

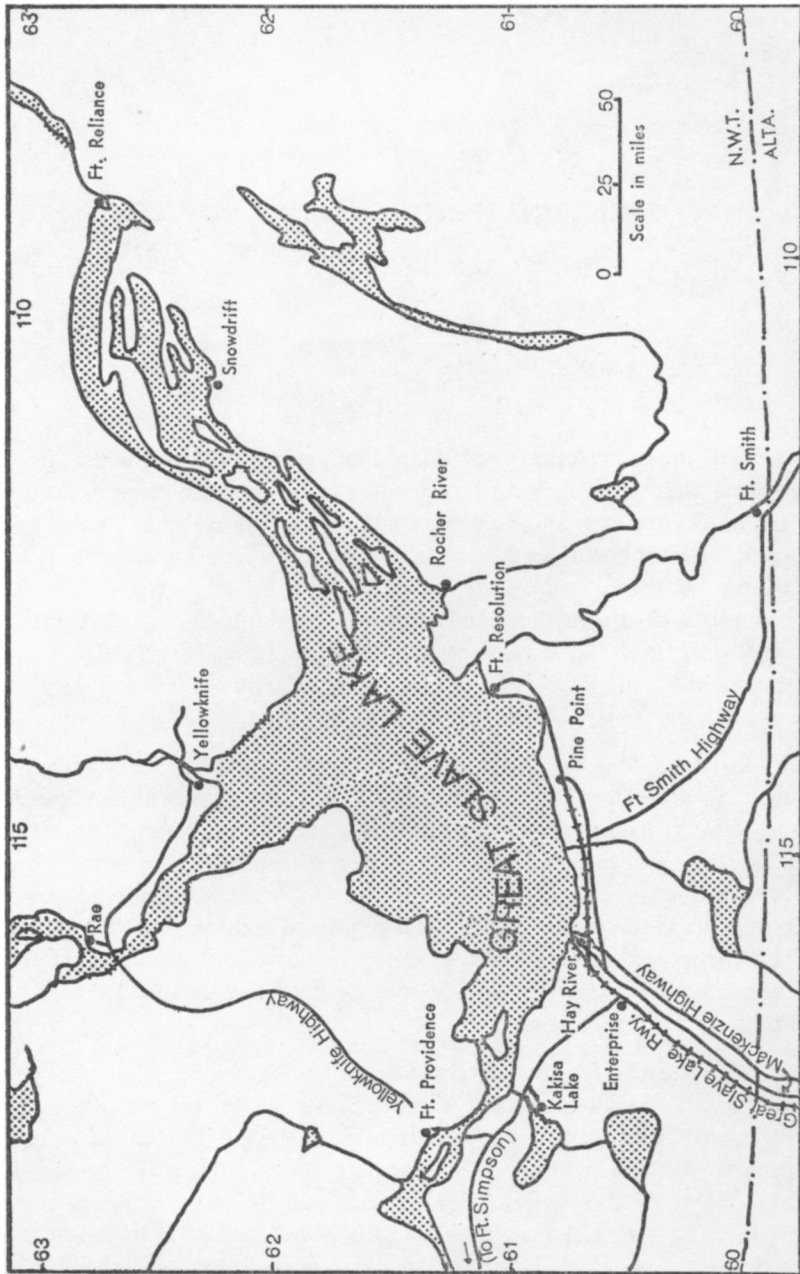
Settlement Patterns and Subarctic Development the South Mackenzie, N. W. T.

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To most observers of Canadian arctic development it is obvious that increases and concentrations of population with no accompanying expansion in economic resources opportunities have posed serious social and economic problems for the Eskimos. To Jenness, a major means of handling this "crisis" situation was through a carefully designed program of migration and resettlement, preferably to areas outside the Northwest Territories.¹ He saw meaningful employment for young Eskimos as the key to a world of wider opportunities.

In the Canadian Subarctic the resource potentials are somewhat greater than in the Arctic. The more favourable climatic and edaphic conditions permit richer biotic resources, and the subarctic mineral resources are more accessible to southern Canada. An excellent example of these more favourable resource conditions is the Great Slave Lake region, which in 1967 accounted for 92 per cent of the natural resource value, 60 per cent of the electric power capacity, and 39 per cent of the population of the Northwest Territories.²

Despite the favourable comparisons with the remainder of the Northwest Territories, the Great Slave Lake region also has settlement and economic resource problems. The nature and growth of these problems in the post World War II period is the subject of this paper.³ The focus will be on a sub-region of the Great Slave Lake area, the South Mackenzie.⁴ It includes the settlements of Fort Providence, Fort Resolution, Forth Smith,



SETTLEMENTS OF THE GREAT SLAVE REGION

Hay River, and Pine Point. In 1966, the area accounted for approximately 79 per cent of the natural resource value, 33 per cent of the electric power capacity, and 21 per cent of the population of the Northwest Territories. While natives (Indians and Metis) constituted 47 per cent of the area's total population (6,150) in 1967, the population distribution varied considerably: Fort Smith, 2,200 (natives = 52%), Hay River, 2,100 (natives = 33%), Pine Point, 700 (natives = 7%), Fort Resolution 650 (natives = 85%), and Fort Providence, 500 (natives = 90%).⁵

Natural Resources

The South Mackenzie encompasses approximately 10,000 square miles. It is underlain by sedimentary rocks, which are part of the larger Interior Plains physiographic region. Oil, natural gas, and gypsum are examples of known, but undeveloped, mineral and mineral fuel resources. Lead and zinc are presently mined at Pine Point, and account for nearly all of the natural resource value produced annually in the South Mackenzie. Current reserves of lead and zinc are estimated at 40 million tons.

Soil conditions along alluvial terraces of the Hay River and Slave River are favourable for agriculture. The best soils are well drained and consist of a thin organic horizon over a silty clay loam. The climate, with its long, cold winters, summer frosts, and drought, is severe but permits market gardening. To date, garden agriculture has been limited, mainly because of high production costs and competition from imported vegetables.

Regarding other biotic resource industries, commercial fishing, which began in the Great Slave Lake in 1947, has been the most important, contributing between one and two million dollars annually over the past twenty-three years.⁶ Whitefish, and to a lesser extent, trout, are the main commercial species shipped to the southern Canadian and U.S. markets.

Trapping has been most important in the Fort Resolution-Rocher River area, with muskrat as the main fur. Mink, marten, and beaver are other important furs trapped in the South Mackenzie. The value of annual production has not been significant, generally averaging under \$150,000 in recent years (table 1).

TABLE 1
 VALUE OF FUR PRODUCTION
 IN THE SOUTH MACKENZIE, 1960 TO 1967
 (in Canadian Dollars)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total All Settlements</i>	<i>Fort Providence</i>	<i>Fort Resolution</i>	<i>Fort Smith</i>	<i>Hay River</i>
1960	141,141	23,731	61,444	21,962	37,004
1961	140,194	23,324	77,091	28,104	11,675
1962	126,422	17,905	54,966	29,538	24,013
1963	156,172	13,050	48,395	32,418	32,309
1964	90,104	10,758	31,768	26,840	20,738
1965	82,583	9,481	32,250	28,229	12,623
1966	134,299	9,675	69,540	31,446	23,638
1967	81,167	7,250	37,827	20,856	15,234

Source: N.W.T. Game Management Division, Yellowknife, based on Fur Traders' Record Books.

Sawmill operations are concentrated in the Slave River lowland and the Hay River area. Restricted densities of good timber, limited local markets, and competition from southern Canada, have kept the annual value of production low.

Tourism has been of growing significance in the entire Northwest Territories, and because of the accessibility of the South Mackenzie, and the attraction of the Great Slave Lake (for sports fishing) it has drawn a significant proportion of the tourist trade. Exact data are lacking, but generally the entire Great Slave Lake region accounts for over one-quarter of the total annual Northwest Territories tourist income.⁷

Changing Settlement Patterns

VanStone noted, in his study of the Indians of the eastern Great Slave Lake region, that since 1950, there has been a distinct movement of people from the outlying areas into Snowdrift.⁸ A

review of the literature suggested to him that this trend was also occurring in other areas of the western and eastern Canadian Subarctic. The factors explaining these changing settlement patterns were to be found in the collapsing rural economy. Trapping as a source of money had significantly diminished in its ability to provide an adequate income for native families. Rea, for instance, has suggested that "...in terms of constant dollars, the 1953-54 output [of furs] was worth less than one-third of even the relatively low value produced in the 1937-38 season."⁹ Attractions to the main settlement areas, VanStone further noted, had also drawn people from outlying areas. Examples of these inducements were the availability of wage employment, housing, education, and social services such as health and welfare. These same causative factors explain the settlement pattern changes in two of the South Mackenzie settlements, Fort Providence and Fort Resolution.

In the case of Fort Providence, Rae has pointed out that in 1956, "...the permanent residents in the settlement numbered about forty, the majority of whom were employed by the Canadian government, the Mission of Notre Dame de Providence, and the Hudson's Bay Company...."¹⁰ Presumably, most of them were white. Nearly all the Indians lived in five small settlements clusters in the surrounding area. A somewhat different situation was noted by Cohen in 1960.¹¹ He states that approximately forty to fifty Indian families were living in the settlement while also keeping a cabin in the "bush." In addition, twenty to twenty-five families were located in four settlement clusters in the surrounding area. My own analysis of Fort Providence revealed approximately thirty-seven houses belonging to either Indians or Metis in 1960. By 1968, there were sixty-one natives houses in Fort Providence, and only one significant cluster of population outside the settlement, that consisting of forty people (nine houses) at Kakisa Lake.

The reasons for this population shift are fairly clear. In 1956, the federal government closed the R. C. Mission school, which had a small hostel, and established a federal school without a hostel. Attendance was required for all children in the area. At the same time, the government helped build houses for some of the Indian families, thereby facilitating the move to the settlement. Wage employment was expanded in the mid-1950s with the con-

struction of the Yellowknife Highway. After 1960, the summer ferry service and highway maintenance provided continuing wage employment opportunities. Trapping over the years has become less important in the area (table 1).

In the Fort Resolution area, the main movement of population has been from Rocher River to Fort Resolution. In 1956, Rocher River had a population of 156, in 1961, 58, and in 1968, 28. The most significant cause of the population decline was the collapse of the Rocher River school in 1958. It burned down and was never rebuilt. Thus, native families living in Rocher River had to take their children to the Fort Resolution school which had no hostel facilities. When the federal government began building houses for the Treaty Indians, and unofficially (unwittingly?) established a more generous social assistance program in Fort Resolution, the movement out of Rocher River was firmly set.¹²

Other more broadly based government development strategies have also had important effects on settlement patterns. One of the most significant post-World War II government strategies has been the successful attempt to improve health conditions in the North. Thus, the classic pattern of high birth-rates and lowered death-rates has resulted. For Indians, there has been a significant decline in infant mortality rates, from 80-100/1000 live births in the mid to late 1950s to 45.1/1000 in 1967. Alternatively, the birth rate has been very high, with a crude rate of 33.4/1000 population in 1965 and 42.3/1000 in 1967.¹³ Consequently, in the South Mackenzie, one of the most outstanding demographic features is the very high proportion of children fourteen and under. This age group constitutes 47 per cent of the native population.

The population data for the native dominant settlements in the South Mackenzie area and Great Slave Lake region show that modest population increases have occurred in recent years, primarily due to natural growth (table 2).

The population increase in settlements has also been greatly affected by the white population. Ehlers has suggested that the white population increases in northern areas have been the result of improvements in transportation technology and the exploitation of mineral resources.¹⁴ These factors have been important in the South Mackenzie and Great Slave Lake region. In order to reduce

TABLE 2
 POPULATION OF THE GREAT SLAVE LAKE REGION,
 1931 TO 1966, BASED ON DOMINION
 BUREAU OF STATISTICS CENSUS RECORDS

<i>Health District</i>	1931	1941	1951	1961	1966
Fort Providence	318	415	354	402	455
Fort Reliance ^a	36	94	65	140	176
Fort Resolution	549	635	757	543	717
Fort Smith	343	531	442	1,681	2,136
Hay River	171	164	792	1,338	2,103
Pine Point ^b					459
Rae	797	767	707	980	1,272
Yellowknife	—	1,410	2,724	3,335	3,741
Great Slave Lake	2,214	4,016	5,659	8,419	11,139

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, unpublished census data for the Northwest Territories, 1931 to 1966, Ottawa, September 1967.

- a. Data for 1951 to 1966 for the settlement of Snowdrift only.
 b. Pine Point is normally part of the Fort Resolution health district. In 1961 it had a population listed at 1 person.

isolation, the federal government, since 1948, has conducted a large scale all-weather highway building program, constructed the Great Slave Lake Railway, expanded air facilities, and developed an extensive telecommunications network. These large capital investments have generated a number of short-term and long-term employment opportunities which have been filled mainly by people migrating from southern Canada.

For some time, the Canadian government has considered mining basic to the development of the North. According to Arthur Laing, former Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: "We believe that mineral development will provide the key to economic prosperity in the North. We believe that this

is the primary source of employment and the principal attraction for northerners, settlers, and capital."¹⁵ As a result of this government attitude, and an industrial need for raw materials, the federal government and the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company (Cominco) co-operated in developing the lead-zinc deposits at Pine Point. The resulting mining operation and town now provide support for some 700 people, most of whom are from outside of the Northwest Territories.

Ehlers' explanation of the expanding northern population and economy fails to include a third significant factor, the role of the federal bureaucracy. Since the early 1950s, with the creation of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the number of government facilities and personnel has markedly increased in the North. Certainly this accounts for the post-1950 population increase in Fort Smith in the South Mackenzie and Frobisher Bay in the Eastern Arctic. It also accounts for the continued expansion in population and economic activity of Yellowknife, the new territorial capital, and the creation of a new town in the Mackenzie Delta, Inuvik. Most of the government employees filling these new positions have come from outside of the Northwest Territories.

Present Settlement-Economic Resource Patterns

Within the South Mackenzie the forces of population increase and concentration, and economic resource expansion have combined ethnically and spatially with varying degrees of success. Both Fort Providence and Fort Resolution were characterized in 1968 by high unemployment and high under-employment levels (table 3). In Fort Providence, over half of the jobs available were on the temporary-seasonal type, such as highway maintenance work or employment in a local store. Most of the few permanent jobs available, such as those in the local stores, gas stations, restaurants, and school were held by whites.

In 1968, Fort Resolution had twice as many permanent work positions as non-permanent positions. However, as with Fort Providence, the total number of jobs available was small in relation to the size of the working age population. The permanent positions in Fort Resolution are almost equally divided between whites

TABLE 3
 PERMANENT AND NON-PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT BY
 ETHNIC STATUS IN THE SOUTH MACKENZIE, 1968

<i>Settlement</i>	<i>Permanent Employment</i>			<i>Non-Permanent Employment</i>		
	Total	Native	White	Total	Native	White
Fort Providence	36	14	22	41	33	8
Fort Resolution	65	32	33	32	24	8
Fort Smith	601	144	457	107	64	44
Hay River	625	192	433	245	57	188
Pine Point	453*	38	415	7	1	6
South Mackenzie	1,780	420	1,360	432	179	253

Source: Field Survey, 1968.

* Includes 121 construction workers who were in Pine Point from 1967 to 1969.

and natives. Yet, much of the native employment has been concentrated in the local sawmill operation, which has been beset by innumerable problems. Hence it has not been a truly permanent or high paying form of employment. Established in 1965 as a co-operative, the sawmill struggled along with poor management, poor equipment, inadequate planning, and personality conflicts, until 1968, when the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories took over direct control of the operation. In 1969, it was sold to a private interest.

Increasing the economic problem for both settlements is the native population structure, characterized by very high dependency ratios of working age adults (15-64) to children (14 and under). In Fort Providence the native supporting age population constitutes 47.5 per cent of the population while the dependent population makes up 43.8 per cent (table 4). In Fort Resolution the figures are even more dramatic — 45.3 per cent and 49.8 per

TABLE 4
 AGE AND SEX STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTH MACKENZIE SETTLEMENTS (EXCEPT FORT SMITH)
 BY ETHNIC GROUP, ACCORDING TO THE 1967 MANPOWER TEST SURVEY*

Age Group	Native		Non-Native		Native		Non-Native	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	A. Fort Providence							
14 and under	100	100	9	5	135	120	17	18
15 — 24	37	37	3	4	49	38	12	7
15 — 44	94	79	10	12	93	81	29	20
45 — 64	21	23	8	7	32	26	9	9
65 and over	20	9	2	3	10	14	3	2
Total	246	211	29	27	277	235	58	49
	B. Fort Resolution							
	C. Hay River							
14 and under	144	137	233	244	8	7	92	95
15 — 24	55	43	148	109	6	4	44	33
15 — 44	126	99	361	273	17	15	135	78
45 — 64	49	23	115	61	1	1	40	17
65 and over	19	12	20	4	—	—	19	8
Total	338	271	730	582	26	23	286	198
	D. Pine Point							

* Economic Staff Group, Table 1.

cent respectively. For Canada, the working age population constitutes 59.5 per cent of the population, and children 33 per cent. A major mechanism for maintaining the population levels in Fort Providence and Fort Resolution has been government transfer payments, in particular, social assistance. Indeed, for the entire South Mackenzie, the total of social assistance payments for 1967-68 was \$255,000. Twenty-one per cent of that total went to Fort Providence, which has 8 per cent of the total South Mackenzie population; 28 per cent went to Fort Resolution, which has 10 per cent of the total population.¹⁶

Until recently, Fort Smith was a key settlement in the Northwest Territories and the South Mackenzie. It was the Mackenzie District (and regional) headquarters for the federal government, the centre for the Roman Catholic Church in the Northwest Territories, and major centre for airlines and barge traffic moving into and out of the North.

Events in recent years have caused a serious erosion in the support base of the town. Transportation has played a large role in this process. In 1948, the Mackenzie Highway was completed, connecting Hay River (not Fort Smith) with the main towns and cities of Alberta. In 1960, the highway was completed to Yellowknife, thus reducing somewhat the barge traffic that passed through Fort Smith. (Only in 1966 was a highway completed between Fort Smith and Hay River.) In 1964, the Great Slave Lake Railway was completed from Roma Junction, Alberta to Hay River and Pine Point (not Fort Smith). As a result, most of the barge traffic going through Fort Smith ceased, and Hay River became the main break-of-bulk point. In 1968, Hay River (not Fort Smith) was designated as a regional air centre for the Department of Transport, thus greatly increasing its air facilities.

Political decisions have also been important to Fort Smith. As the district capital for the federal government in the Northwest Territories, it had anticipated being named the new Territorial capital in 1967. Such was not the case, however, as Yellowknife was selected instead. The consequent movement of many government functions from Fort Smith to Yellowknife in 1968 and 1969 has definitely limited the future growth of the town's economy. The situation may prove to be particularly acute for

natives who constitute over half of Fort Smith's population, but occupy only a quarter of the permanent employment positions.

Hay River and Pine Point stand in contrast to the other South Mackenzie settlements because of their acquisition of comparatively large amounts of job-creating capital. Significantly, they are also the only two settlements in the area in which natives occupy (numerically) a minority position. Hay River has achieved importance by becoming the main centre for transportation and communications in the entire Mackenzie District. Specifically, it is the break-of-bulk point for the railroad and barge lines, the centre of operations for Canadian National Telecommunications, and a regional air centre for the Department of Transport. It is also the main base for the Great Slave Lake fishing industry. Thus, it has a fairly broad and strong economic base for a northern settlement.

As noted, the settlement of Pine Point was established in 1964 through the co-operation of the federal government and Cominco. While the costs of establishing the mining operation have been high for the North (\$86 million for a railroad, \$9 million for a power plant on the Taltson River, and \$39 million for the mining facilities) the benefits have also been significant.¹⁷ The value of production from the lead and zinc mining increased from \$1.9 million in the first year of production, 1964, to \$97.9 million in 1968. Northerners in general, and natives in particular, have not formed a significant number of the employees in either the town or the mine. My own calculations for 1967-68 showed that only thirty-eight natives were employed. People born in the Northwest Territories constituted 16 per cent of the population, 83 of 512 according to a 1967 government survey. Twenty-five of these were natives.¹⁸

Regional Patterns

Because of its importance as the key transportation-communications and mining area in the Northwest Territories, the South Mackenzie is the most economically developed part of the Territory. However, to a significant degree, the flow of job-creating capital does not correspond to the present distribution of population. This is especially true with regard to Fort Pro-

vidence, Fort Resolution, and to a lesser extent, Fort Smith. Further, the flow of capital has not been adequately directed towards the native population, which until now, has not been fully integrated into the developed sectors of the economy. For example, natives occupy approximately two-thirds of the employment positions in the economically poor renewable resource industries of fishing, trapping, and logging. In contrast, natives constitute only a small proportion of the working population in such lucrative activities as government (26 per cent), mining (12 per cent), and transportation-communications (14 per cent).¹⁹

As opposed to other areas of the Northwest Territories, however, out-migration from the South Mackenzie is not a necessary condition for improvement in the area's population-economic resource balances; but, out-migration from Fort Providence and Fort Resolution definitely is necessary, given their present economic base and population configurations. At the present time, such population-economic resource adjustments are hindered by two overriding factors.

First, a number of favourable conditions exist in the settlements of Fort Providence and Fort Resolution. The education facilities and welfare payments are equal or better than those offered in the larger, viable settlements. The presence of kin-folk and long time friends also provide reasons for remaining. Housing conditions in Fort Providence and Fort Resolution are better than those in Hay River and Pine Point where a serious housing shortage exists, especially for poor native families. In these settlements natives have traditionally had employment problems. Either they have been discriminated against, or they have been unable to adjust to new working situations. Thus, the prospect of failure in seeking or maintaining employment has been a definite hinderance to intra-regional migration.

Second, while the federal government has encouraged the growth of Hay River and Pine Point with large industrial and social capital investments, it has not made the decision to identify these settlements as regional growth centres. Consequently, there has been no positive strategy (e.g., through housing, education, and employment mechanisms) to induce unemployed and underemployed people to leave Fort Providence and Fort Resolution.

In brief, the central question that arises is, What effect should government policy and capital flow have on population-economic resource patterns? Is the present policy which encourages poor native people to remain in settlements like Fort Providence and Fort Resolution a proper policy? It would appear not.²⁰ But, alternatively, what should the government establish as an end point of the out-migration from these places?²¹ Should Hay River be designated as a long-term growth centre and Pine Point, a settlement with a finite economic resource base, be designated as a short-term growth centre? Generally, economists and geographers have tended to favour the recognition of a small number of growth centres (relative to the area), arguing that "agglomeration" — the tendency of industries to attract other industries and capital — will be more likely to occur.²² Also, social capital investments are more effectively utilized, e.g., the establishment of one large hospital rather than several small ones, as now exists in the South Mackenzie and Great Slave Lake region.

It is interesting to note in this context that there has been a considerable equivocation regarding the future of Fort Smith. When the former Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development announced the selection of Yellowknife as the new territorial capital, he also announced that: "I do not think the future of any settlement in the Northwest Territories is a black future. Fort Smith is in a very fine location... and it will be my advice as long as such matters are under my control, that institutions of both Federal and Territorial Government should be located there whenever this is at all feasible."²³ More recently, however, the territorial government has been withholding funds from development projects in Fort Smith. A writer in *News of the North* remarked

...there are indications that the government is not optimistic about Fort Smith.

The Territorial department of local government slashed a requested \$100,000 for a full-scale paving program to a mere \$40,000 plus \$5,000 for sidewalk construction.

A requested \$240,000 in debenture loans for expansion of water and sewer (facilities) was chopped down to \$133,000.

Such trimming of budgets can be attributed to austerity if one prefers, but why all this austerity in one location?²⁴

Some policies encouraging economic and regional readjustments can be noted. The federal and territorial governments are both committed to hiring northerners for government work in the North. The federal government has stated that it plans to have northerners form 75 per cent of its employees in the North by 1975. Hopefully, then, natives will assume some of the employment positions now mostly held by transient whites. Also, the federal government, Cominco, and labour unions in Pine Point have made an agreement to train northern natives on a continuing basis. For the mining company this may mean a reduction in its presently high labour turn-over, and for the natives in the region, a chance to obtain long-term meaningful employment. Finally, the accumulating federal and territorial experience with moving and training Eskimos should provide guidelines for similar actions in the Subarctic.²⁵

Notes

1. Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration, 11: Canada*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 14 (Montreal, 1964); *idem*, *Eskimo Administration, V: Analysis and Reflections*, Arctic Institute of North America Technical Paper no. 21 (Montreal, 1968).
2. Roger W. Pearson, "Resource Management Strategies and Regional Viability: A Study of the Great Slave Lake Region, Canada," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1970), p. 13. The data for the Northwest Territories is as follows: natural resources value—\$120, 300; electric power—64,000 kilowatts; population—28,700.
3. For a thorough consideration of basic settlement problems and research needs in northern lands, see: K.H. Stone, "Human Geographical Research in the North American Northern Lands," *Arctic* 7:321-335 (1954).
4. The South Mackenzie area described here parallels the old Indian Affairs Branch administrative region, not the present territorial political region. Strong functional ties, economically and administratively, however, justify the regional boundaries used here. See: Pearson, "Resource Management," chapters I and IX.
5. These figures are drawn from local field estimates and from "Manpower Test Survey", Economic Staff Group, Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968, Table 1.
6. Don C. Foote, "The Canadian North: General Survey," *Inter-North* 9: 125-129 (1967).
7. In 1967, the total territorial income was estimated at \$2.1 million by the federal government. My own estimate for the Great Slave Lake region in that year was from \$500,000 to \$600,000. For the federal estimate: Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Annual Report 1966-1967* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 17.

8. James W. VanStone, "Changing Patterns of Indian Trapping in the Canadian Subarctic," *Arctic* 16:159-174 (1963).
9. K.J. Rea, *The Political Economy of the Canadian North* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 81.
10. George R. Rae, "The Settlement of the Great Slave Lake Frontier: Northwest Territories, from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963), pp. 176-177.
11. Ronald Cohen, "An Anthropological Survey of Communities in the MacKenzie — Slave Lake Region of Canada" Dept. of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa, 1962), pp. 8-12.
12. For a more detailed discussion of the collapse of Rocher River, see: Roger Pearson, "Rocher River, Northwest Territories," *Arctic* 22:156-158 (1969).
13. Northern Health Service, *Report on Health Conditions in the Northwest Territories, 1967* (Edmonton, 1968), Table IV.
14. Eckart Ehlers, "The Expansion of Settlement in Canada: A Discussion of the American Frontier," in *Readings in Canadian Geography*, ed. Robert M. Irving (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968), pp. 30-40.
15. "Northern Realities — The Government and the People" (Address to the Fourth National Northern Development Conference, Edmonton, November 2, 1967), p. 3.
16. Pearson, "Resource Management," pp. 172-173.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
18. "Manpower Test Survey," Table 3. The survey missed well over 100 people, but the proportions given appear to be reasonably correct, based on my own field survey.
19. Many of the positions held by natives are low ranking and seasonal in nature. Pearson, "Resource Management," pp. 138-145.
20. Shimkin has analyzed in concise terms a similar plight facing settlements with a declining economy, expanding population, and ineffective government development strategies. D.B. Shimkin, "The Economy of a Trapping Center: The Case at Fort Yukon, Alaska," *Economic Development and Culture Change*, 3:219-240 (1955).
21. In this regard, inadequate town planning resulted in some serious problems and interesting adaptive responses by the poor in Whitehorse, Yukon. J.R. Lotz, "The Squatters of Whitehorse. A Study of the Problems of New Northern Settlements," *Arctic* 18:172-188 (Sept. 1965).
22. L.H. Klassen, *Area Economic and Social Redevelopment* (Paris: O.E.C.D., 1965), pp. 61-62, 91-92; Resources For The Future, *Design For a Worldwide Study of Regional Development* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 29-42.
23. Arthur Laing, "Statement by the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development at Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, January 18, 1967 (Ottawa, 1967).
24. "Government Undermines Fort Smith," *News of the North*, March 5, 1970, p. 3.
25. D.S. Stevenson, "Problems of Eskimo Relocation for Industrial Employment: A Preliminary Study" Dept. of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1968).

* The opinions expressed in this paper are solely those of the author and in no way reflect the views of the United States Government or the United States Army.