed as unfortunate, and to some extent unnecessary, in leading to eventual stability. The people who wish to establish roots will pay the price of what is negative today for something which is positive tomorrow. (Assuming, of course, that the cycle is not repeated again.) On the other hand, if the intent is to get as much out of the area as quickly as possible with as little investment as possible (i.e. the area is only a temporary supplier for the south), the present situation is as intended.

#### 4. What can be done about it?

Perhaps the question should read, "Given the value system which prevails in our culture, what can be done about it?" Only a certain number of the problems are structural in nature and consequently could be dealt with by changes in structure. The remainder are functions of the people we are, so solutions would require changes in values and attitudes.

However, in the opinion of Applied Research Associates Ltd., stability is the most important issue to confront. Several solutions to the lack of stability have been suggested in this report. The most important are: (1) In the event that another plant becomes a reality, do not attempt to put Fort McMurray through another period of expansion. In other words, do not allow the construction phase of one operation to overlap with the maintenance phase of another. (2) Create housing such a way as to avoid company ghettos. Also, do not allow the cream of housing opportunities to accrue to the employees of any company at the expense of other residents. If housing or utility subsidies are going to be given at all, make them generally applicable throughout the community. (3) Even if provincial government control is necessary in the first phases of creating a resource community, systematically provide a means whereby local autonomy grows as times goes on. The current structure reinforces lack of interest among residents.

Beyond this, recommendations must be seen in context

of specific problems. In a community study as broad as this, written recommendations would occupy more space than the original document. The only further recommendation, therefore, is that persons, groups or agencies who wish to explore specific problems in depth avail themselves of the opportunity through planned community workshops or by contacting Applied Research Associates Ltd. directly.

6. COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO THE REPORT

The agreement to do this community study included an undertaking to report the findings of the study back to the community. In this light, Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program requested Applied Research Associates Ltd. return to Fort McMurray to meet with key agencies and organizations to discuss the findings of the report and solicit comment. This chapter is a report on that process and is appended to the main body of the report per the agreement.

On 7 and 8 March 1978, Barbara Kasinska-Banas of AOSERP accompanied Dr. Ted Van Dyke and Carmen Loberg of Applied Research Associates Ltd. to Fort McMurray to present draft copies of the report to agencies and organizations in town. Every attempt was made to cover as many groups as possible and to ensure a cross section of reaction. Time restrictions and logistic problems may have resulted in someone thinking they were unfairly missed. This is commented upon further later in this section.

Each person chosen was given the report with the understanding that Applied Research Associates would return in two week's time to solicit comment, written or verbal. The decision for comment to be provided anonymously or officially was left to each informant. Several respondents requested their comments not be written in 'officially' so that what they said could not be misconstrued as official comment from their agency. Others specifically requested their comment remain anonymous while some expressed no preference. No agency or organization chose to make an official presentation in response to the report.

After careful consideration we chose to include all comments anonymously thereby insuring the anonymity of those who requested it. It should be noted, however, that the respondents included a broad range of government and private agencies, professionals and elected officials.

Having written a very frank report we expected there might be a backlash from the community. We were amazed that quite

the opposite was true. While the report generated considerable discussion the reaction was overwhelmingly favourable. Most informants stated the report was either interesting, informative, unique, refreshing, practical or some combination of these things. Some were interested in clarification of points of methodology or content and a few made points of correction on items of information.

All respondents thought the report should be made public as soon as possible. They specified they did not mean merely made a 'public document' in the usual bureaucratic sense of the concept but that it be made available to the public in the most literal sense. This is covered further later in the section.

#### 6.1 THE COMMENTS

It is difficult to cover the discussions surrounding the interviews for this section without repeating large portions of the report. Most of the points raised by the respondents consisted of highlighting parts of the report that they liked or that they found really struck home. The most frequent response to the question "What did you think of the report?", was simply, it was great. An elaborate response might include that it was very accurate and a most interesting picture of life in Fort McMurray.

Many of the comments reflect the particular involvement the respondent had in the community. For example persons involved in social service roles would regularly pick up the sections Social Organization and World View.

The comments are highlighted below by topic. The breakdown is for convenience and clarity and in no way reflects a priority.

#### 6.2 METHODOLOGY

Most respondents found the methodology a refreshing change from the fly-in, door-to-door survey type of studies. It was considered a significant departure from many of the studies being done in the oil sands. Some wanted the validity of the methodology defended before the report was used for planning purposes. The participant observation concept was commended but

the selection of informants for the life histories was questioned. A reiteration of selection by geography, employment and length of time in the community provided adequate clarification on the methodological question.

### 6.3 PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT

Most respondents found the format delightful and most enlightening.

It was noted that as a study of Fort McMurray it was missing a balance of observations and conclusions compared with other communities. For example, coming to McMurray for a 'buck' is considered to be a negative thing, yet it is a prime motivation to go to Edmonton, Calgary or Saskatoon. Caution should be exercised in remembering that, as the report suggests, some of the traits discussed are not unique to resource communities.

Two or three respondents remarked there was a danger to grab on to parts of the report that they like or identified with and disregard that which does not fit with your experience.

### 6.4 PEOPLE'S PERCEPTIONS

All respondents agreed that although some of the people's perceptions were in fact untrue, the reality was that people believed them to be true. They felt the report drove home the significance of this reality. Planners and programmers must take into account what people's perceptions are. Six respondents also highlighted the reports dealing with the difference between what people say they do and what they really do.

One long time resident of the community felt the report had focused on the 'cry baby tenderfeet' who are big pretenders and should not be taken seriously. This person felt that people who complained about cost, confusion, and things of that sort were probably not worth having in a community anyway.

### 6.5 DATED NATURE OF THE REPORT

Most respondents felt the report was a very accurate picture of Fort McMurray today and although some move toward stability has taken place, the report still stands. They felt



the report was timely for the consideration of another plant and possible growth in the town again.

#### 6.6 STABILITY

Two respondents noted the report pointed regularly to creating stability in the community. They suggested this was not necessarily desirable for many of the residents of Fort McMurray. They felt a resource town attracted people who did not want the quiet life of a stable community. Indeed they suggested many people thrived on the tension and variety of a resource town. For many of the people in the construction phase the mobility is a way of life. They are a healthy influence on a community bringing in new ideas and a new way of dealing with their environment.

#### 6.7 ESCALATED COST

One informant noted that in a construction boom, competition for contractors drove costs up. In some of the early public tenders in Fort McMurray there were no responses to even the second request. Now that things have slowed down in McMurray there were thirteen responses to a recent request.

Difference of opinion existed among the respondents on the validity of the high cost of housing lots. A few felt it was the result of legitimate problems related to the nature of the town layout. Most felt it was the direct result of Alberta Housing mismanagement.

Many suggested the politicians were not being up front about some of the costs the Province has incurred in Fort McMurray for fear of backlash from southern communities.

#### 6.8 CORPORATE CONTROL OF HOUSING

One respondent wanted to clarify that while the companies were involved in housing, Alberta Housing Corporation controls the land so that it was unfair to suggest that the companies were anything but honourable in their housing programs.

#### 6.9 THE USEFULNESS OF THE REPORT

Respondents were excited about the possibilities for use of the report. It was considered very useful in planning for

social programs in the community of Fort McMurray and in planning for other resource towns.

Planning in the central business district could be aided by information in the report on world view. The world view section also has important data for design implications for physical plant.

#### 6.10 SUGGESTIONS

Each respondent was asked what they thought could be done with the report to make the best use of it. All prefaced their comments by pointing out that it should not merely gather dust on a shelf like most other research reports. They also noted that although it may have been done as a base study for more academically rigorous research, that was of secondary importance. The primary importance of the report was as a working document for the people of Fort McMurray and the planners involved in resource town development. Depending on the particular persuasion of the respondent they had various suggestions as to the best use of the report.

7.        REFERENCES

- Deutcher, I. 1966. Words and deeds: social science and social policy. In Social Problems 13(3):235-254.
- Ekistic Design Consultants Ltd. 1976. Anzac: a community profile. Edmonton, Alberta.
- Harper, L. 1976. Personal stress and tension: a model for understanding. Unpublished paper.
- Larson, L. in prep. The impact of resource development on individual and family well-being. Prep. for the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program. AOSERP Project HE 1.2.1.
- Van Dyke, E.W., C.R. Loberg, and D.H. Bai. 1975. Northern problems study. Northern Development Branch, Edmonton.

8. APPENDICES

## 8.1 LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Statistical Breakdown

All figures are based on a total of 43 interviews completed.

## Occupations:

Housewives	11
Supervisors	3
Management	6
Independent Merchant	3
Unskilled Labour	7
Skilled Labour	4
Paraprofessional	2
Professional	4
Other	3

Time in Fort McMurray

Years	Number of People
0 - 1	1
1.5 - 2	10
2.5 - 3	8
3.5 - 4	4
4.5 - 5	0
5.5 - 6	2
6.5 - 7	2
7.5 - 8	1
8.5 - 9	4
9.5 - 10	4
11 - 15	1
16 - 20	1
over 20	4
over 40	1

Age Groupings

Years of Age	Number of People
21 - 30	19
31 - 40	14
41 - 50	6
51 - 60	3
over 60	1

Sex

Males	18
Females	25

Marital Status

Single	7
Married	32
Divorced	2
Widowed	2

Origin

Saskatchewan	
Saskatoon	2
North Battleford	1
Onion Lake	1
Ontario	
Sarnia	1
Ottawa	1
Thunder Bay	1
British Columbia	
Sorrento	1
Vancouver	3
Nova Scotia	2
Alberta	
Calgary	2
Edmonton	9
House River	1
Medicine Hat	1
Hanna	1
Spirit River	1
Vegreville	2
Fort McMurray	3
Northwest Territories	1
Manitoba	1
United States	
Illinois	2
England	1
New Zealand	1
Not Known	4

Primary Motivation for Moving to Fort McMurray

Responded to advertisement	4
Escape from personal problems	
Social (only)	1
Economic (only)	0
Both	4
Life resident	4
Money-- increase in pay	5
Adventure in a northern community	3
Change in jobs--better future	6
Migration (native)	1
Alcoholic blackout	1
Reuniting of family	2
Transferred by company	12



## 8.2 PUBLIC SERVICE RESOURCES IN FORT McMURRAY

Emergency Resources

Fire  
RCMP  
Ambulance  
Rescue and Emergency  
Hospital  
Dial Help

Utilities: Trouble

Gas: Northwestern Utilities  
Power: Alberta Power  
Telephone: AGT  
Propane: Canadian Propane  
Water/Sewer/Roads:  
Town  
Area 5 - Athabasca Realty  
Area 2 - Alberta Housing  
Area 6 - Alberta Housing

Tow Truck Service

Sunoco  
T & D Service  
Fort Towing and Storage

Plumbers

Florish Plumbing  
Fort McMurray Plumbing  
Raven Plumbing

Frozen Water Lines

Town  
T & A Thawing  
Hercules Mobile Water Thawing Service

Animal

Clinic  
Pound

Media: Local

Fort McMurray "TODAY"  
10214 Centennial Drive  
Bag #4008  
Publisher and Editor: Peter Duffy

Charest Communications  
CJOK Radio  
#205, 10015 Franklin Avenue  
Station Manager: Judy Dicks

Alberta Broadcasting Corporation (ABC)  
#200, 9908 Franklin Avenue  
Manager: Larry Biswanger

Public Facilities

Fort McMurray Civic Centre (Town Office)  
Centennial Swimming Pool  
Lower Townsite Arena  
Beacon Hill Arena  
Fort McMurray Fire Hall  
Police Station, RCMP  
Lions' Park (picnic area)  
Centennial Park  
Nistawoyou Association Friendship Centre  
Canada Post Office  
Knights of Columbus Centre (KC Centre)  
Kincentre  
Legion Hall, Waterways  
Provincial Court House

Medical Resources

Hospital: Fort McMurray General Hospital  
District No. 99

Clinics: Fort McMurray Medical Clinic

Dr. Nicholson  
Dr. Robertson  
Dr. Babysh  
Dr. Carter  
Dr. Steven Yung

Associate Medical Clinic

Dr. Des Dwyer  
Dr. William Yeung

Bradley Medical Clinic

Dr. Victor Bradley

Health Unit: Fort McMurray and District Health  
Unit #29

Dentists: McMurray Dental Clinic

Dr. A.L. Lines and Dr. Clark

Chiropractor: Fort McMurray Chiropractic Clinic

Dr. W.R. Leonard  
Dr. W.F. Leonard

Optometrist: Dr. Muncey

Drug Stores: Hill Drugs Ltd.

Fort Super Drugs

Animal Clinic: Animal Hospital

Funeral Home: Anderson Funeral Home

Social Services

Preventive Social Services

Projects: Community Counselling  
Aid Service (Central Resource Agency)  
Dial HELP line (Distress Line)  
Senior Citizens' Program  
Family Life Education (Input)  
Day Care  
Anzac Playschool  
Fort MacKay Playschool  
Home Visitors

Alberta Social Services

Canada Manpower Centre

Native Outreach

Nistawoyou Association Friendship Centre

Indian and Northern Affairs

RCMP

RITE Operator

Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission

Regional Mental Health Services  
 Recreation, Parks and Wildlife  
 Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs  
 Native Counselling Services  
 Occupation Health and Safety Inspection Branch  
 Metis Association  
 YMCA - YWCA  
 Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society  
 Human Development Enterprises  
 Community Services Branch  
 Northeast Alberta Regional Commissioner's Office

Educational Resources

Children: Fort McMurray Public School District #2833  
     Beacon Hill Elementary  
     Clearwater Elementary  
     Dr. K.A. Clark Elementary  
     Peter Pond High School  
     Thickwood Heights  
 Fort McMurray Roman Catholic Separate School  
 District #32  
     Good Shepherd Elementary  
     St. John's Junior High  
     St. Paul Elementary  
     J.A. Turcotte Elementary School  
 Preschool Association  
 Early Childhood Services  
 Hillside School (for the Handicapped)  
 Anzac Playschool  
 Fort MacKay Playschool  
 Adults: Keyano College  
     Apprenticeship & Tradesmen Qualification Branch  
     Advanced Education & Manpower Alberta Career  
     Centre

General Resources

Canada Post Office  
RITE Operator  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
Chamber of Commerce  
Driver's Examination Branch  
Syncrude Canada  
Canadian Bechtel Limited  
Great Canadian Oil Sands (GCOS)  
Alberta Motor Association  
Alberta Forestry Service  
Ministry of Transport  
Weather Office  
Telegraph Office, or  
Northern Alberta Railways

## 8.3 REPORT ON SERVICES

Statistics for 1976: Following is an outline of statistics kept for Aid Service during 1976. More detailed statistics were kept by Gwen Burke for the latter part of 1976 and these records are included in the appendix.

January 1976: Total Calls 668  
 February 1976: Total Calls 548  
 March 1976: Total Calls 624  
 April 1976: Total Calls 525

May 1976

Information	390
Distress	38
Accommodation	68
	<hr/>
TOTAL	496

June 1976

Information	313
Distress	30
Accommodation	47
Registries	115
	<hr/>
TOTAL	505

July 1976

Information	329
Distress	52
Accommodation-	35
Registries	138
Emergency	3
Follow-up	98
	<hr/>
TOTAL	655

August 1976

Information	412
Distress	23
Accommodation	69
Registries	158
Emergency	4
Follow-up	68
	<hr/>
TOTAL	734

September 1976

Information	425
Distress	52
Accommodation	62
Registries	180
Emergency	2
Follow-up	48
	<hr/>
TOTAL	769

October 1976

Information	440
Distress	70
Accommodation	62
Registries	130
Emergency	6
Follow-up	64
	<hr/>
TOTAL	772

November 1976

Information	385
Distress	47
Accommodation	55
Registries	120
Emergency	3
Follow-up	65
	<hr/>
TOTAL	675

December 1976

Information	301
Distress	17
Accommodation	27
Registries	96
Emergency	1
Follow-up	21
	<hr/>
TOTAL	462

## TOTAL CALLS, JANUARY 1976

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE TOTAL</u>
Jan. 1	Holiday -----	Holiday -----
Jan. 2	15	15
Jan. 3	6	21
Jan. 4	4	25
Jan. 5	32	57
Jan. 6	13	70
Jan. 7	18	88
Jan. 8	33	121
Jan. 9	31	152
Jan. 10	11	163
Jan. 11	6	169
Jan. 12	37	206
Jan. 13	36	242
Jan. 14	58	300
Jan. 15	40	340
Jan. 16	27	367
Jan. 17	13	380
Jan. 18	5	385
Jan. 19	34	419
Jan. 20	34	453
Jan. 21	26	479
Jan. 22	25	504
Jan. 23	34	538
Jan. 24	11	549
Jan. 25	3	554
Jan. 26	21	575
Jan. 27	16	591
Jan. 28	28	619
Jan. 29	27	646
Jan. 30	25	671
Jan. 31	5	676



## TOTAL CALLS, FEBRUARY 1976

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE TOTAL</u>
Feb. 1	2	2
Feb. 2	31	33
Feb. 3	23	56
Feb. 4	22	78
Feb. 5	35	113
Feb. 6	34	147
Feb. 7	13	160
Feb. 8	5	165
Feb. 9	18	183
Feb. 10	26	209
Feb. 11	19	228
Feb. 12	30	258
Feb. 13	17	275
Feb. 14	5	280
Feb. 15	5	285
Feb. 16	29	314
Feb. 17	25	339
Feb. 18	23	362
Feb. 19	18	380
Feb. 20	32	412
Feb. 21	14	426
Feb. 22	5	431
Feb. 23	24	455
Feb. 24	16	471
Feb. 25	15	486
Feb. 26	23	509
Feb. 27	30	539
Feb. 28	6	545
Feb. 29	3	548

## TOTAL CALLS, MARCH 1976

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE TOTAL</u>
March 1	20	20
March 2	27	47
March 3	21	68
March 4	29	97
March 5	29	126
March 7	17	143
March 8	32	180
March 9	32	222
March 10	20	242
March 11	24	266
March 12	16	282
March 13	7	289
March 14	5	294
March 15	24	318
March 16	22	340
March 17	24	364
March 18	19	833
March 19	28	411
March 20	4	415
March 21	2	417
March 22	30	447
March 23	33	480
March 24	18	498
March 25	22	520
March 26	13	533
March 27	25	558
March 28	2	560
March 29	29	589
March 30	23	612
March 31	12	624

## TOTAL CALLS, APRIL 1976

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE TOTAL</u>
April 1	29	29
April 2	23	52
April 3	9	61
April 4	5	66
April 5	28	94
April 6	24	118
April 7	34	152
April 8	25	177
April 9	21	198
April 10	7	205
April 11	5	210
April 12	26	236
April 13	29	265
April 14	21	286
April 15	20	306
April 16	off	off
April 17	off	off
April 18	off	off
April 19	off	off
April 20	21	327
April 21	23	350
April 22	22	372
April 23	26	398
April 24	17	416
April 25	4	420
April 26	22	442
April 27	20	462
April 28	18	480
April 29	23	503
April 30	22	525

## TOTAL CALLS, MAY 1976

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE TOTAL</u>
May 1	5	5
May 2	4	9
May 3	26	44
May 4	26	70
May 5	20	90
May 6	9	99
May 7	25	124
May 8	6	130
May 9	1	131
May 10	13	144
May 11	27	171
May 12	22	193
May 13	28	221
May 14	19	240
May 15	7	247
May 16	6	253
May 17	18	271
May 18	21	292
May 19	33	325
May 20	17	342
May 21	18	360
May 22	6	366
May 23	2	368
May 24	2	370
May 25	26	396
May 26	26	422
May 27	20	442
May 28	23	465
May 29	5	470
May 30	0	470
May 31	26	496

## TOTAL CALLS, JUNE 1976

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>CUMULATIVE TOTAL</u>
June 1	22	22
June 2	21	43
June 3	23	66
June 4	21	87
June 5	11	98
June 6	4	102
June 7	11	113
June 8	26	139
June 9	12	151
June 10	22	173
June 11	14	187
June 12	8	195
June 13	2	197
June 14	34	231
June 15	32	263
June 16	3	266
June 17	23	289
June 18	15	304
June 19	14	318
June 20	1	319
June 21	14	333
June 22	23	356
June 23	15	371
June 24	38	409
June 25	22	431
June 26	2	433
June 27	2	435
June 28	24	459
June 29	20	479
June 30	26	505

INFORMATION

Follow-Up 1 Drop-In 5 Letter \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A <u>271</u>	M/A <u>41</u>
F/Y <u>41</u>	M/Y <u>4</u>
F/SR _____	M/SR _____
AGENCY <u>31</u>	BUSINESS <u>13</u>

BREAKDOWN

Accom./Housing <u>12</u>	Family Planning/Parenthd
Alcohol/Drugs <u>3</u>	-Pregnancy _____
Animal <u>32</u>	-Birth Control _____
Business <u>15</u>	-Unwed Mother _____
	-Single Parent _____
Child Care	-Education _____
-Adoption _____	-Other _____
-Child Protection _____	Financial <u>1</u>
*-Babysitting <u>120</u>	Government <u>17</u>
-Daycare _____	Handicapped _____
-Foster Care _____	Health <u>18</u>
-Services/Education <u>4</u>	Home Maintenance <u>2</u>
Community Resources <u>33</u>	*Home Maker _____
Complaints _____	Interpreter _____
-Consumer _____	Landlord/Tenant <u>1</u>
-Animal _____	Legal <u>6</u>
-Human rights _____	Leisure Time Activities <u>49</u>
-Housing _____	Licences & Permits <u>4</u>
-Agency _____	Medias <u>10</u>
-Other <u>2</u>	Native Services _____
Consumer <u>3</u>	Newcomer <u>3</u>
Counselling _____	Religion <u>3</u>
-Alcohol/Drugs _____	Thank-you <u>1</u>
-Career/Education _____	Thrift Shops <u>3</u>
-Family/Individual _____	Transportation <u>13</u>
Death <u>1</u>	Volunteerism <u>6</u>
Directions <u>12</u>	Other <u>14</u>
Discrimination _____	Current Events <u>3</u>
Donations <u>2</u>	
Education <u>5</u>	
Employment <u>8</u>	

<u>COMPLETION</u>	<u>GIVEN</u>	<u>RE'VD</u>	<u>UNAV.</u>
INFORMATION	372	52	9

Follow-Up Req. 52 O.T. 4 Book 1

Referral Made \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 329

FOLLOW-UPS 46  
REGISTRY CALLS \* 105

DISTRESS

Phone-In 26 Drop-In 16 Repeater 10

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A 26 M/A 7 F/Y 2 M/Y 1  
F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_

BREAKDOWN

Abortion _____	Personal/Family Problems _____
Accom/Housing <u>3</u>	-Family Disputes _____
Alcohol/Drugs _____	-Marriage <u>8</u>
-Alcohol _____	-Common/Law _____
-Living with <u>1</u>	-Interpersonal <u>1</u>
-Drugs _____	-Neighbour _____
Child Abuse <u>1</u>	-New Environment _____
Discrimination/H. Rights _____	-Juvenile _____
Emotional Problems _____	-Parent/Child _____
-Loneliness _____	Pregnancy <u>1</u>
-Depression _____	Religion _____
-Bereavement _____	Sexual _____
-Psych. Problems _____	Suicide _____
-Other <u>1</u>	-Tentative _____
Employment <u>4</u>	-Threatened <u>1</u>
Financial <u>1</u>	-Attempted _____
Handicapped _____	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
Health _____	-Unclassified _____
Landlord/Tenant <u>1</u>	-No Voice <u>3</u>
Legal <u>5</u>	-Crank Call _____
Multiple Problems <u>6</u>	-Third Party Call _____

COMPLETION Talk-Down 31  
Personal Contact Required 10  
Follow-Up Req. 39 Referral 12  
Other Req. 26

TOTAL 49 FOLLOW-UPS 40

FOLLOW-UPS <u>98</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>	
Registry <u>138</u>	Accom. <u>35</u>	Month <u>July/76</u>	
Information <u>329</u>	Emergency <u>3</u>		
Distress <u>52</u>	Date _____		
TOTAL <u>655</u>			

ACCOMMODATION

Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A _____ 44 _____	M/A _____ 9 _____
F/Y _____	M/Y _____ 1 _____
F/SR _____	M/SR _____

BREAKDOWN

* Room _____ 14 _____	Family _____
* R. & Board _____ 9 _____	Sgl. Parent _____ 2 _____
Share _____ 2 _____	Couple _____ 2 _____
Trailer _____ 5 _____	Single M. _____ 8 _____
House _____ 4 _____	Single F. _____
Apartment _____ 21 _____	Unknown _____ 13 _____
Anything _____ 9 _____	

COMPLETION

INFORMATION

GIVEN

56

RC'VD

9

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 10 \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTRY \* \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_

EMERGENCY

F/A _____ 1 _____	M/A _____ 1 _____	F/Y _____	M/Y _____
F/SR _____	M/SR _____	AGENCY _____ 1 _____	

BREAKDOWN

Medical _____ 2 _____	Fire _____
Police _____	Other _____ 1 _____

COMPLETION

Action Taken \_\_\_\_\_

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_



## INFORMATION

Follow-Up 2 Drop-In 2 Letter \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A <u>375</u>	M/A <u>74</u>
F/Y <u>38</u>	M/Y <u>12</u>
F/SR _____	M/SR _____
AGENCY <u>16</u>	BUSINESS <u>14</u>

## BREAKDOWN

Accom./Housing 11

Alcohol/Drugs 4

Animal 19

Business 79

## Child Care

-Adoption 1

-Child Protection \_\_\_\_\_

\*-Babysitting 117

-Daycare \_\_\_\_\_

-Foster Care 5

-Services/Education 26

Community Resources 41

## Complaints

-Consumer 1

-Animal \_\_\_\_\_

-Human rights \_\_\_\_\_

-Housing 1

-Agency \_\_\_\_\_

-Other \_\_\_\_\_

Consumer 1

## Counselling

-Alcohol/Drugs \_\_\_\_\_

-Career/Education \_\_\_\_\_

-Family/Individual 2

Death \_\_\_\_\_

Directions 1

Discrimination \_\_\_\_\_

Donations 3

Education 12

Employment 1

## Family Planning/Parenting

-Pregnancy \_\_\_\_\_

-Birth Control \_\_\_\_\_

-Unwed Mother \_\_\_\_\_

-Single Parent \_\_\_\_\_

-Education \_\_\_\_\_

-Other \_\_\_\_\_

Financial 4

Government 13

Handicapped \_\_\_\_\_

Health 20

Home Maintenance 13

\*Home Maker 2

Interpreter \_\_\_\_\_

Landlord/Tenant \_\_\_\_\_

Legal 14

Leisure Time Activities 66

Licences & Permits 1

Medias 19

Native Services \_\_\_\_\_

Newcomer 1

Religion \_\_\_\_\_

Thank-you \_\_\_\_\_

Thrift Shops 12

Transportation 12

Volunteerism 14

Other 6

Current Events 7

## COMPLETION

INFORMATION

## GIVEN

474

## RE'VD

51

## UNAV.

6

Follow-Up Req. 48 O.T. 2 Book \_\_\_\_\_

Referral Made 4

FOLLOW-UPS 48

TOTAL 412

REGISTRY CALLS \* 119

DISTRESS

Phone-In 19 Drop-In 4 Repeater 4  
 \*\*\*\*\*

F/A 11 M/A 6 F/Y 1 M/Y \_\_\_\_\_  
 F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_ UNKNOWN L

BREAKDOWN

Abortion _____	Personal/Family Problems _____
Accom/Housing <u>3</u>	-Family Disputes <u>1</u>
Alcohol/Drugs _____	-Marriage _____
-Alcohol <u>2</u>	-Common/law _____
-Living with <u>2</u>	-Interpersonal _____
-Drugs _____	-Neighbour _____
Child Abuse _____	-New Environment _____
Discrimination/H. Rights _____	-Juvenile _____
Emotional Problems _____	-Parent/Child <u>1</u>
-Lonliness _____	Pregnancy _____
-Depression _____	Religion _____
-Bereavement _____	Sexual _____
-Psych. Problems _____	Suicide _____
-Other <u>1</u>	-Tentative _____
Employment <u>1</u>	-Threatened _____
Financial <u>1</u>	-Attempted <u>1</u>
Handicapped _____	Miscellaneous _____
Health <u>1</u>	-Unclassified _____
Landlord/Tenant _____	-No Voice <u>1</u>
Legal <u>3</u>	-Crank Call _____
Multiple Problems <u>1</u>	-Third Party Call _____

COMPLETION Talk-Down 13  
 Personal Contact Required 1  
 Follow-Up Req. 19 Referral 10  
 Other Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 23 FOLLOW-UPS 20

<u>FOLLOW-UPS</u> <u>68</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>	
Registry <u>158</u>	Accom. <u>69</u>	Month <u>Aug. 1-31/76</u>	
Information <u>412</u>	Emergency <u>4</u>		
Distress <u>23</u>	Date _____		
TOTAL <u>734</u>			

ACCOMMODATION

Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A	54	M/A	44
F/Y		M/Y	1
F/SR		M/SR	

BREAKDOWN

* Room	26	Family	
* R. & Board	15	Sgl. Parent	
Share	2	Couple	
Trailer	7	Single M.	
House	9	Single F.	
Apartment	38	Unknown	
Anything		12	

COMPLETION

INFORMATION

GIVEN

95

RC'VD

12

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 69 REGISTRY \* 39

EMERGENCY

F/A		M/A	3	F/Y		M/Y	
F/SR		M/SR		AGENCY		BUS	1

BREAKDOWN

Medical		Fire	
Police		Other	4

COMPLETION

Action Taken \_\_\_\_\_

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_

## INFORMATION

Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_ Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Letter \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A _____ 424 _____	M/A _____ 60 _____
F/Y _____ 49 _____	M/Y _____ 5 _____
F/SR _____ _____	M/SR _____ _____
AGENCY _____ 12 _____	BUSINESS _____ 9 _____

## BREAKDOWN

Accom./Housing _____ 12 _____	Family Planning/Parenthd _____
Alcohol/Drugs _____ 6 _____	-Pregnancy _____
Animal _____ 13 _____	-Birth Control _____
Business _____ 69 _____	-Unwed Mother _____
	-Single Parent _____
Child Care _____	-Education _____
-Adoption _____ 2 _____	-Other _____
-Child Protection _____ 1 _____	Financial _____
*-Babysitting _____ 133 _____	Government _____ 15 _____
-Daycare _____ 3 _____	Handicapped _____
-Foster Care _____ 1 _____	Health _____ 22 _____
-Services/Education _____ 21 _____	Home Maintenance _____ 16 _____
Community Resources _____ 49 _____	*Home Maker _____ 1 _____
Complaints _____	Interpreter _____
-Consumer _____ 1 _____	Landlord/Tenant _____ 1 _____
-Animal _____	Legal _____ 11 _____
-Human rights _____	Leisure Time Activities _____ 86 _____
-Housing _____ 2 _____	Licences & Permits _____ 4 _____
-Agency _____	Medias _____ 7 _____
-Other _____	Native Services _____
Consumer _____	Newcomer _____ 2 _____
Counselling _____	Religion _____ 1 _____
-Alcohol/Drugs _____	Thank-you _____ 1 _____
-Career/Education _____	Thrift Shops _____ 12 _____
-Family/Individual _____	Transportation _____ 8 _____
Death _____	Volunteerism _____ 12 _____
Directions _____ 8 _____	Other _____ 6 _____
Discrimination _____ 1 _____	Current Events _____ 11 _____
Donations _____ 3 _____	
Education _____ 15 _____	
Employment _____ 3 _____	

COMPLETION	GIVEN	RE'VD	UNAV.
INFORMATION	473	70	16

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_ 19 \_\_\_\_\_ O.T. \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ Book \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_

Referral Made \_\_\_\_\_ 26 \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 425 \_\_\_\_\_

FOLLOW-UPS \_\_\_\_\_ 19 \_\_\_\_\_

REGISTRY CALLS \* \_\_\_\_\_ 134 \_\_\_\_\_

DISTRESS

Phone-In 47 Drop-In 5 Repeater 8

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A 29 M/A 8 F/Y 5 M/Y \_\_\_\_\_

F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_ U.K. 2

BREAKDOWN

Abortion _____	Personal/Family Problems _____
Accom/Housing <u>11</u>	-Family Disputes _____
Alcohol/Drugs _____	-Marriage <u>2</u>
-Alcohol _____	-Common/Law <u>2</u>
-Living with _____	-Interpersonal <u>5</u>
-Drugs _____	-Neighbour _____
Child Abuse _____	-New Environment _____
Discrimination/H. Rights _____	-Juvenile <u>1</u>
Emotional Problems _____	-Parent/Child _____
-Loneliness <u>3</u>	Pregnancy _____
-Depression _____	Religion _____
-Bereavement _____	Sexual _____
-Psych. Problems <u>1</u>	Suicide _____
-Other <u>2</u>	-Tentative _____
Employment _____	-Threatened _____
Financial <u>3</u>	-Attempted _____
Handicapped _____	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
Health <u>1</u>	-Unclassified <u>5</u>
Landlord/Tenant _____	-No Voice <u>2</u>
Legal <u>3</u>	-Crank Call _____
Multiple Problems <u>3</u>	-Third Party Call <u>1</u>

COMPLETION Talk-Down 28

Personal Contact Required 5

Follow-Up Req. 24 Referral 15

Other Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 52 FOLLOW-UPS 24

		<u>TOTALS</u>
FOLLOW-UPS <u>48</u>		
Registry <u>180</u>	Accom. <u>62</u>	Month _____
Information <u>425</u>	Emergency <u>2</u>	
Distress <u>52</u>		Date <u>September</u>
TOTAL <u>769</u>		

ACCOMMODATION

Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A \_\_\_\_\_ 56 \_\_\_\_\_ M/A \_\_\_\_\_ 49 \_\_\_\_\_  
 F/Y \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ M/Y \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

BREAKDOWN

\* Room \_\_\_\_\_ 23 \_\_\_\_\_ Family \_\_\_\_\_  
 \* R. & Board \_\_\_\_\_ 23 \_\_\_\_\_ Sgl. Parent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Share \_\_\_\_\_ Couple \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trailer \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ Single M. \_\_\_\_\_  
 House \_\_\_\_\_ 10 \_\_\_\_\_ Single F. \_\_\_\_\_  
 Apartment \_\_\_\_\_ 28 \_\_\_\_\_ Unknown \_\_\_\_\_  
 Anything \_\_\_\_\_ 19 \_\_\_\_\_

COMPLETION

INFORMATION

GIVEN

79

RC'VD

4

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 62 \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTRY \* \_\_\_\_\_ 46 \_\_\_\_\_

EMERGENCY

F/A \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ M/A \_\_\_\_\_ F/Y \_\_\_\_\_ M/Y \_\_\_\_\_  
 F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_ AGENCY \_\_\_\_\_

BREAKDOWN

Medical \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ Fire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Police \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_

COMPLETION

Action Taken \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_

INFORMATION

Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_ Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Letter \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A _____ 398 _____	M/A _____ 54 _____
F/Y _____ 38 _____	M/Y _____ 13 _____
F/SR _____ 1 _____	M/SR _____ _____
AGENCY _____ 26 _____	BUSINESS _____ 13 _____

BREAKDOWNAccom./Housing 15Alcohol/Drugs 3Animal 22Business 74

## Child Care

-Adoption \_\_\_\_\_

-Child Protection 1\*Babysitting 98-Daycare 2-Foster Care 1-Services/Education 10Community Resources 48

## Complaints

-Consumer 1

-Animal \_\_\_\_\_

-Human rights \_\_\_\_\_

-Housing 1

-Agency \_\_\_\_\_

-Other \_\_\_\_\_

Consumer 2

Counselling \_\_\_\_\_

-Alcohol/Drugs \_\_\_\_\_

-Career/Education \_\_\_\_\_

-Family/Individual 1

Death \_\_\_\_\_

Directions 11

Discrimination \_\_\_\_\_

Donations 8Education 8Employment 4

## Family Planning/Parenthd

-Pregnancy \_\_\_\_\_

-Birth Control \_\_\_\_\_

-Unwed Mother \_\_\_\_\_

-Single Parent \_\_\_\_\_

-Education \_\_\_\_\_

-Other \_\_\_\_\_

Financial 3Government 12

Handicapped \_\_\_\_\_

Health 32Home Maintenance 16\*Home Maker 5

Interpreter \_\_\_\_\_

Landlord/Tenant 5Legal 14Leisure Time Activities 74Licences & Permits 4Medias 13

Native Services \_\_\_\_\_

Newcomer 2Religion 5

Thank-you \_\_\_\_\_

Thrift Shops 14Transportation 14Volunteerism 4Other 16

Current Events \_\_\_\_\_

COMPLETION

INFORMATION

GIVEN

478

RE'VD

40

UNAV.

25

Follow-Up Req. 26 O.T. 7 Book \_\_\_\_\_Referral Made 37FOLLOW-UPS 26REGISTRY CALLS: \* 103TOTAL 440

DISTRESSPhone-In 61 Drop-In 9 Repeater 8

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A 35 M/A 18 F/Y 3 M/Y 2  
F/SR        M/SR        U.K. 4BREAKDOWN

Abortion <u>      </u>	Personal/Family Problems <u>      </u>
Accom/Housing <u>10</u>	-Family Disputes <u>      </u>
Alcohol/Drugs <u>      </u>	-Marriage <u>2</u>
-Alcohol <u>1</u>	-Common/law <u>      </u>
-Living with <u>2</u>	-Interpersonal <u>2</u>
-Drugs <u>      </u>	-Neighbour <u>      </u>
Child Abuse <u>3</u>	-New Environment <u>      </u>
Discrimination/H. Rights <u>      </u>	-Juvenile <u>1</u>
Emotional Problems <u>      </u>	-Parent/Child <u>1</u>
-Lonliness <u>2</u>	Pregnancy <u>      </u>
-Depression <u>      </u>	Religion <u>      </u>
-Bereavement <u>      </u>	Sexual <u>      </u>
-Psych. Problems <u>      </u>	Suicide <u>      </u>
-Other <u>1</u>	-Tentative <u>      </u>
Employment <u>      </u>	-Threatened <u>      </u>
Financial <u>6</u>	-Attempted <u>      </u>
Handicapped <u>      </u>	Miscellaneous <u>      </u>
Health <u>1</u>	-Unclassified <u>6</u>
Landlord/Tenant <u>      </u>	-No Voice <u>4</u>
Legal <u>6</u>	-Crank Call <u>      </u>
Mutiple Problems <u>10</u>	-Third Party Call <u>3</u>
Consumer <u>1</u>	

COMPLETION Talk-Down 31  
 Personal Contact Required 5  
 Follow-Up Req. 28 Referral 34  
 Other Req.       

TOTAL 70 FOLLOW-UPS 28

		<u>TOTALS</u>	
FOLLOW-UPS <u>64</u>			
Registry <u>130</u>	Accom. <u>63</u>	Month <u>      </u>	
Information <u>440</u>	Emergency <u>6</u>		
Distress <u>70</u>	Date <u>October</u>		
TOTAL <u>773</u>			



ACCOMMODATION

Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ 1 \_\_\_\_\_ Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A _____ 62 _____	M/A _____ 26 _____
F/Y _____ 1 _____	M/Y _____
F/SR _____ 1 _____	M/SR _____

BREAKDOWN

* Room _____ 18 _____	Family _____
* R. & Board _____ 9 _____	Sgl. Parent _____
Share _____	Couple _____
Trailer _____ 8 _____	Single M. _____
House _____ 4 _____	Single F. _____
Apartment _____ 16 _____	Unknown _____
Anything _____ 35 _____	

COMPLETIONGIVENRC'VD

INFORMATION

22

18

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 63 \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTRY \* \_\_\_\_\_ 27 \_\_\_\_\_

EMERGENCY

F/A _____ 34 _____	M/A _____ 2 _____	F/Y _____	M/Y _____
F/SR _____	M/SR _____	AGENCY _____	

BREAKDOWN

Medical _____ 2 _____	Fire _____
Police _____	Other _____ 4 _____

COMPLETION

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_

Action Taken \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_

## INFORMATION

Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_ Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Letter \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A _____ 329 _____	M/A _____ 77 _____
F/Y _____ 21 _____	M/Y _____ 2 _____
F/SR _____ 1 _____	M/SR _____ _____
AGENCY _____ 37 _____	BUSINESS _____ 18 _____

## BREAKDOWN

Accom./Housing 10

Alcohol/Drugs 2

Animal 21

Business 46

## Child Care

-Adoption \_\_\_\_\_

-Child Protection \_\_\_\_\_

\*-Babysitting 98

-Daycare 4

-Foster Care \_\_\_\_\_

-Services/Education 7

Community Resources 41

## Complaints \_\_\_\_\_

-Consumer 1

-Animal \_\_\_\_\_

-Human rights 1

-Housing 2

-Agency \_\_\_\_\_

-Other \_\_\_\_\_

Consumer 4

## Counselling \_\_\_\_\_

-Alcohol/Drugs \_\_\_\_\_

-Career/Education \_\_\_\_\_

-Family/Individual 1

Death \_\_\_\_\_

Directions 11

Discrimination \_\_\_\_\_

Donations 5

Education 6

Employment 1

## Family Planning/Parenthd

-Pregnancy \_\_\_\_\_

-Birth Control \_\_\_\_\_

-Unwed Mother \_\_\_\_\_

-Single Parent 1

-Education \_\_\_\_\_

-Other \_\_\_\_\_

Financial 2

Government 10

Handicapped 1

Health 26

Home Maintenance 18

\*Home Maker 4

Interpreter \_\_\_\_\_

Landlord/Tenant 1

Legal 5

Leisure Time Activities 69

Licences & Permits 10

Medias 3

Native Services 3

Newcomer 6

Religion \_\_\_\_\_

Thank-you \_\_\_\_\_

Thrift Shops 6

Transportation 5

Volunteerism 7

Other 18

Current Events 12

## COMPLETION

## INFORMATION

## GIVEN

410

## RE'VD

40

## UNAV.

45

Follow-Up Req. 34 O.T. 8 Book 1

Referral Made 54

FOLLOW-UPS 34

TOTAL 385

REGISTRY CALLS \* 102

DISTRESS

Phone-In 44 Drop-In 2 Repeater 7  
 \*\*\*\*\*

F/A 17 M/A 15 F/Y 3 M/Y \_\_\_\_\_  
 F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER 3 ASSOC. 1

BREAKDOWN

Abortion _____	Personal/Family Problems _____
Accom/Housing <u>6</u>	-Family Disputes _____
Alcohol/Drugs _____	-Marriage <u>2</u>
-Alcohol <u>1</u>	-Common/law _____
-Living with _____	-Interpersonal <u>1</u>
-Drugs _____	-Neighbour _____
Child Abuse _____	-New Environment _____
Discrimination/H. Rights _____	-Juvenile <u>1</u>
Emotional Problems _____	-Parent/Child <u>1</u>
-Loneliness <u>3</u>	Pregnancy <u>1</u>
-Despression _____	Religion _____
-Bereavement _____	Sexual _____
-Psych. Problems _____	Suicide _____
-Other _____	-Tentative _____
Employment _____	-Threatened _____
Financial <u>3</u>	-Attempted _____
Handicapped _____	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
Health <u>2</u>	-Unclassified <u>8</u>
Landlord/Tenant <u>3</u>	-No Voice <u>1</u>
Legal <u>4</u>	-Crank Call _____
Mutiple Problems <u>3</u>	-Third Party Call _____

COMPLETION Talk-Down 25  
 Personal Contact Required \_\_\_\_\_  
 Follow-Up Req. 29 Referral 17  
 Other Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 47 FOLLOW-UPS 29

<u>FOLLOW-UPS</u>		<u>TOTALS</u>	
Registry <u>120</u>	Accom. <u>55</u>	Month _____	
Information <u>385</u>	Emergency <u>3</u>		
Distress <u>47</u>	Date <u>November</u>		
TOTAL <u>675</u>			

ACCOMMODATION

Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A _____ 53 _____	M/A _____ 27 _____
F/Y _____	M/Y _____ 2 _____
F/SR _____	M/SR _____

BREAKDOWN

* Room _____ 11 _____	Family _____
* R. & Board _____ 8 _____	Sgl. Parent _____
Share _____	Couple _____
Trailer _____ 3 _____	Single M. _____
House _____ 5 _____	Single F. _____
Apartment _____ 22 _____	Unknown _____
Anything _____ 24 _____	

COMPLETION

INFORMATION

GIVEN

45

RC'VD

12

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL \_\_\_\_\_ 55 \_\_\_\_\_ REGISTRY \* \_\_\_\_\_ 18 \_\_\_\_\_

EMERGENCY

F/A _____ 2 _____	M/A _____ 1 _____	F/Y _____	M/Y _____
F/SR _____	M/SR _____	AGENCY _____	

BREAKDOWN

Medical _____ 1 _____	Fire _____
Police _____	Other _____ 2 _____

COMPLETION

Action Taken _____	Follow-Up Req. _____
TOTAL _____ 3 _____	

## INFORMATION

Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_ Drop-In 3 Letter \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A	<u>284</u>	M/A	<u>37</u>
F/Y	<u>20</u>	M/Y	_____
F/SR	_____	M/SR	_____
AGENCY	<u>28</u>	BUSINESS	<u>12</u>

## BREAKDOWN

Accom./Housing <u>9</u>	Family Planning/Parenthd
Alcohol/Drugs <u>5</u>	-Pregnancy _____
Animal <u>13</u>	-Birth Control _____
Business <u>69</u>	-Unwed Mother _____
	-Single Parent _____
Child Care	-Education _____
-Adoption <u>1</u>	-Other _____
-Child Protection _____	Financial <u>2</u>
*-Babysitting <u>75</u>	Government <u>4</u>
-Daycare _____	Handicapped <u>4</u>
-Foster Care _____	Health <u>24</u>
-Services/Education <u>2</u>	Home Maintenance <u>19</u>
Community Resources <u>31</u>	*Home Maker _____
Complaints _____	Interpreter _____
-Consumer <u>1</u>	Landlord/Tenant <u>3</u>
-Animal _____	Legal <u>6</u>
-Human rights <u>24</u>	Leisure Time Activities _____
-Housing <u>1</u>	Licences & Permits <u>9</u>
-Agency _____	Medias <u>15</u>
-Other _____	Native Services <u>1</u>
Consumer _____	Newcomer <u>2</u>
Counselling _____	Religion <u>2</u>
-Alcohol/Drugs _____	Thank-you _____
-Career/Education _____	Thrift Shops <u>5</u>
-Family/Individual _____	Transportation <u>3</u>
Death _____	Volunteerism <u>2</u>
Directions <u>7</u>	Other <u>22</u>
Discrimination _____	Current Events <u>11</u>
Donations <u>4</u>	
Education <u>2</u>	
Employment <u>4</u>	

COMPLETION	GIVEN	RE'VD	UNAV.
INFORMATION	345	30	10

Follow-Up Req. 17 O.T. 3 Book \_\_\_\_\_  
 Referral Made 69

TOTAL 301

FOLLOW-UPS 18  
 REGISTRY CALLS \* 76

DISTRESS

Phone-In 17 Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Repeater 8  
 \*\*\*\*\*

F/A 6 M/A 1 F/Y 1 M/Y \_\_\_\_\_  
 F/SR \_\_\_\_\_ M/SR \_\_\_\_\_ A.C. 1

BREAKDOWN

Abortion _____	Personal/Family Problems _____
Accom/Housing <u>2</u>	-Family Disputes _____
Alcohol/Drugs _____	-Marriage <u>1</u>
-Alcohol _____	-Common/law _____
-Living with _____	-Interpersonal _____
-Drugs _____	-Neighbour _____
Child Abuse _____	-New Environment <u>1</u>
Discrimination/H. Rights <u>1</u>	-Juvenile _____
Emotional Problems _____	-Parent/Child _____
-Lonliness <u>1</u>	Pregnancy _____
-Despression _____	Religion _____
-Bereavement _____	Sexual _____
-Psych. Problems _____	Suicide _____
-Other _____	-Tentative _____
Employment _____	-Threatened _____
Financial _____	-Attempted _____
Handicapped _____	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
Health _____	-Unclassified <u>1</u>
Landlord/Tenant _____	-No.Voice _____
Legal <u>1</u>	-Crank Call _____
Mutiple Problems _____	-Third Party Call <u>1</u>

COMPLETION Talk-Down 7  
 Personal Contact Required 1  
 Follow-Up Req. 6 Referral 6  
 Other Req. 8

TOTAL 17 FOLLOW-UPS 4

FOLLOW-UPS <u>21</u>	<u>TOTALS</u>
Registry <u>96</u>	Accom. <u>26</u> Month _____
Information <u>301</u>	Emergency <u>1</u>
Distress <u>17</u>	Date <u>December</u>
<b>TOTAL</b> <u>452</u>	

ACCOMMODATION

Drop-In \_\_\_\_\_ Follow-Up \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

F/A	35	M/A	12
F/Y		M/Y	
F/SR		M/SR	

BREAKDOWN

* Room	12	Family	
* R. & Board	7	Sgl. Parent	
Share		Couple	
Trailer	3	Single M.	
House	3	Single F.	
Apartment	14	Unknown	
	Anything	8	

COMPLETION

INFORMATION

GIVEN

39

RC'VD

5

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 26 REGISTRY \* 19

EMERGENCY

F/A	1	M/A		F/Y		M/Y	
F/SR		M/SR		AGENCY			

BREAKDOWN

Medical		Fire	
Police		Other	1

COMPLETION

Action Taken \_\_\_\_\_

Follow-Up Req. \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL 1

## 8.4 AID SERVICE INFORMATION FILE 13 October 1976.

---

This list has been compiled by AID Service of Fort McMurray. For further information regarding this list, or for other information, phone AID (743-5000).

- A.
- Al-Anon
  - Ala-Teen
  - Alberta Alcoholism & Drug Abuse Commission
  - Alberta Association of Registered Nurses
  - Alberta Blue Cross
  - Alberta Broadcasting Corporation
  - Alberta Career Centre
  - Alberta Certified Nursing Aid Association
  - Alberta Forest Service
  - Alberta Government Telephones
  - Alberta Health Care Insurance Commission
  - Alberta Housing Corporation
  - Alberta Human Rights & Civil Liberties
  - Alberta Human Rights Commission
  - Alberta Motor Association
  - Alberta Native Development Corporation
  - Alberta Oilsands Environmental Program
  - Alberta Power Limited
  - Alberta Social Services & Community Health
  - Alberta Society of Engineering Technologists
  - Alberta Teachers Association
  - Alberta Women's Bureau
  - Alcoholics Anonymous
  - Alert Aviation Flying School
  - Alliance Church
  - All Saints Anglican Church
  - Amateur Athletic Association
  - Anderson's Funeral Chapel
  - Anglican Church
  - Anglican Church Women
  - Animal Clinic
  - Animal Services
  - Anzac Playschool
  - Apprenticeship Board
  - Arena
  - Army Cadets #2803 & Cadettes
  - Art Club
  - Arts & Crafts Guild
  - Associate Medical Clinic
  - Association of Couple for Marriage Enrichment
  - Association for the Mentally Retarded
  - Association of Professional Engineers, Geophysicists & Geologists  
of Alberta
  - Athabasca University



- B.
- Badminton Club
  - Baptist Youth Fellowship
  - Beacon Hill Arena
  - Beacon Hill Elementary
  - Beacon Hill Tennis Courts
  - Beaver Colonies
  - Bechtel Ladies
  - B'Hai Faith
  - Birth Control Information Service
  - Boys Fastball League
  - Boys Scouts of Canada
  - B.P.O. Elks #475
  - Bradley Medical Clinic
  - Branch #165 Royal Canadian Legion
  - Brownies
  - Buck-Hawk-Pai Gung Fu Club
  - Burn's Club
  - Bus Depot
- C.
- Calgary "Albertan"
  - Camp Nee Chee Wogan
  - Camp Yogi
  - Canada Manpower Centre
  - Canada North Accommodations Ltd.
  - Canada Post Office
  - Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws
  - Canadian Red Cross
  - Canadian Toy Council
  - Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 1505
  - Candy Strippers
  - Catholic Churches
  - Catholic Women's League of Canad.
  - Centennial Park
  - Centennial Swimming Pool
  - Chamber of Commerce
  - Charest Communication (CJOK Radio)
  - Chess Club
  - Childrens & Family Services
  - Child Guidance Clinic
  - Chiropractor Clinic
  - Christian and Missionary Alliance Church
  - Christian Reformed Church
  - Christian Women's Club
  - Christmas Hampers
  - Church of Jesus Christ of Later Day Saints
  - Citizen Appeal Board
  - Citizen's Human Rights Council
  - Civil Air Patrol Organization
  - Civil Service Association
  - Civic Centre

CJOX Radio  
 Clay Pit (Ceramics)  
 Clearwater Boxing Club  
 Clearwater Car Club  
 Clearwater Elementary School  
 Clearwater 4-H Club  
 Clearwater Ladies Fastball League  
 Clearwater Light Horse & Rodeo Association  
 Clearwater Ripples  
 Club Cuisine  
 C & M Ceramics  
 Commercial Hockey League  
 Commissioner for North-East Alberta  
 Community Band  
 Community Counselling Service  
 Community Counselling Services Advisory Board  
 Community Counselling Sub-Committee  
 Community Services Branch  
 Congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses Kingdom Hall  
 Consumer & Corporate Affairs  
 Cosmo Baton Twirlers  
 Cosmo - Pals  
 Cosmopolitan Club  
 Cub Scouts of Canada  
 Cystic Fibrosis Fund

- D.
- Day Care
  - Denture Clinic Ltd.
  - Department of Vital Statistics
  - Dial-HELP Distress Line
  - Diving Club
  - Division of Social Hygiene
  - Dog Pound
  - Dorcas Helpers
  - Driver Examination Branch
  - Dr. A. L. Lines & Clark
  - Dr. Karl A. Clark Elementary School

- E.
- Early Childhood Services
  - Edmonton Journal
  - Electrical Protection Branch
  - Elks
  - Emergency Air Ambulance

- F.
  - Family Court
  - Family Financial Counselling
  - Family Life Education
  - Fascinating Womenhood
  - Fellowship Baptist Church
  - Fighting Dragons Karate Club
  - Fire Hall
  - Fish & Game Association
  - Fish & Wildlife
  - Fort Ambulance
  - Fort McMurray "TODAY"
  - Foster Parents Association
  - Foster Parents Plan
  - 4 Wheel Drive Club
  - Friends of Music League
  - Fun Hockey League
  - Further Education Council
  
- G.
  - General Hospital Auxiliary
  - General Hospital Board
  - General Hospital District #99
  - Girl Forest Guards
  - Girl Guides of Canada & Rangers
  - Girls Softball Association
  - Glenrose Provincial General Hospital
  - Golden Years Society
  - Good Shepard Elementary School
  - Gospel Church
  - Gregoire Recreation Centre
  - Greyhound Bus Lines
  
- H.
  - Health Unit
  - Henwood Hospital
  - Heraldry Society of Canada
  - Heritage Park
  - Hi Neighbour
  - Historical Society
  - Hollyburn Kennels Ltd.
  - Home Visitors
  - Housing Authority
  - Human Development Enterprises
  
- I.
  - Independent Order of Foresters
  - Indian and Northern Affairs
  - Indian Association of Alberta

Indian Metis Liaison Group  
International Order of Demoleys

- J.     Jehovah's Witnesses  
          Joint Senior High School Board  
          Junior Forest Wardens  
          Junior Soccer Association  
          Junior Stamp Collectors
  
- K.     K. C. Centre  
          K-Ettes  
          Keyano College  
          Keyano Student Housing  
          K-40's Club  
          KinCentre  
          Kinette Club  
          Kingdom Hall  
          Kinsmen Club  
          Kinsmen Pipe Band  
          Knights of Columbus  
          Kuhlan - Rev. Rolf H. A.
  
- L.     Labour Standards Branch  
          Ladies Auxiliary to Branch #165 Royal Canadian Legion  
          Ladies Auxiliary for Minor Hockey  
          Ladies Mission Circle  
          Ladies Oilsand Curling Club  
          Ladies Senior Hockey Auxiliary  
          Lakewood Tourist Association  
          La Leche League  
          Landlord and Tenant Advisory Board  
          Latter Day Saints  
          Legion  
          Legion Hall  
          Library Board  
          Lionettes  
          Lions Park  
          Lower Townsite Arena  
          Lutheran Church
  
- M.     Manitobians  
          Marian Smith Group  
          Maritime Association of Fort McMurray  
          Marriage Encounter

Martin Ceramics  
 Masonic Lodge #195  
 McMurray Boxing Association  
 McMurray Broadcasters  
 McMurray Community Activities Committee  
 McMurray Dental Clinic  
 McMurray Dirt Riders  
 McMurray Independent Oil Workers  
 McMurray Ladies Volleyball League  
 McMurray Weavers  
 McMurray Writers Guild  
 Medical Clinic  
 Member of Legislative Assembly  
 Men's Senior Football League  
 Men's Volleyball League  
 Mental Health Board  
 Metis Association  
 Minor Hockey Ladies Auxiliary  
 Minor Hockey League  
 Miskanaw Golf Club  
 Mistee - Sepee Ski Club  
 Mobile Home Owner's Association  
 Muffaloose Trail Blazers  
 Muskeg Munchers

- N.
- Native Conselling Services
  - Native Court Worker
  - Native Handicraft Shop
  - Native Outreach
  - Nearly New Shop
  - New Town of Fort McMurray Board of Administrators
  - New Town of Fort McMurray Civic Centre
  - Next to New Shop
  - Nistawayou Association Friendship Centre
  - Nistawayou Clearwater Boxing Club
  - Noralta Figure Skating Club
  - Noralta Figure Skating Club Summer School
  - North East Alberta Regional Commissioner
  - Northern Alberta Skip Shooters Association
  - Northern Lights Al-Anon
  - Northern Lights 4-H Club
  - Northern Professional Dog Racing Association
  - Northland School Division #61
  - Northwestern Utilities

- O.
- Occupational Health & Safety Inspection Branch
  - Oilsands Al-Anon
  - Oilsands Curling Club

Old Timers Hockey Association  
 Order of Eastern Star  
 Order of the Royal Purple #305  
 Outward Bound  
 Overture Association

P.      Pace Setters  
          Pacific Western Airlines  
          Parent Finders  
          Parent Anonymous  
          Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada  
          Peter Pond High School  
          Philatelic Club  
          Pre School Association  
          Preventive Social Services  
          Provincial Court House  
          Ptarmigan Nordik Cross Country Ski Club  
          Ptarmigan Square Dances Club  
          Public Home & School Association  
          Public Library  
          Public School District #2833  
          Public School Board

R.      Rangers  
          Recreation and Cultural Board  
          Recreation Parks & Wildlife  
          Red Cross Volunteers  
          Regional Camping Association  
          Regional Mental Health Office  
          Relief Society  
          Rent Control Board  
          R.I.T.E. Operator  
          Road Runners  
          Roman Catholic Separate School Board  
          Royal Canadian Legion Ladies Auxiliary  
          Royal Canadian Mounted Police  
          Royal Purple

S.      Saint Aidan's House  
          Saint John's Ambulance First Aid  
          Saint John's the Baptist Roman Catholic Church  
          Saint John's Junior High School  
          Saint Patrick's Day Association  
          Saint Paul Elementary School  
          Santa's Anonymous

Save Tomorrow Oppose Pollution  
 School Boards  
 Scottish Society  
 Scouts Canada  
 Senior Citizen's Committee  
 Senior Citizen's Program  
 Senior High School Board  
 Senior Hockey League  
 Senior Men's Basketball League  
 Separate Home & School Association  
 Separate School Board  
 Separate School District #32  
 Shalom  
 Sheriff's Office  
 Silverblades  
 Soccer Association  
 Society for Pollution & Environment Control  
 Society for the Prevention of Cruelty Towards Animals  
 Swim Club  
 Syncrude Canada

T. Table Tennis Association  
 Tai Chi  
 Take Off Pounds Sensibly  
 Tansi  
 Tar Sands Recreation Association  
 Tara Dancers  
 Tarsands Aquarium Club  
 Teen Club  
 Telegraph Office  
 Tennis Club  
 Thickwood Heights Elementary School  
 "TODAY"  
 Today's Women  
 Town Board Administrators  
 Transcendental Meditation  
 Trinity Lutheran Church  
 Trinity Lutheran Women's Club  
 Turcotte J. A. Elementary School

U. Unitarians  
 United Appeal Fund  
 United Church of Canada  
 United Pentecostal Church

V. Venturers  
 Voice of Alberta Native Women's Society

Volunteers  
Volunteer Action Centre  
Voyageur Boat Club

W.      Waterway Drop In Centre  
         Well Baby Clinic  
         Women's Basketball League  
         Worker's Compensation Board

X.Y.Z.

Y.M. - Y.W.C.A.  
Y.M. - Y.W.C.A. Board  
Youth Camp Association



9. AOSERP RESEARCH REPORTS

1. AOSERP First Annual Report, 1975
2. AF 4.1.1 Walleye and Goldeye Fisheries Investigations in the Peace-Athabasca Delta--1975
3. HE 1.1.1 Structure of a Traditional Baseline Data System
4. VE 2.2 A Preliminary Vegetation Survey of the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program Study Area
5. HY 3.1 The Evaluation of Wastewaters from an Oil Sand Extraction Plant
6. Housing for the North--The Stackwall System
7. AF 3.1.1 A Synopsis of the Physical and Biological Limnology and Fisheries Programs within the Alberta Oil Sands Area
8. AF 1.2.1 The Impact of Saline Waters upon Freshwater Biota (A Literature Review and Bibliography)
9. ME 3.3 Preliminary Investigations into the Magnitude of Fog Occurrence and Associated Problems in the Oil Sands Area
10. HE 2.1 Development of a Research Design Related to Archaeological Studies in the Athabasca Oil Sands Area
11. AF 2.2.1 Life Cycles of Some Common Aquatic Insects of the Athabasca River, Alberta
12. ME 1.7 Very High Resolution Meteorological Satellite Study of Oil Sands Weather: "a Feasibility Study"
13. ME 2.3.1 Plume Dispersion Measurements from an Oil Sands Extraction Plant, March 1976
14. HE 2.4 Athabasca Oil Sands Historical Research Design (3 Volumes)
15. ME 3.4 A Climatology of Low Level Trajectories in the Alberta Oil Sands Area
16. ME 1.6 The Feasibility of a Weather Radar near Fort McMurray, Alberta
17. AF 2.1.1 A Survey of Baseline Levels of Contaminants in Aquatic Biota of the AOSERP Study Area
18. HY 1.1 Interim Compilation of Stream Gauging Data to December 1976 for the Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program
19. ME 4.1 Calculations of Annual Averaged Sulphur Dioxide Concentrations at Ground Level in the AOSERP Study Area
20. HY 3.1.1 Characterization of Organic Constituents in Waters and Wastewaters of the Athabasca Oil Sands Mining Area

21. AOSERP Second Annual Report, 1976-77
22. HE 2.3 Maximization of Technical Training and Involvement of Area Manpower
23. AF 1.1.2 Acute Lethality of Mine Depressurization Water on Trout Perch and Rainbow Trout
24. ME 4.2.1 Review of Dispersion Models and Possible Applications in the Alberta Oil Sands Area
25. ME 3.5.1 Review of Pollutant Transformation Processes Relevant to the Alberta Oil Sands Area
26. AF 4.5.1 Interim Report on an Intensive Study of the Fish Fauna of the Muskeg River Watershed of Northeastern Alberta
27. ME 1.5.1 Meteorology and Air Quality Winter Field Study in the AOSERP Study Area, March 1976
28. VE 2.1 Interim Report on a Soils Inventory in the Athabasca Oil Sands Area
29. ME 2.2 An Inventory System for Atmospheric Emissions in the AOSERP Study Area
30. ME 2.1 Ambient Air Quality in the AOSERP Study Area, 1977
31. VE 2.3 Ecological Habitat Mapping of the AOSERP Study Area: Phase I
32. AOSERP Third Annual Report, 1977-78
33. TF 1.2 The Relationship Between Habitats, Forages, and Carrying Capacity of Moose Range in the AOSERP Study Area
34. HY 2.4 Heavy Metals in Bottom Sediments of the Mainstem Athabasca River System in the AOSERP Study Area
35. AF 4.9.1 The Effects of Sedimentation on the Aquatic Biota
36. AF 4.8.1 Fall Fisheries Investigations in the Athabasca and Clearwater Rivers Upstream of Fort McMurray: Volume I
37. HE 2.2.2 Community Studies: Fort McMurray, Anzac, Fort MacKay

These reports are not available upon request. For further information about availability and location of depositories, please contact:

Alberta Oil Sands Environmental Research Program  
 15th Floor, Oxbridge Place  
 9820 - 106 Street  
 Edmonton, Alberta  
 T5K 2J6

This material is provided under educational reproduction permissions included in Alberta Environment's Copyright and Disclosure Statement, see terms at <http://www.environment.alberta.ca/copyright.html>. This Statement requires the following identification:

"The source of the materials is Alberta Environment <http://www.environment.gov.ab.ca/>. The use of these materials by the end user is done without any affiliation with or endorsement by the Government of Alberta. Reliance upon the end user's use of these materials is at the risk of the end user.