

PROGRAM EVALUATION

AN EVALUATION OF CHANGES

1-26.1

ON THE

KEHEWIN INDIAN RESERVE

1971 to 1979

[FINAL REPORT]

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Indian and Northern Affairs
Indian and Inuit Affairs Program
Program Evaluation Branch

AN EVALUATION OF CHANGES

1-26.1

ON THE

KEHEWIN INDIAN RESERVE

1971 to 1979

[FINAL REPORT]

prepared for

The Kehewin Tribal Council

and the

Canada Department of Indian and Northern Affairs

by

Carcajou Research Limited

Edmonton Alberta

February 1980

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In 1979 the Kehewin Cree Tribal Council agreed to participate in an evaluation of developments on our Reserve since 1971. We were proud of what we had accomplished but we were also aware that much more needed to be done.

Our limited natural resource base and expanding population poses problems and challenges common to many of our brothers in other parts of Canada. On Kehewin, successive Councils have made a special effort to develop our human resource. In a parallel effort, emphasis has also been directed to the improvement of educational facilities, housing, roads and other community services, all with the purpose of providing a climate conducive to the development of skills marketable on and off the Reserve.

It may be that the manner in which we attempted to solve our problems and the challenges presented to us in the past may prove helpful to others. What this report does show, is the direction in which we must exert more of our efforts.

The past decade has been one of both disappointment and of gratifying progress for Kehewin. Nevertheless, we believe we now have a firm foundation on which to build - our improved education base, the increasing skill and experience of our people eager to participate in the growth of our regional economy accelerated by local oil sands developments.

We now have confidence in ourselves and are confident of our future.

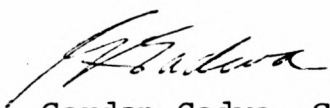

Gordon Gadwa, Chief,
Kehewin Cree Tribal Council.

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PRECISSUMMARY: Kehewin 1971 to 1979 — A Decade of Progress

The Report begins with a summary that condenses the results of the evaluation into a form short enough for public distribution. The summary first briefly describes the Kehewin Band and Reserve, then outlines the major achievements of the Band since 1971, explores causes, identifies the problems that still remain, and draws lessons for other Bands. The summary includes a map of the region and photographs of the Kehewin Reserve.

INTRODUCTION

The Introduction begins with a brief description of the Terms of Reference for the evaluation. The Study Method relied on information drawn from existing reports and files, mainly by the Kehewin Consulting Group, from interviews of Reserve households by student assistants, and from other interviews.

The Objectives that the Band appeared to have since 1971 were economic self-sufficiency (with priority given to generating employment on Reserve), local self-government, improved housing and living conditions, and reduced isolation in the regional society. Conditions in 1971 left the Band far short of all these objectives. What began that year has been described as a Total Community Approach to development, whereby everybody on the Reserve and all aspects of Reserve life became actively involved. One purpose of this evaluation was to learn whether this Approach was successful.

EVALUATION

The evaluation concludes that progress met or exceeded expectations for seven features of Reserve life, and fell short in four. The "good" group includes:

- leadership and political development (a whole new set of young, politically aggressive leaders has developed);

- expansion of programs controlled and administered by the Band (Band programs now include everything except health service and policing);

- organization, administration and communication (the Band has consistently been aware of the need for sound administration and financial control, and has worked and experimented to improve them);

- on-Reserve education (a new school offers Kindergarten to grade 6 in a mixed standard and Cree curriculum);
- public buildings and facilities (many new ones have been built for recreation, administration and economic development);
- housing and related amenities (the housing stock has been almost completely replaced or renovated, through C.M.H.C. rental and rehabilitation programs, and water, plumbing, electricity and central heating systems installed);
- public health (improved through treatment, immunization and better housing).

The "not so good" group includes:

- economic development and employment (some progress has been made, but a substantial unemployment problem still exists, and penetration into lucrative off-Reserve employment has been very limited);
- social assistance payments (dependence has been reduced, but is still high);
- training and post-secondary education (some progress, but still no major break-through);
- alcohol abuse (probably not as bad as in some other places, but still a serious problem for a minority of households).

The Total Community Approach appeared successful in the early years, but was cancelled by the Government in 1973. Since then development has been more piecemeal.

The Causes of Kehewin's progress lie in the political skill of Band leaders, and their success in lobbying for expanded programs; in the Bands efforts to create reasonably good administration and financial control systems; in the lack of deep internal divisions on the Reserve, and the preparedness of the Band to show a united front when necessary; and in the support received from government agencies, especially Indian Affairs and Canada Manpower. The local government and housing Objectives have been almost totally achieved, and substantial progress has been made with the others, although more work needs to be done.

The Costs have been substantial. Crudely estimated, the extra cost of Kehewin's development program is now about \$1000 per capita annually.

The Practical Implications of the findings are that the Band should cultivate its ability to take united, strong community action, broaden its economic development program to take account of its more diverse labour force, and tackle the alcohol problem.

COMMUNITY PROFILE

The bulk of the Report consists of a very detailed community profile. Contents are listed in the Table of Contents.

KEHEWIN 1971 TO 1979 — A DECADE OF PROGRESS

A Summary of An Evaluation of Changes on the Kehewin Indian Reserve 1971 to 1979, a report prepared for the Kehewin Tribal Council and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, by Carcajou Research Ltd., Edmonton, Alberta, February 1980.

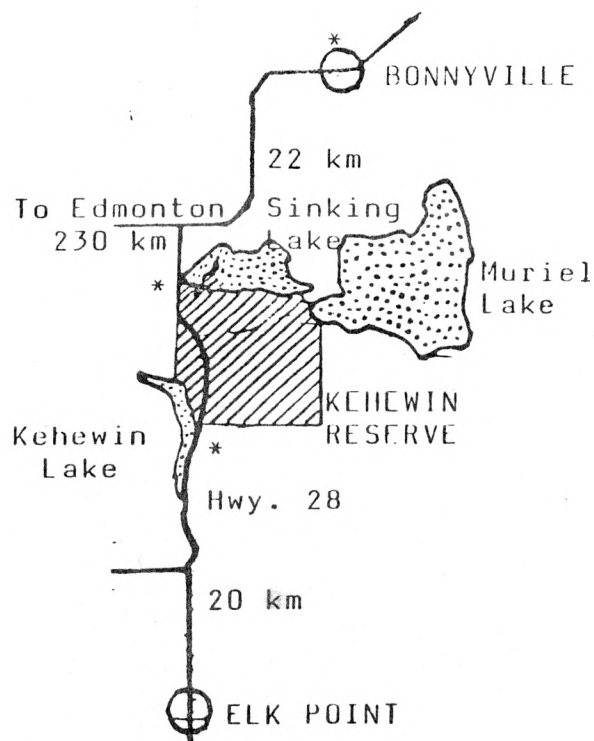
KEHEWIN

The Kehewin Reserve lies south of the Town of Bonnyville in eastern Alberta, 230 Km east-northeast of Edmonton (see Map page v). The Band population in the Fall of 1979 numbered 672, of whom 431 lived on the Reserve. About 80 other people, Métis and members of other bands, also lived on the Reserve, bringing the total Reserve population to about 510.

After the signing of Treaty No. 6 in 1876, Chief Ke-he-win led his small band northward across the North Saskatchewan River, to locate their Reserve in a wooded area (now about 20,500 acres) bounded by the Moose Hills on the south, and by Kehewin (Long) Lake, Sinking Lake and Muriel Lake on the west, north and east, respectively.

Although the Reserve provided a living for its people in the early years, it is not rich in natural resources now. Approximately 8,800 acres are potentially arable, mostly Class 3 and 4 soil types. About 3,500 acres are now under cultivation, over 2,000 of them in two large farms operated by individual Band members. Small amounts of natural gas have been found, not enough for production to be worthwhile.

Since 1971 the Band has been aggressively trying to promote economic development and improvements to services on the Reserve. The push began with the Kehewin Employment Project that began in 1971 and continued until 1973. At the same





time, major steps were taken to increase the scope of Band local government, develop industries for long-term employment, improve housing and household amenities (water, electric power, plumbing, central heating, etc.), move schooling onto the Reserve and broaden the range of social services.



The Kehewin Reserve

EVALUATION

In 1979 the Department of Indian Affairs, in consultation with the Kehewin Tribal Council, decided that an "evaluation" should be done of all the things that happened at Kehewin since 1971. The Department believed that a combination of local initiative and government programs had achieved a great deal at Kehewin, and wanted to know all the details about how the process had worked. It wanted to learn from Kehewin's experiences itself, and to make them known to other Bands. The Department and the Band together decided what would be included in the evaluation, and Carcajou Research Limited of Edmonton was hired to carry out the research, which began in June 1979.

An evaluation is a research study leading to judgements about whether programs or activities have been successful or unsuccessful, and whether their results have been good or bad. The Kehewin evaluation began with a detailed look at the land,

buildings, people and activities at Kehewin as they were in 1979. Almost every household on the Reserve was visited by Band members hired by Carcajou. Files, letters, minutes of Band Council meetings and other reports were examined for information about the Reserve as it was in 1971 and about all the things that had happened between 1971 and 1979. People who had worked at Kehewin during that time were interviewed.

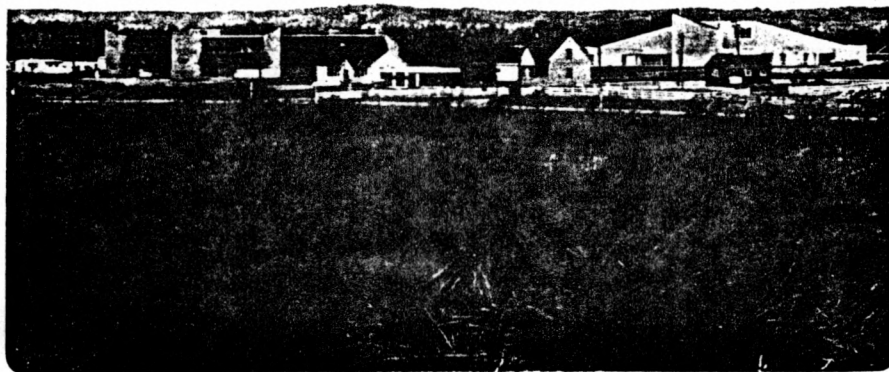
The Band itself played an important part in collection of the information, through the interviewers, and through the Kehewin Consulting Group, a branch of the Band Council made up of councillors and staff members.

KEHEWIN IN 1971

In many ways conditions at Kehewin in 1971 were not very good.

Almost all people on the Reserve were partly or entirely dependent on social assistance. Some people worked some of the time as farm labourers, or earned a little money at traditional pursuits, but most people were unemployed most of the time.

Many houses were in poor shape, and there was little really good housing. Water came from sloughs or shallow wells, and was unclean at least part of the year. Standard household utilities were almost non-existent.



Kehewin Reserve Main Buildings 1979:
Multiplex on the left, new school on
the right, old school, day care cen-
tre and old Band Office in front.

The only school on the Reserve provided kindergarten only. The rest of the children were taken by bus to Bonnyville. Many were missing school or dropping out early.

In the financial year 1971/72 (April 1 1971 to March 31 1972) total Band expenditure was \$250,000, and one-half of that was spent on social assistance. Programs on the Reserve covered a very narrow range.

The Band had taken some steps to gain control of its own affairs. In 1970 a school bus coop was started and the busing contract taken over from a private operator. In that year also the Band signed up for the grants-to-bands program, and hired a Band administrator and a welfare worker.

Most Band administration, however, was still in the hands of the St. Paul District Office of the Department of Indian Affairs.

KEHEWIN IN 1979

By 1979 conditions had changed dramatically, and substantial progress had been made in a number of fields.

Budget

Expenditures in the financial year 1978/79 were nearly \$2 million, with 11% going to social assistance. A very broad list of programs was included.

Local Control and Administration

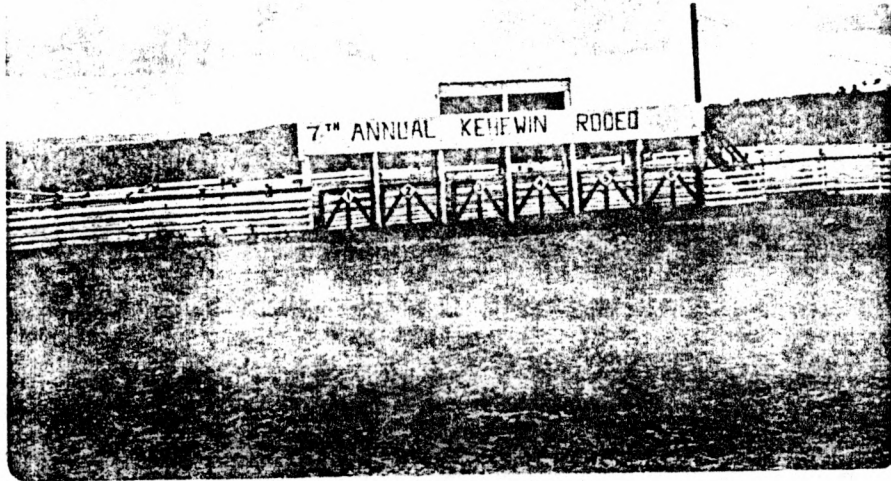
The Band controlled and administered every major program on the Reserve except health care and policing, and including:

Social Development Portfolio

- social services
- preventive social services
- Kehewin Tribal Counselling Services
- recreation
- child welfare
- cultural activities
- liaison with health services

Community Affairs Portfolio

- housing
- roads
- general maintenance
- water delivery and sewage disposal



Rodeo Grounds

Community Affairs Portfolio (continued)

- fire protection and prevention
- policing (provided by RCMP)
- garbage disposal
- utilities
- training and adult education
- job placement
- work projects

Education Portfolio

- education centre (school)
- cultural education
- spiritual development
- school committee
- busing
- curriculum
- gymnasium
- caretaker

Agriculture Portfolio

- agricultural society
- Alberta Indian Agricultural Corporation
- rodeo
- agricultural planning
- agricultural extension
- Kehewin Consulting Group
- agricultural financing
- agricultural committee
- oil and gas leases
- land policy and land records

Economic Development Portfolio

- Kehewin Development Corporation
 - Steel Plant
 - Cree-ations (weaving and crafts)
 - Golden Eagle Store
 - Golden Eagle Amusement Centre
 - Kehewin Construction
- analysis of business opportunities for the Band and Band members
- economic development planning

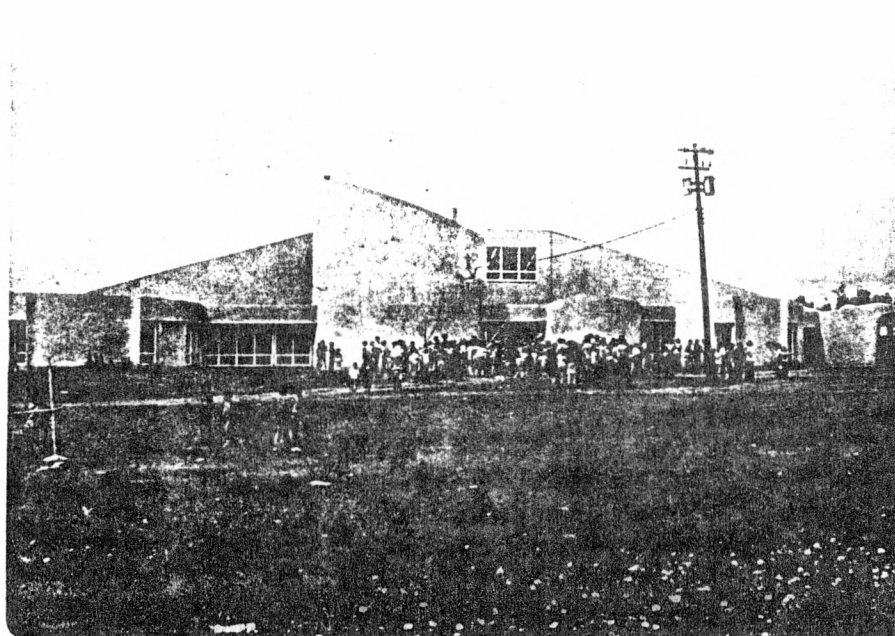
Finance and Administration Portfolio

- controller
- office manager

Education

Kehewin now has its own school. The Band Council hired its own architect, who designed a building that would express Indian cultural values. It contains classrooms, a health clinic and a library, and opened in the Fall of 1975. The program is a combination of the standard Alberta curriculum and compulsory Cree language and culture.

Members of the Band take great pride in the school, seeing it as a symbol of Kehewin's progress. Attendance is about 95% at the Reserve school, partly because of community support for it, and partly because the Band Council passed a Resolution to enforce attendance, and has been prepared to back it with court action if necessary.



Kehewin Hosts the District Track and Field Meet in 1979

Buildings

Near the school a new Multiplex (1978) contains a store, Band offices and a large gymnasium. Other buildings constructed between 1971 and 1979 are a steel-fabrication plant, a weaving factory, a day-care centre, a carpenters' shop, an outdoor skating rink, a baseball diamond with bleachers, rodeo grounds, an amusement centre (in the old school) and a tannery to produce smoke-tanned leather.

Employment

About one-third of the potential work force is regularly employed, and about another one-third works seasonally or at various temporary jobs. Employment on the Reserve comes from the store, the steel plant, the weaving factory, agriculture, education, social services and Band administration. Short-term work comes from construction and various job-creation programs.

The Band is organizing to take advantage of employment opportunities that will be created by development of oil sands at Cold Lake, about 40 miles away. Council has appointed a Director of Human Resource Development and Employment to inventory the skills and training needs of Band members, to initiate new on-Reserve work opportunities, to maintain a listing of jobs off the Reserve, to encourage and develop ways to improve Band members' chances of getting those jobs, and to encourage Band members to seek employment and become financially independent.

Housing

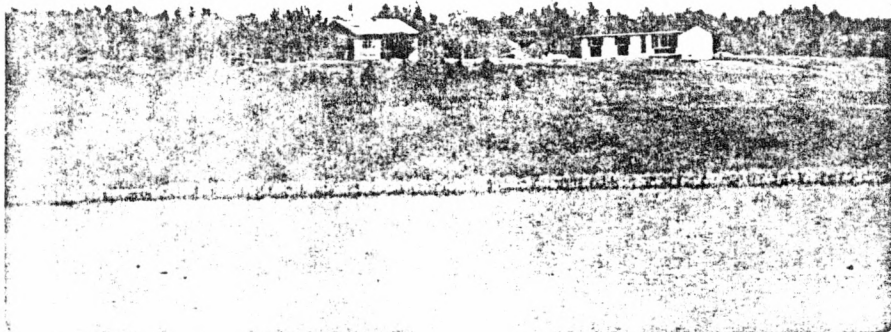
The quality of housing on the Reserve is now quite good. Programs of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) have increased the capacity of the Band to finance fine new homes and to renovate many older ones. Housing standards across the Reserve are now probably as good as those in the rest of rural Alberta. All houses have proper plumbing, with water trucked from a central treatment plant, electricity, central heating and driveways. The Band provides its own fire protection and garbage pick-up.

Health

Health conditions have improved in the past 10 years; especially, the Reserve has experienced a decline in the incidence of infectious diseases, partly as a result of good health care, and partly because of improved housing and sanitation. A full program of vaccination and immunization has been carried out, and virtually all Band members are now protected.

Agriculture

The Band now has an active farm development program, aimed at the growth of individual, economically-viable farm holdings. Two Band members have built large operations, and several have smaller ones.



Old and New Housing at Kehewin

HOW DID ALL THIS HAPPEN?

Kehewin began to move forward rapidly in late 1971, when the Band became so frustrated and angry about poor conditions that they staged a school strike and a sit-in at the District Office of the Department of Indian Affairs. As a result, the Minister of Indian Affairs agreed to meet with Band leaders. They asked him for a winter works program that would employ every able-bodied adult on the Reserve, so that people would not need to depend on social assistance any more.

The Minister asked for proof that the whole Band wanted this, and when proof was supplied through community meetings and interviews with all Band members, the Kehewin Employment Project was quickly put in place. The Minister sent in a special Task Force to cut red tape and help the Band get organized. A full set of social programs was set up to parallel the works program, to help Band members make the transition from "welfare" to employment. The Task Force called this a "Total Community Approach" to community development.

The works programs were extended various times, and lasted two years. In support of these programs, and the other activities that the Band wanted to start, the weaving factory and steel plant were built, the day-care centre was started, and planning for the new school began.

The Band began to take more and more control, and to build the necessary administrative machinery. A whole set of new, younger leaders developed and largely replaced the old group.

In 1973 the Task Force that had been helping Kehewin was disbanded, and the works programs were cut back. Unemployment and social assistance payments increased sharply, but progress continued in other areas.

The school was built in 1975 and the Band took over the elementary education program. The first CMHC houses were built in 1976, and the Multiplex in 1978.

Political and administrative development continued. In 1975 the Band developed the "portfolio" system, placing Band councillors in positions of direct responsibility for groups of programs.

Although cut-back of employment programs hurt badly, some long-term economic development took place. The two large farms were started, and a Band member set up his own construction business. The steel plant was closed for a while, but finally re-opened in 1976 with a subsidy from the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. The weaving factory too had difficulties, but managed to survive. In 1979 the store and the amusement centre opened.

WHY DID IT HAPPEN?

Leadership

A number of reasons can be found for the progress that has come to Kehewin. Probably the most important has been the development of new leadership — young and politically aggressive. They first successfully demanded control of their own budget and programs, and then successfully managed them.

Administration

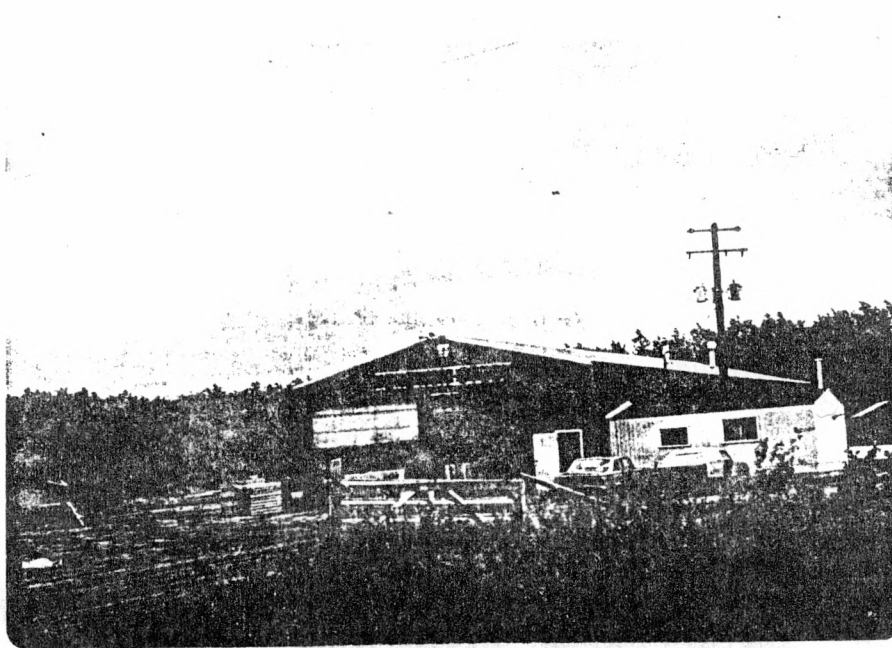
The Band showed right from the start that it was aware of the need for proper management and financial control. The systems that were set up did not always work well at first, and serious problems had to be overcome from time to time. But they always worked well enough for funding

agencies to trust Kehewin's administration, to cooperate willingly in expansion of Kehewin's control, and to continue to supply the necessary funds.

Staffing

The experience that Kehewin has had with its staff has been a mixed one. On the one hand, there have been many staffing problems, and high turnover in some parts of the administration. But in certain key areas Kehewin has attracted and kept high-quality staff.

Band employment is to some extent used for training and personal development. But in certain key areas, Council policy has insisted that staff be properly qualified, even if this meant continued use of non-Indian personnel. The best example of this is in the school, where the Band has insisted that all teachers have full professional certification, although this policy has meant a delay in the hiring of Indian teachers. The teachers' aides, however, are Band members, and are taking over steadily increasing responsibilities within the school.



Steel Plant

Support from Government Agencies

Kehewin has received good support from funding agencies most of the time, although of course did not always receive everything the Band wanted. Indian Affairs, Employment and Immigration (earlier Canada Manpower), and the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation have been the major contri-

butors, with other Federal and Provincial agencies providing smaller amounts of money. The work programs that began in 1971 required large sums, and these were made available speedily with a minimum of red tape.

Kehewin has very complete local government, growing initially out of the grants-to-bands program, and developing in very rapid steps as the Band showed that it could manage its own affairs. The amount of local control at Kehewin is probably greater than is generally the case in Alberta municipalities, despite the fact that Kehewin has no local tax base or resource revenue, and is almost entirely dependent on funds from government agencies.

Unity and the Attitude of Band Members

One reason for Kehewin's success in taking over its own affairs has been the lack of deep divisions between factions on the Reserve. Certainly different people and groups have had different ideas, and there are some long-standing rivalries. But when the Band needed to act in a united way, it always could.

Progress would have been much more difficult if internal disagreements had been stronger, since government agencies would have been confronted with changing policies and personalities as power shifted from one faction to another, and internal differences would have tended to weaken programs.

Associated with this unity has been a strongly positive attitude on the part of Band members, who have supported development and taken pride in the accomplishments of the Band.

WHAT PROBLEMS STILL REMAIN?

Kehewin has four major problems that still have not been overcome.

Economic Development and Employment

Although some progress has been made, and a great deal of aggressive programming has been done, many people on the Reserve still lack marketable skills and experience. Oil sands development in the Cold Lake area only 40 miles away will create almost limitless opportunities for high-paying work off the Reserve, but most residents have not successfully broken into the off-Reserve work force. Kehewin is not well provided with natural resources, and probably will never be able to employ all its people on Reserve.

Social Assistance Payments

During the five months of research on this evaluation, an average of 57% of Reserve residents were supported at least to some extent by social assistance. While this is an improvement from 1971, when approximately 95% received such support, dependence on social assistance remains a major source of concern for the Band.

Education and Training

The new school, which has been operating for four years, appears to be greatly improving the performance of students up to Grade 6, and eventually this should be reflected in better performance in later grades and post-secondary training. But the students who are in the higher grades now are still experiencing difficulties, with poor attendance and high drop-out rates. The schools in Bonnyville are showing greater sensitivity to the problem, but progress is still slow. Many adults who dropped out of school early need and will continue to need up-grading and skill training.

Alcohol Abuse

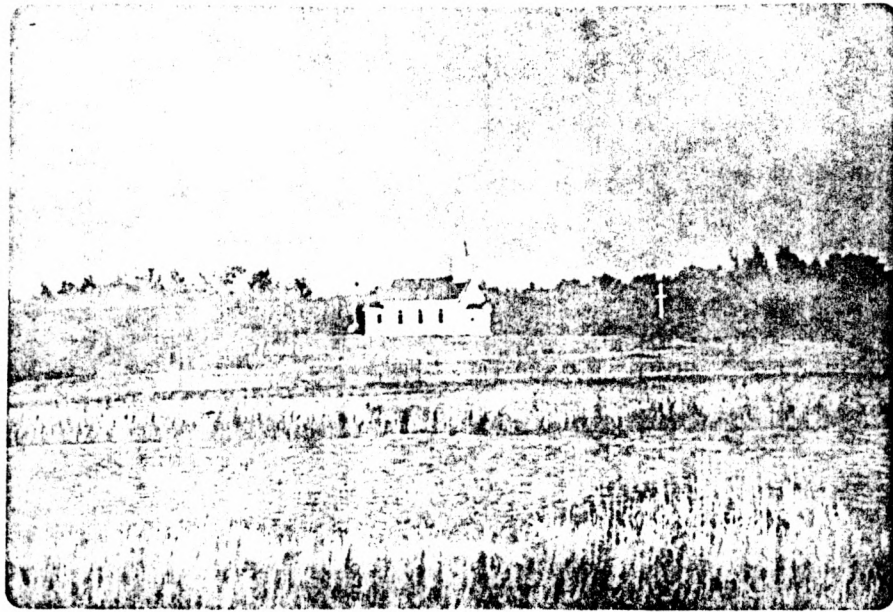
About 13% of Reserve households containing 24% of the population are struggling with serious drinking problems. While this is minority, it is a large one. Problems arising from excessive drinking take up a great deal of the time and attention of Band Council and staff members, and tend to weaken programs. The effects are particularly severe for children in these households, creating handicaps in their schooling and personal lives.

LESSONS FOR OTHER BANDS

Kehewin has been pursuing four objectives since 1971: (1) to become economically self-sufficient; (2) to become politically and administratively self-governed; (3) to improve housing and living conditions; and (4) to reduce the traditional isolation of the Reserve, and to become more actively involved in the regional society.

The Band has achieved almost complete success with the second and third objectives. Progress towards the first and fourth, while considerable, has fallen short of the Band's hopes and expectations.

Kehewin's progress has come from a combination of united community action, strong leadership, adequate administration and financial control, aggressive lobbying with funding agencies, and good support from those agencies.



Our Lady of Mercy's Church, Kehewin

Aggressive political work by itself would probably not have had the same good effect. It might have produced bursts of short-term response, but not the long-term support that Kehewin has usually received.

The agencies responded after the Band took the initiative. Nothing in Kehewin's experience suggests that the agencies themselves could have taken the initiative, or that the process could have been started from outside. The local government programs of the Department of Indian Affairs, however, helped the Band to organize its initiative, and thus were very important to the process.

The program at Kehewin has required large amounts of money. The Canadian political environment in the early 1970's, when Kehewin was getting its start, was favourable to developmental programs. A Band wanting to do the same thing now would have to contend with the present policies of financial restraint.

The fact that some significant problems still remain shows that the development process is a long-term one, and may well take a generation or more before the whole Reserve is fully brought into it. Kehewin has made a very strong start, but has some distance yet to go. Future progress will require continued investment by government agencies, and continued hard work by Band leaders and members.

THE REPORT

INTRODUCTION1. Terms of Reference*

This study was commissioned in June 1979 by the Policy, Research and Evaluation Group, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Government of Canada, in cooperation with the Chief and Council of the Kehewin (Alberta) Band and the Alberta Regional Office of Indian and Inuit Affairs. The purpose was to document and evaluate the social and economic changes that have taken place at Kehewin since 1971, in order to:

- (a) assist the Band Council with its future planning;
- (b) provide the Band with information that it could use in marketing its proposed Kehewin Consulting Corporation;
- (c) provide other Regions and Bands with information on the cost and benefit of what Chatain [5]** has called the "Total Community Approach";
- (d) provide the Region and individual programs with information for strategic planning and policy development; and
- (e) facilitate analysis of the current resource allocation process.

Behind the desire to do this study lay a general belief that, through some combination of local initiative and government programs, a great deal of progress has been made at Kehewin in the past nine years, and that Kehewin, the Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, and other Bands should try to learn as much as possible from the experience. The sponsoring bodies were particularly interested in understanding the conditions that had produced the first burst of enthusiasm and initiative, that they believed had set the tone and provided the impetus for the events that followed.

* See Appendix A for complete terms of reference.

** Numbers in square brackets refer to items listed in the Bibliography, Appendix B.

2. Study Methods

Information has been gathered from four main sources:

(a) Existing Reports and Files

The Terms of Reference listed a number of reports that have been prepared at previous times during the nine-year study period. These and others that turned up during research were explored for both factual and evaluative material. We also located a large number of old Band files, that yielded some useful material. The single most important group of documents consisted of Band Council minutes and resolutions.

(b) The Kehewin Consulting Group

An arrangement was made whereby Carcajou sub-contracted with the Band, under the name of the Kehewin Consulting Group, to obtain the services of some staff personnel. These people supplied primarily factual material, but also some evaluative comments.

(c) Interviews by Student Assistants

A great deal of information came from a program of household interviewing, carried out by three student assistants. The interviews were unstructured, designed to solicit people's opinions and feelings about developments on the Reserve. Most factual material about Reserve households came from other sources, mainly administrative.

(d) Other Interviews

We tried to contact as many people as possible who have worked with Kehewin over the years in various capacities—policemen, government personnel, health personnel, Band staff, etc. These sources yielded both factual and evaluative material.

This study has been a cooperative effort between Carcajou and the Kehewin community, represented by Band leaders and staff, the three student assistants, and all the members of Band households who were interviewed. The Chief and members of the Band Council have been helpful on many occasions. Bill Strojich of the Kehewin Tribal Administration has made a very large contribution, by coordinating the work of the Kehewin Consulting Group and collecting much of the information. Velma Andrishak, Roland Dion, Audrey Gadwa, Jim Hawkins, Jack Landry and other staff members, and Ida Samson of National Health and Welfare, provided much-needed help. The three student assistants, Frances Dion, Rose Anna McCarthy and Ernestine Nooskey, worked hard and well.

We would like to express our thanks to these people, and to the many others too numerous to mention, who responded to our requests for information.

The Terms of Reference make it clear that "the onus is on the Band" to identify evaluative criteria, and to judge things as good or bad for individuals or the community as a whole. In general, the response of Band members to evaluative questions was clear and definite, but not very detailed--leadership is good, housing is good, alcohol problems are bad, etc. On a few subjects, for example economic development, the response was indefinite or divided. We have relied on their judgements to set the over-all framework for evaluation, but have used our own judgements to supply the detail, and to resolve where possible the indefinite or divided views.

This study is an evaluation, not of individual programs, but of the whole development process that evolved at Kehewin. It is possible for a well-run program to contribute nothing to a developmental process, even though it may meet its individual objectives. A program full of errors and problems may contribute a great deal. We did not look at them in isolation. In particular, we tended to stop short of any appraisal of administrative details and mechanisms for implementation, except where these had some effect on the value of the program for development.

3. The Objectives of the Process and the Outline of Events

Statements made at various times by Band leaders, the results of our discussions with Band members, and documents covering Band initiatives well back into the 1960's, show that the objectives sought by the people of Kehewin have been:

- (1) To become, in some sense, economically self-sufficient;*
- (2) To become politically and administratively self-governed, that is, to take eventual control of all policies and programs on Reserve, through the Band Council and Band administrative staff;
- (3) To improve housing and living conditions until they are attractive, healthy and comfortable; and
- (4) To reduce the traditional isolation of the Reserve and to be accepted as full, equal members of the regional society.

* Although this objective is very commonly held and stated, interpretations vary. For some, it means economically self-sufficient

The available evidence shows clearly that by the late 1960's none of these objectives was even close to achievement. Almost the entire Reserve was dependent on individual or family social assistance. (Contemporary estimates vary from 93% to 98%). All Band administration was carried out by the Department of Indian Affairs, sometimes, or even perhaps most of the time, with only token consultation with the Band. Housing conditions ranged from poor to only fair, household amenities were sparse, and water supplies were frequently unsanitary, or at least not potable. And as for the view of Indian people held by many of their white neighbours, perhaps the less said the better. Certainly some raw attitudes were exhibited during the school strike of 1971.

The first sign of active rebellion against these conditions came about in 1970, with the formation of the School Bus Coop to replace a private operator, whose equipment, performance and attitude were felt by Band members to be no longer tolerable. This was followed in 1971 by a much more dramatic protest in the form of a school strike lasting nearly three months, accompanied by a sit-in at the district offices of the Department of Indian Affairs. As a result, Band leaders obtained a meeting with the Minister, the Hon. Jean Chretien, from which came great bursts of activity on a number of fronts.

individuals, able to hold their own in jobs on or off Reserve. For some, it means a drive towards financial independence for the Band as a whole, so that the Band will have enough money to proceed with development, and supply all necessary social services to Band members. These interpretations do not exclude each other, both tending to allow for a fairly broad range of activities both on or, if necessary, off the Reserve. A third interpretation is narrower, and concentrates almost exclusively on development of opportunities for employment on Reserve. In its most extreme form, for example in some of the early writings about the proposed Kehewin Village, this interpretation envisages an almost totally self-contained community, supplying both employment and a wide range of household goods and services to residents.

Although long-term ideas varied, in the short term the emphasis was almost entirely on development of jobs and new businesses on the Reserve. Even those who thought that the best long-run opportunities lay off Reserve usually stated that development had to start on Reserve.

Towards the end of the school strike, the Kehewin Tribal Council moved "that if unemployed employable people do not want to work on the reserve, if jobs are available, they will not get social assistance unless if these people do get sick but a medical receipt must be brought to someone's attention." (B.C.R. November 16, 1971, quoted in Chatain [5], page 39.) The Band then submitted an elaborate winter works proposal that called for full employment on the Reserve during the winter of 1971-72. The Minister called in a special Task Force under the leadership of Fr. Denis Chatain to find out if the people were serious about their desire to eliminate their dependence on welfare, and if so, to set up a job-creation program that would employ every able-bodied adult for 4 months.

A full process of community consultation was carried out, including Band meetings and petitions to individual households, and the Task Force was able to satisfy the Minister that the request was genuinely rooted in the desires of the whole community.

Under the first winter works project, beginning in December of 1971, employment jumped from less than 5 to 146 within six weeks, so that virtually all adults on Reserve were employed. A full social development program was set up in parallel, to assist people to adjust to employment. Through a series of extensions the works program continued more or less steadily until the Fall of 1973.

Two major economic development projects were initiated during this time: the weaving factory was built in 1972, and the steel plant in 1973.

One of the demands made by Kehewin during the school strike was to have its own school on the Reserve, apparently something that had been promised first about 1930. The Minister agreed to this, and discussions about design began almost immediately. Some much-needed improvements in housing conditions began, and the first discussions were held with the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (C.M.H.C.) to bring their housing programs onto the Reserve.

In the Fall of 1973 the Task Force was disbanded, funds were cut back, and the level of excitement at Kehewin died down. The steel plant faltered and was closed, opened off and on for a period of time, then finally re-opened again in 1977. Employment projects became annual affairs, but the jobs created were not as numerous. Welfare payments began again to increase.

Not everything came to a halt, however. After rejecting school designs submitted by Indian Affairs, the Band retained its own architect, and the school was constructed in 1975. Since that time the Band has operated its own school program with an emphasis both on academic subjects and Cree language and culture.

The first C.M.H.C. houses were constructed in 1976-77, since when 29 new homes have either been completed or are under construction. Using the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) another 46 have been renovated. Electricity, central heating and plumbing have been installed in almost all homes. The water-supply problem has been solved by use of cisterns and trucked water, from a chlorination plant at Kehewin Lake. In 1978, construction began on the Multiplex housing new Band offices, and a gymnasium.

Throughout this period the services provided by the Band Council and Administration expanded steadily. By 1979, education, social assistance, economic development, agriculture, recreation, finance, housing, infrastructure and many smaller items were directly under Band control.

4. The Total Community Approach

What was done at Kehewin in 1972 and 1973 has been described by Chatain [5] as a "Total Community Approach" to community development.

The Total Community Approach is directed at breaking down the welfare culture so prevalent among Indian people, or to use Chatain's more energetic term, at "smashing through the welfare curtain." The ultimate goal of the Approach is "viability", a state wherein the community is as self-supporting as its local conditions and external circumstances will allow. "When a community has developed its fullest potential within the restrictions of its natural and human resources, it has become as viable as presently possible." (Chatain [5] page 2).

The welfare culture is based on hand-outs, and the Approach begins with a clear perception of the effect that has on people. "Any massive system of hand-outs creates a state of mind psychologically destructive to the individual, and in the case of communities, sociologically destructive to the development of that community." (page 8).

The practical and psychological effects of welfare are deplorable, according to Chatain, but the legal and moral issues are not simple. "Such things as free medical services, free education, clothing allowances, treaty payments, farm leases, cattle leases, government grants, etc., are justly due to Indians by reason of their surrender of vast tracts of land to the Government of Canada. But, no matter how justified it is morally

and legally, a welfare economy must affect a man as a man, and affects his actions and mental attitude. People who are used to getting these essentials through very little effort, must experience a lessening of pride, self-respect, initiative, responsibility, ambition and self-confidence." (page 8). The welfare curtain is a state of mind, not the programs that create it. It must be "smashed through" by each individual Indian community, and by each individual Indian. The Approach tries to encourage these inner changes, not by dismantling programs, but by reorienting them to the pursuit of viability.

Chatain identifies five stages leading towards viability. The first requires respect for the "felt needs" of people. Every development process must have a starting point, and in the Total Community Approach, the "people themselves determine their course of action and where they are prepared to begin." (page 21) If the first "felt need" of the people is to let off steam by criticizing everybody that has frustrated them in the past, then that is where the process begins, with consultations and meetings at which all the things that people want to say can be said. Whatever the felt need may be, it is important to look after it. Only then will people be prepared to move to the next step.

Dealing with felt needs first helps create the idea of an environment in which response is possible, an important factor in dealing with people whose environment has traditionally not responded well. People who are dependent on government agencies often live, sadly, in that kind of environment. It is important to respond to the felt need, whatever it is, so that people will feel they are pushing the button on a machine that actually works. In the short term that may be expensive but in the longer term, if it triggers a truly developmental process, the cost will be amply recovered.

The second stage is identification of human skills and human resources through involvement in work programs and training projects. Community-wide projects are started in which there is something for everybody to do. From this people learn what they like to do and do well, and what they are not suited for. A community-wide work project creates excitement, enthusiasm, pride, and a sense of accomplishment. These are constructive emotions, necessary steps on the way to viability.

The third stage is intensification of activity, with introduction to some of the hard realities of economic life. The pressure for increased production, better quality and more marketable goods is stepped up. Those who cannot meet the test begin to drop away, and must be retrained, further encouraged, or taken care of in other ways. "The cruelties of viability need to be understood." (page 25)

The fourth stage is production, in which all activity--production, training and support services--is geared to be fully economic, that is, efficient and marketable. The process of practical adjustment to the "hard realities" is nearly complete.

The fifth stage is reorganization and in fact, the loop between production and reorganization is continuous, spiralling upwards towards a viability that becomes more and more complete. People who have stayed with the process this far have shown they have the basic skills and attitudes for success. They may or may not want to stick with the activities on which they began. Included in the reorganization must be re-training programs for these people, as well as support and encouragement for them and all the others.

Throughout this process it is important to provide a full range of parallel social services, especially in the early stages. Much of this involves individual counselling to help people through all the adjustments needed to move from one way of life to another. Effective counselling will require training of local people for this job too, adding another dimension to the package of training programs required. Deliberate steps must be taken to maintain lines of communication among all the people involved in the process--workers, supervisors, managers, administrators, counsellors, local government officials and so on. Special consideration must be given to the nature of local politics, and to the adjustments that will be required there. Many things will have to change to achieve viability, and some traditional local political practices may be among them. "Unless proper consideration is given to this, the process of development can be reversed." (page 16) It is important to involve the elders so that the pride and sense of accomplishment are not confined to younger people. Recreation programming is an important part of the process, so that people have creative uses for their leisure time. Chatain also favours extensive use of community surveys, not for statistical purposes, but to circulate discussion of community problems, to "get people thinking", and to help them make informed decisions about the community as the process evolves and experience is gained.

Chatain makes no claim that the Total Community Approach will work in all communities or at all times, but he argues that it was tried at Kehewin, and that it did work. One of the purposes of this evaluation is to find out how far, and in what way, the Total Community Approach was used, and what its effects were.

PART I
EVALUATION

1. Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to evaluate the events and developments that have occurred at Kehewin since 1971, that is, to make informed, rational judgements about their value to the people of the Reserve, about the successes and failures of the various projects that have been tried, and about costs and benefits.

Evaluation requires two types of comparisons. First, we must compare results with the objectives that the people of Kehewin have had for the development process. Second, we must compare with the situation that existed at the beginning of the study period. We must evaluate progress by an absolute standard based on how far the Reserve hoped to come by 1979, and by a relative standard based on the distance they had to come.

The objectives that we identified were listed on page 3, but without any time schedule. These were:

- (1) To become economically self-sufficient;
- (2) To become politically and administratively self-governed;
- (3) To improve housing and living conditions until they are attractive, healthy and comfortable; and
- (4) To reduce the traditional isolation of the Reserve and to be accepted as full, equal members of the regional society.

The features of Reserve life that we observed and evaluated can be classified in one of two ways--either progress has been absolutely or relatively satisfactory, or it has not. We base our judgements on the opinions of those we interviewed--Band members, councillors, staff--and on our own assessments of the extent to which objectives have been reached.

We will discuss 11 different features in some detail before returning to a general assessment against the four objectives. The first seven of these are all satisfactory; that is, they have progressed pretty much as people hoped they would when the decade began. There may still be some work left to do, perhaps even some fairly significant work, but we judge that progress has come as far as it could reasonably be expected to come in the time that has passed.

The last four are those that have not progressed as well, where it has fallen short of what people hoped and could reasonably expect to accomplish. These are the parts of the Band program that we believe should dominate the priorities of the Band in the next decade.

In order to set the proper tone for the discussion that follows, we will state at the outset that the Band has clearly made enormous progress since 1971, and to say that problems still remain does not take away any of the credit due to the Band for what they have done, nor from the agencies that have helped them.

The first group of features, the "good things", includes the following:

- (1) Leadership and Political Development;
- (2) Expansion of Programs Controlled and Administered by the Band;
- (3) Organization, Administration and Communications;
- (4) On-Reserve Education;
- (5) Public Buildings and Facilities;
- (6) Housing and Related Amenities;
- (7) Public Health.

The second group, the "not so good" things, includes:

- (8) Economic Development and Employment;
- (9) Social Assistance Payments;
- (10) Training and Post-Secondary Education;
- (11) Alcohol Abuse.

A pattern can be seen in the division between the two groups. Those features in the first group are, for the most part, all subject to the direct control of the leadership, administrative or program staff of the Band, and progress reflects the energy and capacity of those people. In some respects, success resulted simply from successful political lobbying and resultant increases in the amounts of money available and access to new programs. The second group of features require not just leadership, organization and money, but new skills and attitudes in the entire population.

We said earlier that progress in the second group had fallen short of what people hoped and could reasonably expect to accomplish. Certainly they have fallen short of what people hoped, because very clearly the Band hoped to release itself from unemployment and dependence on welfare. Whether it is reasonable to expect more progress in the time available is another question. To bring the attitudes and skills required for successful economic and social development to all levels of the Band is clearly a long-term undertaking, requiring possibly a generation or more.

Analysis of developments at Kehewin suggests that economic self-sufficiency is a more difficult goal for Indian people than for the rest of Canadian society, perhaps because, as Chatain suggests, dependence is built into interpretations of the Treaties that have been accepted by both Government and Indians. If this is so, then to become as self-sufficient as other Canadians requires individual Indian people either to renounce the benefits of the Treaties, or to take them without becoming dependent, an attitude requiring extraordinary personal discipline. It seems unlikely that many Indian people will be prepared to renounce Treaty benefits; in fact, such a step appears to be unthinkable. Self-sufficiency for the majority, therefore, will come only with time, when the required attitudes and habits have had a chance to percolate through the barriers of dependence, the "welfare curtain", as Chatain calls it.

Our observations of people at Kehewin suggest that three groups can be identified. At the top are those who are capable of motivating and disciplining themselves to become self-sufficient, who can see the practical and personal advantages, and who have the initiating capacity and persistence to succeed. The second group consists of those who can follow the example set by the first group, that is, who can become self-sufficient if they are shown how. At the bottom is the third group, who will only become self-sufficient if pushed into it by necessity or social pressure. The Treaties and the welfare system effectively remove stark necessity as a motivating force, and social pressure will only be felt when the dependent people become a minority of the Reserve population.

Although quantitative statements are not possible, we can observe the necessary processes at work among the people of Kehewin. In our judgement, it is a great accomplishment to have initiated that process and carried it so far in the time since 1971. But the recent increases in social assistance rates and the continuing high rate of unemployment suggest that progress is still fragile, and that significant backsliding could easily occur.

2. Features of the Development Process

(1) Leadership and Political Development

Probably one of the most significant changes to the social and political life of Kehewin since 1971 has been the emergence of a small group of people, most of them fairly young, as leaders of the Reserve. They perform this function in two respects. Often they occupy positions of formal leadership as chiefs, councillors and Band staff. Or they exercise leadership more informally, through the example they set for others. Some are businessmen and farmers, others are in various social service occupations, including teaching. They appear largely to have replaced the group that exercised direct influence over the community before 1971. Some members of the old group appear to have retained personal influence, but they are now at least one step removed from the centre.

It is interesting that with one exception, all chiefs and Band councillors have been men. Not many women run for office, and those that run do not win. The significance of this is difficult to judge. Perhaps it is simply traditional, despite the fact that many women are prominent on the Reserve, hold responsible staff positions, and are active in Band affairs.

With the new leadership has come new political attitudes and new political skills, which they apply to their dealings with governments, other Bands in the region, and the Provincial Indian Association. With all these groups Kehewin is capable of taking a strong and independent stand, and of making sure that its views are heard.

(2) Expansion of Programs Controlled and Administered by the Band

At the beginning of the decade the Band administered practically nothing. Its affairs were run by the Department of Indian Affairs. In the late 1960's Council took the decision to participate in the Grants to Bands program and to acquire its own staff. A Band manager and a welfare worker were hired in 1970.

The total employment project of 1972 was completely under Band control, as were the supporting services, including social assistance. These have been retained and, in some cases, expanded since then.

In 1975 the Band took over complete control of its new school and primary education program, and housing came at about the same time.

The only major service on Reserve that is not now controlled by the Band is health care, which remains under the Department of National Health and Welfare. The chart on page 85 shows the entire scope of Band responsibilities.

Although the Band would probably like to fill all Band positions with its own Band members, or at least with Indian people, it still needs non-Indian professionals for certain types of work. Those now on the Band staff are the controller, director of economic development, agriculture director, social development officer, the school principal, and all certified teachers. Notwithstanding this, several Band members occupy senior administrative posts and others are doing well as para-professionals in the school and medical clinic.

(3) Organization, Administration and Communication

Kehewin has been able to tap a number of government programs that would not otherwise have been available, because it has established organizations and administrative practices that were at least adequate. Kehewin certainly does not boast a smooth-running bureaucratic machine, and the reports of various auditors show that at times, financial record-keeping has been only one jump ahead of chaos. Administrative consistency has also been hampered at time by what is usually referred to as "politics". But however close the line may have been at times, administrative affairs held together reasonably well, and considering all the circumstances, and considering the Band's almost total lack of previous administrative experience, that is a significant accomplishment.

A particular example is the arrangement that was made after the beginning of the winter works projects in 1972. By February 1972, within a month or two of start-up, the administration was being reorganized into a number of departments, with specific responsibilities and clear instructions not to interfere with each other. Coordination was accomplished by weekly staff meetings. The system may not have worked perfectly, but it worked well enough to prevent the programs from being destroyed by administrative confusion and lack of accounting for funds.

In 1975 Council was organized so that each councillor looked after a specific portfolio. In theory, the system was set up to look like this:



The main argument in favour of this system is that it allows elected officials to control the policies and practices of administrative departments, so that elected people and not officials are, in a real sense, running the programs. The argument against points to the undeniable fact that political interference makes some programs extremely difficult to administer.

The organization chart above is delightfully simple, but what emerges in fact is more complicated. For example, situations have existed and still exist where the portfolio councillor was also the portfolio director, or where the other staff reporting to the director includes one or more Band councillors, perhaps even the councillor who is responsible for the portfolio.

It is not wise to judge a situation like this too quickly. A community that is relatively rich in trained, experienced people can afford to take a hard line on conflicts of interest, and to insist that elected officials cannot hold staff jobs under the Council. To enforce that at Kehewin, however, would probably weaken either the Council or the administration, by eliminating some capable people from certain offices. Even though it is not the best situation, Kehewin will probably have to live with a tangled chain of command for some time to come.

The people who are likely to react most strongly against this arrangement are highly qualified professionals (Indian or non-Indian) hired as program directors. These people usually believe they have been hired to do a job that they know how to do, and while they are normally accustomed to working within policies laid down by elected people, they do not respond well to political interference. Whether such a person finds the Kehewin system tolerable or not probably depends on his or her personal relationships with councillors.

We suggest that Kehewin is probably better off with the portfolio system and its flaws, as long as Band councillors recognize what those flaws are, and will work to minimize their effects on programs. To operate the system without destructive tension will require a good deal of understanding and communication within the system. These have not always been available, and some of the high turnover of staff can be traced to that fact.

The Council holds monthly Band meetings at which detailed reports are presented by portfolio councillors and/or directors. Many of our respondents commented favourably on the practice of sending minutes of these meetings to all Band households. Regular communication with Band members appears now to be a well-established tradition at Kehewin.

(4) On-Reserve Education

The new school is one of the undoubted highlights of the last decade, and is doing well. Our interviews revealed a great deal of enthusiasm and support for the school which is clearly perceived as an important contributor to and symbol of Kehewin's progress. The Band Council has passed a Resolution to enforce school attendance, and this, coupled with the community's enthusiasm, has produced a very good attendance record up to the end of grade 6. After grade 6, when children begin attending school in Bonnyville, attendance reportedly drops off, however.

It is too early for real judgements about the effect of the new school on personal and community development. The first students who have received their entire elementary education on Reserve will not reach grade 7 until the Fall of 1981.

The flaws in the building itself are a nuisance, and will probably add significantly to the cost of up-keep in the future, but they do not affect the program or detract from the school's contribution. The school is an attractive addition to the physical landscape, and people are proud of it.

All the objectives set down at the beginning have not been attainable with the available time and resources. Priority has been given to conventional school development with an added Cree component, and the idea of using the facility for adult education and general community purposes has been set aside. Carney's evaluation [4] shows that Kehewin has a reasonably good rural elementary school. The major problem that persists is bridging the transition from the Kehewin school to Bonnyville.

(5) Public Buildings and Facilities

Various employment and capital works projects have resulted in construction of a number of public buildings and other facilities.

As far as we have been able to determine, the Reserve in 1971 contained the old Band Hall, the old Band office (formerly the Indian agent's house), the white school, Our Lady of Mercy's church, and St. Joseph's chapel. These buildings are still there. Improvements to the heating arrangements have been made in the church. The Band Hall was renovated in 1979 after its transfer to Preventive Social Services. The school has been converted to a recreation facility. The old Band office is once again used as a residence.

The new buildings that have been added are:

- (i) A tannery constructed in 1972, subsequently burned, and then replaced in 1979;
- (ii) Ball diamond, bleachers and rodeo grounds - 1972/73;
- (iii) Skating rink and sheds - date?;
- (iv) Day care centre - 1972;
- (v) Weaving factory - 1973;
- (vi) Carpenter shop - 1972 or 1973;
- (vii) Steel plant - 1973;
- (viii) School - 1975;
- (ix) Multiplex - 1978.

According to respondents in our interviews, these attractive new buildings constitute one of the highlights of the past nine years.

(6) Housing and Related Amenities

This part of the evaluation is based on material received from the Kehewin Consulting Group.

Housing at Kehewin is now comparable with the rest of rural Alberta. The present housing inventory (December 1979) is 100 units, 93 houses and 7 mobile homes. Three mobile homes were installed in 1979, three in 1976, and one in 1970. Of the 93 houses, 29 (31%) were constructed in 1976, 1978 and 1979, under the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's rental program; 43 (46%) were constructed between 1971 and 1975 (1 of them a private home financed by C.M.H.C.), of which 34 have been improved under C.M.H.C.'s Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) which was first used by Kehewin in 1976; and 21 (23%) were constructed before 1971, of which 12 have been improved under RRAP.

Of the total 100 units, 90% have either been installed since 1971 (including those built that year) or, if constructed earlier, have been improved under RRAP.

Eleven houses were unoccupied at the time of the inventory. Of the 89 occupied houses 6, with 23 people, were in poor condition, and 10, with 43 people, were in fair condition. 88% of total occupants live in good housing.

All houses have electricity, 86 have water trucked from the treatment plant, 76 have complete plumbing, and 91 have furnaces.

First approaches to CMHC to bring their programs onto the Reserve were made in 1971, and the first houses were constructed in 1976/77. At present, 10 to 12 new houses are being built each year under CMHC's rental program, and about 20 are being renovated with CMHC's Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP). CMHC provides loans, and this departure from the traditional grant system has been well received. It also allows for houses of greatly improved quality and appearance. Nevertheless, the Band has had difficulty with delinquent accounts, surprisingly often from Band members who are employed (for others, payments are made by Social Assistance), and some tough steps will have to be taken if housing improvements are to continue.

Associated with housing has been the provision of water, roads and sanitation. Kehewin has a glacial till overlay of from ten to about sixty feet with impervious rock below. This limits the chances of strong aquifers. As long as houses did not have indoor plumbing, dug or bored wells that depended on seepage were adequate, but they could not meet the needs of houses with modern facilities and equipment, such as automatic washers. In addition, the new school had to be serviced, and extensive testing found no adequate wells. The solution was installation of a pumphouse with water treatment facilities at Kehewin Lake and delivery of water by tank truck to cisterns. Construction of the pumphouse began in June 1973.

While the school was being planned, the Band also considered developing a townsite with provision for a new administrative and recreation centre, a store and other community facilities, and residential housing. It was realized that sewer, piped water and gas could not otherwise be provided economically. The Band finally accepted the principle of a townsite in 1978 and proposals were submitted to DREE for funding. At the same time, funding was obtained to increase the capacity of the North East Coop pipeline to the south of Muriel Lake so that the Reserve could be connected to it at some future date. It is hoped that a sewage lagoon can be constructed in 1980.

The house building and repair program was not without its difficulties. Skilled labour was in short supply; in fact, the first new housing program was also a training program. Competent foremen were difficult to obtain. Absenteeism was common. And financial controls were weak. With each succeeding year, however, the situation improved and housing construction is now considered to be on a business-like basis with proper supervision and controls.

The decision to make use of CMHC programs was made in the face of opposition by the Indian Association of Alberta, an example of the preparedness of Kehewin to take an independent political stance.

(7) Public Health

Although we received conflicting data, there seems little doubt that health conditions on the Reserve are quite good, and have improved since 1971. Evidence of this comes from interviews with health officials, from statistics on the incidence of chronic illness and rates of immunization, from a submission by the Infection Control Committee of the Bonnyville St. Louis Hospital, and from the improvements to housing and sanitation facilities.

Hospital admissions reported by National Health and Welfare show an increase of 33½% from 1972 to 1974, and a very slight increase (5.4%) from 1974 to 1977. Data from Alberta Hospitals and Medical Care show very large increases in 1976 and 1977, but these probably result from better data-collecting methods, rather than from a real increase in disease rates.

(8) Economic Development

The economic development problem that confronted Kehewin in 1971 was considerable. Approximately 98% of the labour force was unemployed, and Band members generally had work experience only in low-paid, insecure labouring types of jobs. Considering population size and probable labour force participation, approximately 125 jobs were needed. The primary objective of the economic development program was to build jobs, mainly on the Reserve, for these people. A second objective was to establish enterprises that would generate revenues for the Band.

By 1979, population increases had brought the total number of jobs required to about 160, an increase of 35. By then, based on the results of our household interviews, a maximum of perhaps 50 people could be considered employed steadily and with reasonable security. About the same number (approximately) work from time to time, at seasonal jobs or when there is construction on the Reserve. In 1971, therefore, employment was about 2½% of what might reasonably be expected. By 1979 this fluctuated between 30% and 60%. This is a marked improvement, but a considerable employment problem still remains.

The economic objective that appeared to be set in the early 1970's was self-sufficiency. Probably only the 30% who are steadily employed could be considered self-sufficient, and maybe not some of them. The group who work from time to time are mainly dependent on various Band programs.

Some of the responses we received shed some light on the reasons why progress in this area has not been more rapid. Some of these reasons are not well documented, and are advanced here for purposes of discussion.

One fairly obvious reason is population growth. The potential labour force is increasing by approximately 3% per year, or about 5 jobs. People have been becoming steadily employed at about the same rate. Because so much unemployment existed at the beginning of the decade, people would have had to be brought into steady employment at the rate of about 17 per year to achieve "full employment" in 10 years.

Another reason probably lies in the one great failure of the government effort during the 9 years. For the most part, government response in all program areas has been good, and certainly much better than in previous years. But cancellation of the Task Force in 1973 appears to have retarded the economic development process significantly.

It is difficult to be sure about this. Employment in 1972 through the winter works and associated programs reportedly reached 146, indicating a very high level of labour force participation. Probably that level of enthusiasm could not have been kept up indefinitely. But the Reserve appeared to have built up some momentum, and to have made some progress in the effort to make working, rather than unemployment and welfare, the established way of life. At least partly, that came about because of the string-pulling and red-tape-cutting capacities of the Task Force. No government program, the Task Force included, could have created the initial drive and determination of the people. They had to come from within. But the Task Force was able to respond and to keep feeding these highly constructive feelings. When the Task Force went, much of the momentum was lost.

The remaining reasons all appear to lie within the Reserve itself. One is what appears to be a strong reluctance on the part of many people to work off the Reserve, or at least very far away. Employment opportunities on the Reserve have been increasing, largely because of very aggressive pursuit of job-creation programs, capital projects, housing, the steel plant, and the weaving factory, but most jobs are of a short-term or seasonal nature, do not represent long-term employment, and do not cultivate marketable skills. One exception has been the on-the-job training that was combined with construction of CMHC housing.

Another reason has been a lack of individual initiative, according to some informants, who say that many people rely much too heavily on the Band council to supply them with jobs. And although the Council tries hard, it does not have the financial capacity to employ everyone.

Certain aspects of contemporary Reserve culture create extra hurdles which young people must overcome. One is early family creation. Many young couples and single parents have family responsibilities before they are twenty years of age, before they have had time to build up any capital in cash, training or job experience. They are tied down at a time in their lives when they need to be most flexible. Another is the pattern of adolescent social life, with its emphasis on drinking, drugs and other harmful practices that affect performance at school and at work.

The Reserve's alcohol problem, wherever it shows up, is a threat to the economic development program.

Another issue that was raised with respect to the local work-force is their reputed lack of ability to cope with pressure, especially pressures associated with modern industrial and commercial employment. When placed in a pressure situation, so this argument goes, native people tend to seek one or more avenues of escape: not to perform the task they are being pressured to do; to start drinking, or to leave. Any of these escapes involves loss of the job.

This explanation for the behaviour of Indian people in the work place must stand only as an hypothesis, since it has never been tested, as far as we know. Perhaps the ability to withstand pressure comes simply with experience. Some recent work in the Fort McMurray area raised the possibility that the difficulty is not with pressure itself, but with the source of the pressure--usually a non-Indian supervisor.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that residents of Kehewin have had great difficulty fitting into the regional labour force off the Reserve, except in the lower sorts of labouring jobs, and there must be some explanation for that fact. Education, culture, unpleasant experiences in the past, all probably play their part, all mixed in together. But whatever the explanation is, the Band will have to find it out, and conquer it, if they hope to take advantage of the extraordinary opportunities for wealth and material advancement that oil sands development will bring to their region.

Another factor that was mentioned as an impediment to the economic development process is "politics", by which was meant the tendency of successive Band councils to award jobs to people without too much regard for their actual qualifications or ability to do the work.

To a considerable extent this argument rests on a clash of priorities. Jobs for Band members, especially those with family responsibilities, rank high on any Council's list of priorities, reflecting the views of Band members. Several Band enterprises, especially the steel plant, are expected also to operate as training projects, and the immediate productive capacities of an employee are less important than his or her potential. Nonetheless, applying the Council's hiring policies to enterprises that are expected to produce at competitive costs can create serious problems, and put the future of those enterprises in jeopardy.

To summarize, then, our evaluation of the economic development effort of the past eight years:

(1) It appears that top priority has been given to creation of long-term job opportunities on the Reserve, through agriculture and various Band enterprises. Results have been mixed, and only a handful of permanent jobs have been created that do not rely on some form of outside subsidy.

(2) The second priority has been given to short-term job creation programs, sponsored by Indian Affairs or the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission. Often money has been available only for these types of programs. They have been successful at creating short-term employment, but have not been generally successful at preparing people for entry into the permanent workforce.

(3) A few individuals on the Reserve are doing very well indeed in their own businesses (agriculture, construction, contracting, etc.) or in off-Reserve employment.

(4) Most residents have not yet been able to break into the off-Reserve labour force with any permanence. Barriers will have to be broken down quickly, if the Reserve is to realize much benefit from oil sands development.

(9) Social Assistance Payments

To reduce the dependence of the Band on social assistance has been the first objective of Band policy since 1971. But except for the brief period of the total employment strategy in 1972 and 1973, rates of usage have remained high. It is hard to be statistically precise about rates of usage, because the records show only total amounts expended, and some crude assumptions must be used to put those onto a real per-capita basis. When that is done, however, the data indicate that rates of usage dropped sharply in 1972 and 1973, but bounced back again thereafter. At present rates 1979/80 could be nearly as bad a year as 1971/72.

In a very real sense, the social assistance situation is simply the reverse side of the employment and economic development situation, and follows the same analysis. The key question, about which we heard many opinions but have little data, is this: to what extent does the existence of a generous system of benefits undermine the other developmental work? Several people during our household interviews expressed the opinion that social assistance is too easily available.

The Council has made various attempts to control social assistance by making it very difficult for single people without handicaps or dependents to collect. But these do not seem to have much effect. People accept social assistance as part of their entitlement and part of their way of life.

(10) Higher Education and Training

Until 1977-78 only a small number of Band members had successfully completed training. In the last two years both participation and success rates appear to have improved, but the work force is still not highly trained, for the most part. There are a few notable exceptions, however, especially among the women who have been taking university-level training as teachers and para-teachers,

We were not able to analyse all the reasons for the low rates of success in training programs over the years. In some cases it appears that people and courses were not well matched. Also, people who drop out of school, wait for a few years, and then try to push their way back into upgrading and training, are bound to have difficulties, especially if they have families to raise.

A general upgrading of the labour force is a long-term undertaking, but the Reserve is now under some pressure, because of oil sands development, which will only widen the gap between the trained and the untrained.

(11) Alcohol Abuse

Even though severe alcohol abuse affects a minority of households on the Reserve, and even though it may well be less severe than in other places, it remains a serious problem. Perhaps one of its most serious effects is that it occupies the time and attention of the Band Council and Band staff, who could use their energies more productively in other ways. According to the evidence of Council minutes, long hours have been spent wrestling with the problems of individual Band members, and the problems they create for others. The other serious effect is on children, who may, because of physical effects experienced before birth, or physical and emotional effects experienced after it, be placed at a disadvantage.

Everybody we talked with agreed that there are people on the Reserve who drink too much at least some of the time. But views differ widely on just how serious the problem is. Our evidence suggests strongly that for a significant number of people, it is a serious problem for them and their dependents. Since, under the Band's social and political system, the Band as a whole is responsible for the well-being of its members, this says to us that alcohol abuse is a serious problem for the Band as a whole.

3. The Total Community Approach

On pages 6 to 8, we described the Total Community Approach as a progression through five stages: dealing with felt needs; identification of skills and resources; intensification and introduction to the hard realities; efficient and marketable production; and reorganization.

The Total Community Approach began at Kehewin in the correct manner, with response to the Reserve's felt need, which was to eliminate social assistance (except for health cases) for a period of 4 months. It appears that this was a very successful venture. The effect on community attitudes was so pronounced that even the medical cases came down to get jobs. Working had become "the thing to do". Under a series of extensions of programs, momentum was maintained well into 1973.

We have not received any information to suggest that a formal process of identification of skills and resources was carried out as follow-up to the works programs, but no doubt an informal process was in effect. At the very least, people would tend naturally to migrate towards the most suitable jobs, within the range available.

In 1973 the Task Force was disbanded, and although the various projects carried forward into what ought to have been the intensification stage and introduction to the hard realities, things were left to take their natural course, without any planned, deliberate action behind them. The hard realities certainly came home, closing the steel plant and battering the weaving factory. But no programming was done to help the community deal with these events in a constructive, developmental way. The Reserve was no longer able to afford the Total Community Approach. From then on all developmental work was piecemeal.

We believe that the decision to pull the Task Force approach out of Kehewin in this abrupt way did great harm to the community. Whatever senior officials thought about the Approach in general, or Chatain and what he was doing at Kehewin in particular, to leave so quickly left the community dangling in the middle of a process that seemed to be having constructive results.

No doubt the success of the early years was the result of a very fortunate mix of circumstances and personalities; perhaps the Total Community Approach will only work when these are right. Perhaps the personalities and circumstances are more important than the Approach. Among the factors that contributed to the initial success were:

- the virtually unanimous resolve of the Reserve to break the welfare habit;
- the political, organizational and administrative skills shown by Band leadership and senior staff;
- the personalities and interests of the Minister, the Assistant Deputy Minister, and Chatain;
- the social and economic climate of the early 1970's, that made money for developmental programs relatively easy to get.

The Total Community Approach is shock tactics applied to community development. It does not rely on careful social analysis, research, assessment of needs, planning, learned discussion, animation, or anything like that. It is based on the idea that excitement and activity are constructive things, that once started in the short term, can be managed and turned to achieve development. The Kehewin experience shows that the response can be obtained if conditions are right, but that it must be sustained for longer than two years.

Certainly Kehewin has not fallen back to its 1971 position. The Reserve as a whole, and many individual families and persons have continued to progress in many ways. In the development of local government, and in improvement of housing, facilities and infrastructure, the objectives set in 1971 have been substantially met. But the Reserve is still a long way from economic self-sufficiency, despite the well-doing of some enterprises and individuals.

4. Causes

The Terms of Reference ask for some discussion of the reasons behind the "great socio-economic changes" since 1971 and ask the question, "Are there particular requirements necessary to initiate such changes: are these internal or can they be externally induced?" Had the situation become so bad on the Reserve in the 1960's that the initiative grew out of a general community belief that things had gone down far enough, and that the time for stopping the slide had come? Or, was it the result of internal leadership that was able to convince people to take control of community life and demand some government response? Or, were both these forces at work? What were the roles played by the old leadership, the new leadership, band members and the Department of Indian Affairs? Who was pushing or pulling whom?

Through the available documentary material and interviews we are able to draw the following conclusions with reasonable confidence:

(1) While conditions on the Reserve in the late 1960's were not good, and while housing conditions and dependence on social assistance were causing considerable concern, there is no evidence that the Reserve was in a state of social collapse.

(2) The new leadership certainly played a significant role, apparently appealing directly to general Band membership, perhaps even over the heads of the old leadership. The old leadership is reported to have resisted the new at first, although some individuals from the old group soon became closely associated with the new.

(3) The new leadership developed by taking advantage of the resources made available under the Grants to Bands program, which was called onto the Reserve by the old leadership. These resources were principally staff time, that was used to organize people on the Reserve and make more aggressive pursuit of government programs. In a very real way, therefore, Kehewin's progress grew out of Indian Affairs' encouragement of local government.

(4) Once the local government program became available, the initiative passed to the Band, with Indian Affairs adopting a neutral, or more probably, non-existent role as the next stages unfolded. Only after direct contact was made with the Minister, as a result of the school strike and sit-in, and the Task Force had become involved, did the role of the Department become one of active support. Not all officials agreed with the activities at Kehewin, but those who did were in senior positions and could command resources.

(5) It appears that the critical initiating factor was the new leadership, but they could not have succeeded without the active enthusiasm of Band membership, which was stirred up because of people's unhappiness with the situation on the Reserve. Another important factor was the lack of deep divisions between clans or factions on the Reserve, such as are observed on other Reserves. Certainly there were disagreements and people who did not support the initiatives, at least at first. But when the chips were down, the Reserve as a whole was prepared to work as a unit. Leaders were thus able to sustain an aggressive program of political lobbying, which resulted in extra funds being made available.

Once the Reserve had taken the initiative, the Departmental and general governmental response was very good, and very important. The Department first demanded proof that the resolve to eliminate social assistance was widely supported by the Band. When this proof was provided, the response from Indian Affairs and Canada Manpower was swift, generous, and what the community wanted. This allowed no time for community enthusiasm to die down, or for internal bickering to take over.

(6) The fact that Kehewin showed itself able to administer the resulting programs at least adequately was a key factor in justifying continued governmental support. There were some problems with financial control, but they never became serious enough to force funding agencies to back away.

(7) Nothing in the Kehewin experience suggests that the drive that produces developmental initiative can be directly induced from outside the community, but it can be actively encouraged, by making resources available that will help communities to organize, and by responding quickly. The response that Kehewin received, however, was not mindless and uncritical. The Band's representatives were challenged to prove that what they wanted to do, and wanted government to support, was feasible, that is, was supported by the vast majority of Band members.

5. Summary of Evaluation: Progress Towards Objectives

In order to give a final summary of our evaluation, we will discuss the progress that has been made towards the four objectives that were listed in Section 1.

(1) Economic Self-Sufficiency

This is a very complex objective, as we discussed in Section 1, and as Chatain discussed in his paper [5], because of the dependency that is assumed to be built into the Treaties. There are many examples of aggressive programming on the Reserve designed to increase self-sufficiency, and some encouraging signs of progress, especially in the cases of a few people who have attained personal self-sufficiency, or who are successfully involved in training. On the other hand, social assistance is still widely distributed and relied on, even by people who are well able to work, and do work whenever job creation programs are supplied.

We can only conclude that, whatever progress has been made, a great deal of work remains to be done before self-sufficiency is firmly rooted.

(2) Political and Administrative Self-Government

Here, clearly, the results have been very good, and this objective has been firmly achieved. The amount of local self-government is, in fact, greater than that enjoyed by other local governments in Alberta, despite the fact that revenues do not come from local taxation. The amount of regulation that central government imposes on Kehewin is now minimal, largely as a result of current Indian Affairs programs that encourage local government.

(3) Housing and Related Conditions

This objective too has seen very substantial progress, and almost all housing is now reasonably (some very) attractive, healthy and comfortable, with basic utilities at least equal to standards generally available in rural Alberta.

(4) Reduction of Isolation and Relations with Neighbours

We were not able to examine the relations of Kehewin with other communities in the region, but based on patchy information, it would appear that some progress is being made. Kehewin is working closely with other Reserves through the Tribal Chiefs Association. It is represented on the regional Preventive Social Services Board. Negotiations over the Esso project are bringing Kehewin more actively into regional affairs.

6. Costs

The approach that has been used at Kehewin has required large expenditures. One way to look at this is to estimate what the budget would have been if the financial structure had remained as it was in 1971/72, and then compare the results with actual expenditures. This is not a precise method, obviously, but it will help to determine orders of magnitude.

Our method was to assume that real per capita social assistance would remain at the 1971/72 level, and that social assistance would continue to require 50% of the budget, as it did that year. We compared the resulting series to actual expenditures adjusted by removing housing and much of the cost of education, since these were items that Indian Affairs was paying for, and that were transferred to the Band. They were not extra expenditures incurred because of programming at Kehewin.

The results of this crude analysis show that the cost of operating Kehewin's developmental program has required roughly twice as much money as would have been required without it. In very rough figures, this means an extra \$0.6 million in 1979 dollars, or about \$1,000 per capita.

The first results of this expenditure have been the political, organizational and physical benefits described in section 2, and significant real progress towards Band objectives. Economic development and employment are still lagging, despite some aggressive programming. Progress there may well come, and all the other advances strengthen the necessary foundations. But more time, and a continued high rate of expenditure, are going to be required.

7. Practical Implications

It is outside our terms of reference to give recommendations, but some practical implications arise from our findings:

(1) Kehewin has seen and used the power of strong, unanimous, well-organized community resolve, and has found that this can be encouraged by Band leadership, for the benefit of the community. This raises the possibility that this resolve could be stirred up again directed, for example, against unemployment, and possibly even against alcohol abuse.

(2) Kehewin will need an economic development program with a broader base, more closely matched with the diverse characteristics of its present labour force. The working population can be divided into three broad groups--the top level, who probably are now capable of working anywhere; a middle level, who are responding or will respond to training and development, but who are not yet productive enough to survive in the work force off the Reserve; and a bottom level that will have difficulty working except in make-work projects on the Reserve.

The economic development/employment program should try first of all to have jobs for all three levels or, in the case of the top level, to supply placement information and assistance that will help people find work off Reserve. No funded program is going to pay wages that will nearly compare with what will be paid off Reserve, when the effect of oil sands plant construction is felt. All training and job-creation programs should be aimed to create marketable skills and to move people up through the labour-force hierarchy. Wages and social pressure should be used to make sure that people do not occupy positions below their level of capability.

(3) Whether anything is done about the alcohol problem will depend on perceptions about whose problem it is. If it is thought only to be an individual problem, then a "wait until they come to us" philosophy is appropriate. But if it is the community's problem, then the community in self-defence may have to attack it more aggressively.

Apparently, though, more aggressive measures run counter to a traditional reluctance to interfere in other people's family lives. Any major community-organized assault on excessive drinking would certainly be that, since it would necessarily mean expressing direct disapproval of people's drinking behaviour, possibly backed up by sanctions.

PART II

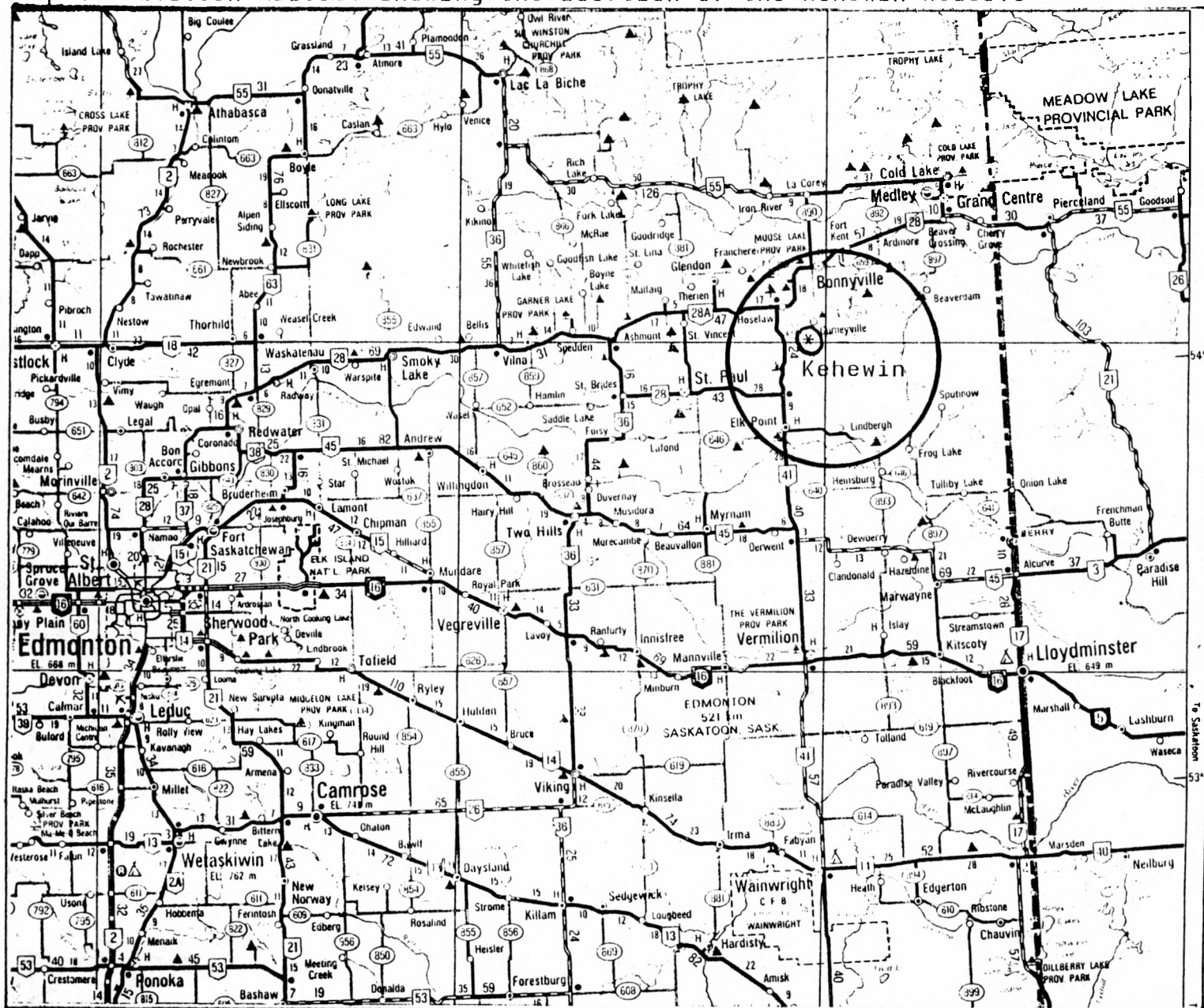
COMMUNITY PROFILE

1. Location and Maps

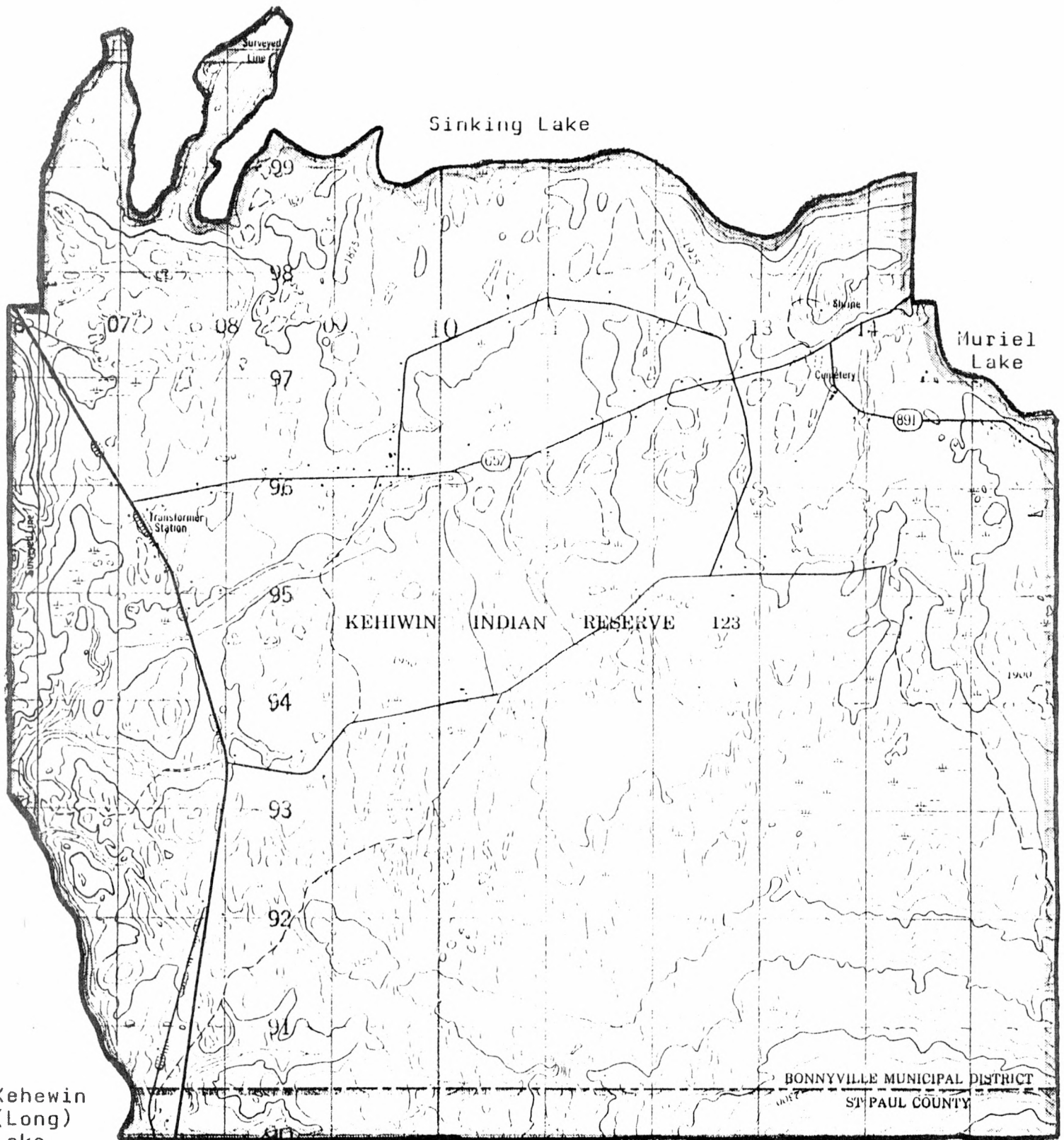
Map 1 shows the location of Kehewin in eastern Alberta to a scale of approximately 1:1,500,000.

Map 2 (next page) shows the topography, roads and features of the Reserve on a scale of 1:50,000.

Map 1: Eastern Alberta showing the Location of the Kehewin Reserve



Map 2: Topography, Roads and Features of the Kehewin Reserve



2. Population, Households and Household Characteristics

No perfect source of historical population data exists. Band lists are a reasonable source of age-sex data, and of counts of the total Band population, although they can be late sometimes in recording births. Their information on on-Reserve and off-Reserve residents is not always up to date. Non-members of the Band who live on Reserve are not recorded in any systematic way, but can be found through social assistance records and other administrative sources.

Table 1 shows the growth of the Kehewin Band from 1970 to 1978, with year to year percent changes. This was obtained by beginning with the June 1978 Band list, and adjusting backwards for births and deaths. It is, therefore, approximate, but should give an accurate picture of the pattern of growth. The average rate of growth since 1970 has been just over 3% per year, and is showing some sign of increasing. Band sources give the present (Fall 1979) population as 672.

Table 2 shows the age-sex characteristics of the 1978 Band population.

Table 1
Kehewin Band
Population 1970 to 1978

<u>Year</u>	<u>Approximate Population*</u>	<u>Percentage Increase from Previous Year</u>
1970	485	-
1971	495	2.1
1972	515	3.6
1973	540	5.1
1974	545	.9
1975	565	3.7
1976	580	2.1
1977	595	2.9
1978	620	3.9

* Rounded to the nearest multiple of five.

Table 2
Kehewin Band
Age-Sex Characteristics of 1978 Population

<u>Age Range</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Average Number in Each Year of Age Range</u>
0- 5	133	59	74	22.2
6-15	172	88	84	17.2
16-25	133	66	67	13.3
26-35	78	41	37	7.8
36-45	45	25	20	4.5
46-55	29	16	13	2.9
56-65	15	9	6	1.5
66-75	11	6	5	1.1
76 +	2	-	2	-
Total	618	310	308	

In 1978, 49.4% of the population was of age 15 or less. In 1973, the percentage of that age was between 48% and 48½%. (Source: Gobeil [6])

Table 3 gives the population of the Kehewin Reserve in the summer of 1979. This was based on our interviews and administrative sources, particularly social assistance records. Three types of people were found on the Reserve--those who live there permanently; those who were visiting temporarily; and those who seemed to be based on the Reserve, but did not live there all the time. We included the first and last categories in the on-Reserve population.

Table 3
Population Based on Kehewin Reserve - 1979
Band and Non-Band, by Age and Sex

Age Range	Band Members			Not Band Members*			Total		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
0 - 5	83	44	39	24	13	11	107	57	50
6 - 15	110	59	51	17	12	5	127	71	56
16 - 25	92	51	41	8	2	6	100	53	47
26 - 35	57	34	23	13	2	11	70	36	34
36 - 45	31	17	14	2	0	2	33	17	16
46 - 55	27	15	12	1	0	1	28	15	13
56 - 65	14	10	4	3	0	3	17	10	7
66 - 75	10	5	5	2	1	1	12	6	6
76 plus	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	12	3	9	12	3	9
Total	425	235	190	82	33	49	507	268	239

* Includes non-treaty and members of other Bands.

In the Fall of 1979 the Band carried out its own head count, and found that the Band population was distributed as follows:

431 people living permanently on Reserve;
27 living transiently on Reserve;
83 living on other Reserves; and
131 living permanently off Reserve.

The total population counted by the Band is 672.

3. Employment and Economic Development

(i) Human Resources

For purposes of this discussion we will restrict ourselves to Band members of working-force age, concentrating especially on those living on Reserve. Projecting from the age-sex data presented in the previous section, we estimate that the total Band population contains about 325 people of working-force age (16 to 65), approximately 53% of them male. Not all these live on Reserve, however, and Table 4 shows the composition of the working-age population living or based on Reserve.

Table 4

Working-Age Population Based on Reserve - 1979

	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Band Members	220	57	43
Not Band Members	35*	23	77
Total	255	52	48

* Approximate, because age of some people not known.

This study did not question people specifically about their training and skills, and must therefore rely on other sources. In general, they portray a labour force showing only moderate average training and skill levels. A 1978 survey by the Seven Band Development Committee showed that out of 108 respondents from the on-Reserve Kehewin labour force, only 43% had completed grade 9 or more, and only 9% grade 11 or more. And even that may over-state the situation, because it is not clear whether people interpreted the word "completed" to mean "successfully passed", or just "attended". We also received reports that many people have lost some of the skills they learned at school, because of disuse.

Information received from the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission and the Department of Indian Affairs indicates that while many people signed up for various training programs off Reserve, at various institutions and programs, only a few saw them through to completion. There were some notable successes, however.

Ninety-five (95) respondents to the Seven Bands survey said they had previous work experience, 15 as housewives, 23 in unskilled work, 14 in semi-skilled work, and 20 in skilled manual trades, to list the four largest categories. Of 113 people who responded to the question, 85 (75%) said they were able to work.

All this would indicate that approximately 190 people are now living on Reserve (165 of them Band members) who at least claim they are able to work. Some of these will be fully employed as housewives, and approximately 75% of women would be at least partly employed in that capacity. The number of men on Reserve who would be available for work is approximately 110 to 120, 95% of them Band members.

The work that these people could do varies greatly. At one end of the labour force is a small group, estimated number about 50, of well-trained and experienced people, who are now employed in various ways in farming, social services, administration or other skilled work, either on or off Reserve, or who are successfully taking advanced training. A middle group of perhaps twice that size, many of them young people, might be termed the developing labour force, who are obtaining on-the-job training and experience with varying degrees of success in construction, welding/steel fabricating or other activities sponsored by the Band, and who stand a chance to enter the labour force permanently. The remaining group is made up of those who will struggle along, working on Reserve when there is work for them to do, but who will not develop much beyond that. This last group would probably include most of the older members of the labour force.

(ii) Natural Resources

Sources of information on natural resources for the Kehewin Reserve were conversations with Band personnel, the Canada Land Inventory Maps, and the inventory prepared by Halgard Venture Analysis Ltd. [7].

Agricultural Land

"The Kehewin Reserve has an area of approximately 20,500 acres. The original survey made in 1884 covered 28 square miles (17,920 acres). The boundaries were readjusted by a survey made in 1904 and an addition, extending the northern boundary to Sinking Lake, was surveyed in 1905. Curiously, this northern tier of sections which had been surveyed under the Dominion Lands Survey System, did not bring with them the road allowances. So the legal effect is that the originally surveyed roads belong to the Province consequent upon the transfer of natural resources from the Dominion in 1930. To date, there is no evidence that problems arose from this anomaly.

" 'Soil Survey of the Sand River Area', report No. 34 of the Alberta Soil Survey, supplemented by air photographs taken in 1949 and 1972 and a ground examination in 1978 suggests that in the neighbourhood of about 8800 acres (if one deletes roads, housing sites, etc.) may be classed as 'cultivable' for cash crops and forage, mostly Class 3 and Class 4 soil types with undulating to moderately rolling topography. Air photographs will be taken in 1980 to determine the area actually cultivated. Based on interviews in 1978, it is estimated that about 3500 acres are now under cultivation. Two farmers each have over 1000 acres under cultivation.

"A feature of the soil on Kehewin not specifically considered in the Soil Report is stoniness, which annually takes its toll on farm machinery."

(Submission from the Kehewin Consulting Group.)

Minerals, Sand and Gravel

The Reserve contains no known deposits of minerals, sand or gravel.

Petroleum and Natural Gas

Almost all the Reserve area is now under oil and gas leases as a result of various sales. The details are shown in Table 5.

Ten wells have been drilled on the Reserve since 1953, and three in the area immediately to the south of the Reserve. Of the 10 holes on Reserve, three are potential producers and seven have been abandoned. Two additional potential wells exist just off the Reserve, with the Band holding a one-third interest. None of these wells is in production, and production capability is small. "This low deliverability plus remoteness from pipeline connections could mean several years before any of [Kehewin's] gas goes to market." (Letter to Chief Victor John from S. A. Kerr, Assistant Manager, Oil and Gas, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, May 12, 1978.) Data on 12 wells, two off Reserve and 10 on Reserve, as shown in Table 6.

Timber

There is no merchantable timber on the Reserve. The land is of poor quality for timber production, having at best moderately severe limitations for timber production, and at worst, no capability at all. The Reserve generally consists of agricultural land, or shows a complex pattern of areas either too dry or too wet for timber production.

A small amount of timber existed at the beginning of the decade, but was cut during the works projects of 1972 and 1973.

Fishery

Both Muriel Lake and Kehewin Lake are managed by the Province of Alberta as sport fishing lakes, but limited commercial fishing is allowed. Proposed quotas for winter season 1979-80 are:

Muriel Lake -	60,000 lbs whitefish,
<u>or</u>	5,000 lbs pike;
Kehewin Lake -	15,000 lbs tullibee,
<u>or</u>	1,500 lbs pike,
<u>or</u>	1,500 lbs walleye.

These quotas have remained at much the same levels during the past 10 years. (Source: Alberta Fish and Wildlife)

Table 5
Disposition of Oil and Gas Permits and Leases
Kehewin Reserve

<u>Contract No.</u>	<u>Term</u>	<u>Bonus</u>	<u>Acres</u>
Oil & Gas Permit 118-2019	Apr. 22/65 - May 22/66 (public tender)	\$ 16,161.61	whole of Reserve
Oil & Gas Permit 3014	Mar. 28/68 - Mar. 27/69 (public tender)	10,352.00	whole of Reserve
Oil & Gas Permit 3046	May 21/70 - Aug. 21/72 (public tender)	630.36	whole of Reserve
Oil & Gas Lease 3599	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	10,175.00	407
Oil & Gas Lease 3600	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	8,000.00	320
Oil & Gas Lease 3601	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	6,750.00	270
Oil & Gas Lease 3602	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	3,200.00	320
Oil & Gas Lease 3603	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	3,200.00	320
Oil & Gas Lease 3604	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	4,800.00	480
Oil & Gas Lease 3605	June 10/75 - June 9/85 (negotiated)	1,600.00	320
Oil & Gas Lease 3907	Aug. 30/79 - Aug. 29/84 (public tender)	13,752.09	319
Oil & Gas Lease 3908	Aug. 30/79 - Aug. 29/84 (public tender)	15,046.90	110
Oil & Gas Lease 3909	Aug. 30/79 - Aug. 29/84 (public tender)	10,063.35	55
Oil & Gas Lease 3910	Aug. 30/79 - Aug. 29/84 (public tender)	16,711.00	318
		<u>\$120,442.31</u>	

Table 6

Kehewin's Gas Wells

<u>Name and Location of Well</u>	<u>Year Drilled</u>	<u>Total Depth</u> (ft)	<u>Status*</u>	<u>Gas Flow</u> (MMcf/d)	<u>Pay Thickness</u> (ft)
<u>On Reserve</u>					
Johnson 3-26-59-6-W4	1953	1260	A		
Johnson 9-21-59-6-W4	1953	1325	A		
LL&E 10-18-59-6-W4	1968	1824	A		
LL&E 10- 6-59-6-W4	1968	1865	A		
Pennant 7-10-59-6-W4	1971	1875	C	.760	2.5
Pennant 11- 4-59-6-W4	1976	1857	A		
Pennant 6- 2-59-6-W4	1976	2101	A		
Algas 11- 3-59-6-W4	1978	1933	C	1.988	17.7
Algas 11- 8-59-6-W4	1978	1839	A		
Algas 11-19-59-6-W4	1978	**	C	**	**
<u>Off Reserve</u>					
Pennant 10-31-58-6-W4		1813	C	.210	n.a.
Kissinger 6-35-58-6-W4		2509	C	5.700	n.a.

Source: Indian Minerals (West), Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Calgary.

* A=abandoned; C=capped.

** Confidential

Reports say that two Kehewin fishermen have licenses for fishing in Muriel and Kehewin Lakes, but they are not geared for commercial production. Another resident received grants and loans for a commercial outfit in 1978. The enterprise was not successful.

Recreational Land

The Canada Land Inventory appraises almost all Reserve land as having moderately low capability for outdoor recreation, that is, as suitable for low rates of usage for dispersed activities, but not suitable for any intensive use. Two spots along Kehewin Lake have slightly higher capability, but still are not suitable for large crowds. This land is now used for agriculture.

The Band maintains a campsite with few facilities on Muriel Lake, which may be developed further for Band use. At one time a ski development was proposed for the north face of St. Joseph's Hill, but it appeared not to be a commercial possibility, and may be opened only for Band use.

According to the Canada Land Inventory, both Kehewin Lake and Muriel Lake have no significant limitations for sport fishing. Sinking Lake is limited by inadequate depth and low oxygen levels.

Wildlife

There is no organized, commercial trapping on Reserve, but a very small amount of recreational trapping is done. The fur-bearing population is reported to be small.

Many Band members are said to hunt for meat, mainly small game such as ducks, geese, grouse and rabbits, and a few deer. The moose population is reported to be very low, and few animals are taken.

Reports said that in the early 1970's hunts off Reserve were periodically organized at Band expense, to procure meat for general distribution. This practice seems to have died away. Some individual hunting is done off Reserve.

The Canada Land Inventory considers the Reserve area to provide fairly good ungulate (deer and moose) habitat. Parts are limited by inappropriate topography or poor soil fertility.

Summary

In general, except for agricultural land, the Reserve is not at all rich in natural resources. The only non-agricultural resource showing any economic potential to speak of is natural gas, but production seems indefinitely postponed, because of lack of markets and poor access to distribution systems. Even if existing wells were producing, there seems no likelihood of major resource revenues, although they might yield a useful addition to cash flow. Lease fees yield a small amount of revenue now.

(iii) Agricultural Development

The following is taken from material contributed to this study by the Kehewin Consulting Group:

"Although a number of attempts were made to start Band agricultural enterprises [in the early 1970's]-- a band farm, a rotating herd plan and cattle coop-- they were entirely dependent on contributions from Indian Affairs and were largely controlled by the bureaucracy. They all failed due to inconsistent funding and changes in government policies and supervisory personnel.

"Up to recently, agriculture on the Reserve has always been grant related and except for experiments mentioned in the previous paragraph, mostly a part-time individual operation. There are presently a number of outstanding exceptional farmers that compare favourably with enterprises off the Reserve. They are the result of individual initiative rather than any particular action on the part of the Council or Indian Affairs.

"With the appointment of a Director for Agriculture in 1978 the emphasis changed to developing individual entrepreneurs. Two farmers have now obtained financing under the Farm Credit Corporation and three more are being processed. But with the limited cultivable land, much of it requiring expensive development, the number of viable units is severely restricted unless funding is provided and people can be trained for specialized intensive enterprises such as poultry, hogs and market gardening.

"Financing under the Farm Credit Corporation is considered to be an interim measure. There are high hopes that the Alberta Indian Agricultural Corporation with its proposed infrastructure of agricultural advisors and a degree of subsidization conditional upon performance will accelerate development of individual enterprises.

"The 1979 experience with 41 home gardens was heartening and it is anticipated this home activity will increase in 1980. [The Band sponsored a competition among home gardeners with judging by the Alberta Department of Agriculture. The Band purchased a garden tractor to help people prepare their plots.]

"Associated with agricultural development is the problem of land tenure. Council has recognized that until some solution is found, the assembly of economic farm units will be difficult. A workshop is to be held in December 1978 to obtain some input from Band members and attempt to evolve an acceptable policy.

"Only one farmer has land off the Reserve financed under the Farm Credit Corporation. It is anticipated a few others will follow largely because of the desire to acquire equity.

"No land has been rented to off-Reserve farmers by the Band since 1975. Previously, land was occasionally leased but only for pasture. Off-Reserve farmers did no land development as happened with many Reserves farther south.

"Although the Band itself did not lease land [to outsiders], individual members holding land [under traditional land-tenure arrangements] have done and are still doing so. This is one land tenure problem that requires resolution.

"Up to the appointment by the Band of an agriculturist in 1978 and except for a short period in 1972-73 no effective agricultural services, particularly extension and training, were provided the Band. Essentially agriculture--coming under the administrative umbrella of "Economic Development"--was grant-oriented with little attention to training. A dependency was created which will be difficult to resolve.

"Dependent on the solution of the land tenure problem and acceptance of the Alberta Indian Agriculture Corporation as the financing arm for agriculture by Indian Affairs, it is probable that 10 to 12 conventional (i.e. coarse grain, rape, cow-calf) viable farms may be developed. With increasing population in the area due to the Esso development there is a requirement for specialized enterprises-horticultural crops, poultry producers--the limiting factors being managerial skills, trained personnel, marketing skills and financing. These will gradually evolve, but time limitations will be a formidable obstacle."

The Band is now training an agricultural extension worker with assistance from funds provided by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

(iv) The Organization of Economic Development at Kehewin

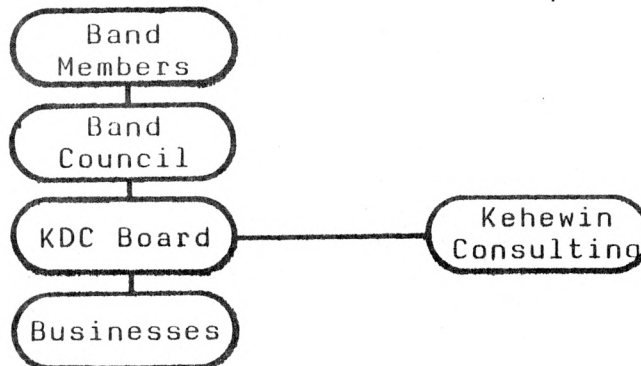
[The following sections (iv) to (vi) are based on submissions from the Kehewin Consulting Group, with some minor supporting interviews.]

The effort to create some form of organization to promote economic development began early in the decade with creation of an Economic Development Commission. This form of organization was not particularly successful, and was replaced in 1977 by an incorporated, non-profit organization called the Kehewin Development Corporation, whose purposes were:

- to facilitate initiation and monitoring of Council policies in Economic Development;
- to direct and control all Band enterprises;
- to negotiate funding proposals with the public and private sectors;
- to provide in-house management expertise to the Band and individual businesses;
- to provide consulting to outside groups.

The Board of directors was drawn from Band councillors, Band members and staff (economic development and finance).

The relationship between the Council, the Kehewin Development Corporation, and its enterprises is shown in the following diagram.



The corporation was created in an effort to avoid the dangers of political interference by Council members in the affairs of enterprises.

(v) Band-Owned Enterprises

Steel Plant

Kehewin Steel has had a somewhat chequered career. It was originated in 1972 as a welding school to be operated on the Reserve by Valere's construction of Bonnyville, and funded by Indian Affairs and the Band. A building was constructed and the school launched, but closed in 1974 (date uncertain). For two years or so the operation was opened and closed sporadically. Sometime in 1976 the plant opened again with funding from Indian Affairs and Canada Manpower, and has remained open ever since. At first it constructed ski-doo and boat trailers, then garages, then steel garbage bins, electrical boxes and ½-ton truck boxes, and now horse trailers. The Band hopes that the horse trailers will be sufficiently profitable to make the plant self-supporting. Until now it has depended on a \$414,822 LEAP (Canada Employment and Immigration Commission) grant spread over three years, expiring in January 1980.

Cree-ations

The weaving factory began as part of the winter works program of 1972, as a work opportunity for the women of the Reserve, and received a \$20,000 loan from the Indian Economic Development Fund to put it on a commercial basis. It began by making rugs with no particular Indian identity for the Quebec market, but was unable to hold a place in that market in the fact of increasing competition. The emphasis then turned to woven goods with a stronger cultural flavour.

The market for this proved to be steady but small, and the weaving factory has never really been solvent. Its woes, however, were not sufficient to close it down.

In March of 1979 some of the weaving employees decided that they could resolve productivity and other difficulties by taking control of the factory themselves, and it was turned over by the Council. A rationalizing of production methods, with piece-work payment to weavers, was carried out, and new markets sought. The long-term results of the new operation are not yet apparent, but the enterprise is functioning steadily.

Golden Eagle Store

The Multiplex building contained provision for a store, and this was opened in the Spring of 1979, with capital raised from retained earnings or excess cash-flow from other Band enterprises. The store has reportedly been doing enough business to ensure success, but has continuing difficulties with accounts receivable from Band members. Vigorous efforts are being made to educate Band members and bring this problem under control.

Golden Eagle Amusement Centre

A commercial amusement centre was opened in the Fall of 1979 using the old school building, with pool tables and pin-ball machines. It is too early to judge results, but reports indicate that a satisfactory amount of business is being done.

Kehewin Consulting Group

This Group consists of a number of Band staff members who participate in various pieces of research that are being carried out on Reserve, including this one. Turnover among staff has hampered growth to some extent, and has limited the Group's activities to studies on Reserve. The longer-term aim is to be able to consult to other Bands and organizations.

Kehewin Construction

Kehewin Construction was incorporated in 1978 to take advantage of internal tenders on housing and the Multiplex, that could provide a spring-board for expansion into contracting outside the Reserve. The company was involved with the Multiplex and with housing now being constructed on Reserve.

Other Enterprises

The Band has explored investments in various off-Reserve enterprises, but so far has not undertaken any. Examples are service stations in surrounding communities, commercial real estate and a ski hill.

(vi) Private Enterprises

In addition to the Band enterprises, a number of private businesses are operated by Band members:

- two large farms and some smaller ones;
- a basement-building construction company;
- a water-hauling operation (previously Band-owned, but taken over by a Band member);
- school buses (owned in the early 1970's by the Bus Coop, later sold to two Band members);
- an electrical contractor.

(vii) Job Creation and Training Programs(a) Job Creation Programs

Job creation programs have played an important part in Kehewin's economic development program since the total employment project was launched in 1971. Funds have come from various sources, and for various purposes, as shown below. Details presented in this section may not correspond exactly to the financial data shown in section 11, because we used a slightly different classification system there, and Band

financial statements do not always agree with information supplied by funding agencies. Some discrepancies also exist in timing--agency data usually show the date when the commitment was made; Band financial data show the date of receipt.

1971-72

This was the first year of commitments under Canada Works (Local Initiatives Program) for \$139,221. The number of jobs to be created is not known, but total employment on the Reserve is reported to have reached 146 early in 1972. Work done under the projects of this and the following year included logging, lumber production, construction of ball diamonds and rodeo facilities, tanning, weaving and craft production, stove-wood production and the fabrication of grain bins.

1972-73

The L.I.P. project begun the previous year continued, and a new one worth \$89,703 was added. According to the Band financial statements, \$43,132 of this was for the craft development program. Indian Affairs added \$66,937 for Work Opportunity Projects (W.O.P.)

1973-74

The third L.I.P. project paid \$32,265 and Canada Manpower also, according to the Band financial statements, paid \$31,288 in subsidies to the welding school. Indian Affairs contributed \$37,700 under W.O.P. The Band received \$948 for summer student employment, and paid out \$1,415.

1974-75

Receipts for employment dropped significantly, although construction of the new school offered a source of jobs on the Reserve. \$1,017 was received for student employment and \$17,735 for W.O.P. from Indian Affairs. The Provincial Government's Priority Employment Program (P.E.P.) yielded \$16,893.

1975-76

Canada Manpower and the Province of Alberta contributed \$1,441 for landscaping (the school?) and \$9,375 came from P.E.P. The Band received \$8,378 from the Province under the Student Temporary Employment Program (S.T.E.P.) and \$996 from Indian Affairs for student employment.

1976-77

Canada Manpower committed \$15,162 under L.I.P. for beach development on the Reserve. Indian Affairs provided \$17,220 under W.O.P. and \$48,490 under the Federal Labour Intensive Program (F.L.I.P.). The Band's employment program was now deeply buried in acronyms. (And funded by acrognomes?) \$6,922 was received for summer student employment.

1977-78

Canada Manpower again committed funds for beach and campsite development, this time \$12,288 under Young Canada Works. \$95,000 was promised towards the Multiplex under Canada Works. This was also the first year of a three-year, \$414,822 commitment under L.E.A.P. to subsidization of the Steel Plant. Indian Affairs supplied \$38,360 under W.O.P. and \$15,834 under F.L.I.P. High school student employment was supported by \$8,525, and the Summer Job Corps by \$8,541.

1978-79

The Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (formerly Canada Manpower) committed \$14,288 for community improvements under Canada Works. Indian Affairs paid \$37,084 for W.O.P. and \$1,500 for F.L.I.P. \$7,323 was received for summer student employment.

1979-80

The year is incomplete, but \$14,688 was committed by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission for landscaping of the Multiplex (under Young Canada Works), and W.O.P. funding for this winter is said to have been approved.

(b) Training Programs

Three sources of information about training programs were found: the Band financial statements, records of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, and the records of the Department of Indian Affairs. This last source lists courses taken by individuals in considerable detail, but does not always specify the results.

1971-72

No expenditures are shown on the financial statements. The Indian Affairs records show that 19 people were approved for training, 15 of them for up-grading and pre-technical courses, and 4 for para-professional occupations as teacher aides and counsellors. 13 withdrew or did not attend their courses, 3 completed them successfully, and the results for the remaining 3 are unknown.

1972-73

The Band financial statements show receipts of \$6,711 for "Special Courses--Training on the Job", but no expenditures. Indian Affairs' records show that 10 people were approved for training, 4 in a night course in ceramics (3 completions, 1 result unknown), 2 in an up-grading course (1 completion, 1 withdrawal) and 4 in various specific job-related courses (1 completion, 3 withdrawals).

1973-74

The Band financial statements show \$2,721 for training on the job of book-keepers, and \$4,500 for unspecified adult education. 21 Ceramics courses were taken by women (some took 2 courses), 20 were successfully complete, 1 result unknown. Two people were approved for up-grading 1 completed it successfully and the other withdrew. Ten people were approved for other courses--2 completed successfully, 6 withdrew, and 2 results unknown.

1974-75

The Band financial statements show \$4,200 for "training in industry". Fewer people were approved for courses (no ceramics courses or up-grading are shown), but success rates were higher. Five people took job-related training, 3 completed it successfully and the results for the other 2 are not known.

1975-76

The Band financial statements show \$3,000 receipts (\$4,425 expenditure) for a cabinet-making course, paid by Manpower and the Province of Alberta, and \$3,702 for life skills training (Manpower and an unidentified agency). Five women enrolled in teacher training or para-teacher training, with complete success.

1976-77

Although the Band financial statements make no mention of training, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission committed \$30,870 for vocational preparation under the Institutional Training Program. Two women were approved for an interior-decorating night course in Elk Point, which they completed successfully. Five people were approved for job-related training; 3 completed their years successfully, and 2 withdrew or did not register.

1977-78

Again, the financial statements do not mention training but Canada Manpower approved \$24,622 to train 6 carpenter helpers. This contract has been completed, and \$19,198 paid out. A Band member was enrolled in the Green Certificate farmer training program, and \$14,040 approved by C.E.I.C., but training was terminated after \$570 had been paid out.

Twenty-two people were funded by Indian Affairs for various types of job-specific training: 7 completed their courses successfully, 10 withdrew or did not register, and results for the remainder are not known.

1978-79

Band financial statements show \$10,000 received for training on the job. No new Canada Employment and Immigration Commission programs were approved. Twenty-nine people were approved for job-specific training or other post-secondary courses; 12 completed their courses successfully, 8 withdrew or failed to register, and the results for the remaining 9 are unknown. Seven people enrolled in up-grading and all were successful. The contrast between this year's performance, and the results of 1971-72 is startling and significant.

1979-80

So far this year, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission has approved training allowances for a Band agricultural extension worker, and the contract is still active. Various people are continuing with their up-grading, training and post-secondary programs.

(viii) The Regional Economy

We did not carry out a full review of the regional economy. In general the economy was steady without being particularly strong until 1977, when Imperial Oil Ltd. announced its intention to build a heavy oil extraction plant at Cold Lake. Construction and investment in the area then increased sharply. Table 7 traces the effect on one indicator--the value of building permits in the Town of Bonnyville.

From Kehewin's point of view, the important feature of the present regional economy is that it offers an abundance of jobs in a diversity of trades, for some of which some people on the Reserve probably are ready now, if they choose to work off the Reserve. Other people will require more training and development, but at least have the opportunity to put training to good use.

Table 7

Value of Building Permits - Town of Bonnyville
1970 to 1978

<u>Year</u>	<u>Value</u>
1970	\$ 359,000
1971	1,369,000
1972	917,000
1973	1,311,000
1974	2,890,000
1975	3,333,000
1976	4,121,000
1977	10,037,000
1978	14,369,000

Source: Alberta Bureau of Statistics

(ix) Employment and Income

No data were collected on present levels of income, and no reliable historical data were found, but we can examine at least qualitatively the changing sources of income of Band members. In 1971 income came primarily from social assistance and family allowance, supplemented by wages from casual labour earned, for example, in agriculture. Contemporary accounts estimate that over 90% of households were dependent, in whole or in part, on social assistance, and that 5 or less people were employed full time.

The effort to break this pattern in 1972 resulted immediately in virtually 100% of adults able to work being employed on the various employment projects or their surrounding social services. When the work projects were cut back employment dropped to some extent, but not to the 1971 levels.

Statistics gathered during this study show how far the situation has come since 1971. Table 8 shows the primary income source of households in the summer of 1971 (including both "Band" and "non-Band" households).

Table 8

Kehewin Households - Sources of Income - 1979

<u>Source of Income</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	<u>Percent of Households</u>
Primarily from regular employment of one or more members of household	31	40.8
Mixture of social assistance and temporary or seasonal employment	25	32.9
Primarily social assistance	<u>20</u>	<u>26.3</u>
Sub-Total	76	100.0
Retired	<u>9</u>	
Total	85	

Looking at individuals instead of households, the number of people based on the Reserve and employed regularly is about 50. Temporary employment fluctuates depending on the availability of jobs on the Reserve.

It is not possible to translate this into an "unemployment rate" according to the usual definitions, because our knowledge of people's precise relationship with the labour market is not accurate enough for that, and because the usual definitions cannot be applied. But assuming that each household has one at least part-time housewife (or equivalent person), and subtracting them from the potential full-time labour force, we arrive at the conclusion that about 45% of the people available for full-time employment were so employed in the summer of 1979, with about half the remainder engaged in various forms of temporary employment.

4. Housing and Household Amenities

The Kehewin Consulting Group carried out a complete housing inventory in December 1979, on which the following statistical tables are based.

Table 9
Housing Conditions

Year of Construction	Dwellings						Number Occupied	Occupants		No. Improved by RRAP
	Type	Number	Avg. Size (m ²)	Condition						
				Good	Fair	Poor				
1979	House ⁽¹⁾	9	95	9	0	0	9	52	5.8	-
	Mobile	3	73	3	0	0	3	14	4.7	-
1978	House ⁽²⁾	12	100	12	0	0	12	78	6.5	-
1976	House ⁽³⁾	8	99	8	0	0	8	80	10.0	-
	Mobile	3	89	3	0	0	2	7	3.5	-
1975	House	6	63	6	0	0	5	30	6.0	5
1974	House	4	72	4	0	0	3	17	5.7	4
1973	House	11	64	9	2	0	9	43	4.8	9
1972	House	11	64	8	1	2	10	58	5.8	9
1971	House ⁽⁴⁾	10	67	7	3	0	7	49	7.0	7
	House	1	?	1	0	0	1	3	3.0	-
Pre-1971	House	21	88	7	8	6	19	97	5.1	12
	Mobile	1	89	1	0	0	1	5	5.0	-
TOTAL		100	81	78	14	8 ⁽⁵⁾	89	533 ⁽⁶⁾	6.0	46

(1) C.M.H.C. Sec. 15.1 Project 3.

(2) C.M.H.C. Sec. 15.1 Project 2.

(3) C.M.H.C. Sec. 15.1 Project 1.

(4) C.M.H.C. Sec. 59.

(5) Six of the poor houses were occupied, with 23 people; 10 of the fair houses were occupied, with 43 people. 88% of total occupants live in Good housing.

(6) A discrepancy between this total and the one given in Section 2 arises because Section 2's statistics were collected at a different time of the year.

Source: Kehewin Consulting Group submission.

Table 10
Household Amenities

	CMHC Houses 71-79	Other Houses 71-79	Built Before 1971	Mobile Homes	Total
Total Number	30	42	21	7	100
Type of Foundation:					
Full Basement	30	27	9	-	66
Cement Foundation	-	15	12	3	30
Blocks	-	-	-	4	4
Water Supply:					
Cisterns - 1500 gal.	1	-	-	-	1
1000 gal.	29	8	3	-	40
700 gal.	-	7	-	-	7
500 gal.	-	18	-	-	18
Size ?	-	5	11	1	17
Barrels	-	1	2	-	3
Wells	-	-	5	-	5
None	-	3	-	6	9
Plumbing:					
Complete	30	34	11	1	76
None	-	8	10	6	24
Heating System:					
Propane Furnace	30	-	-	3	33
Diesel Furnace	-	35	19	4	58
Oil Heater	-	4	-	-	4
Stove	-	1	1	-	2
None - not occupied	-	2	1	-	3
Electricity:					
Yes	30	42	21	7	100
No	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Kehewin Consulting Group submission.

5. Household, Community and Personal Services(i) Roads

As far as we can determine, the only road construction on the Reserve since 1971 has been a 0.6-mile southward extension of the east end of the South Road, from Solomon Paul's house to the residences of Phillip Paul and Pat Cardinal, done in 1976/77.

Expenditures for road maintenance since 1971/72 were, according to Band financial statements:

1971-72	\$ 2,967
1972-73	2,813
1973-74	6,412
1974-75	10,367
1975-76	6,346
1976-77	11,103
1977-78	11,200
1978-79	5,736

We have one example of the kinds of projects this money was used for. In 1976-77, the budget called for gravelling of 11 miles of road, and work on 23 driveways.

The Reserve contains (see Map 2, page 2-2) about 20 miles of road consisting of:

- five miles of paved Provincial primary highway (No. 28);
- nearly 7 miles of unpaved Provincial secondary highway (Nos. 657 and 891);
- 8½ miles of other road.

All unpaved roads on the Reserve are find when dry.

(ii) Street Lights

There are no street lights on the Reserve. No plans exist for installing street lights except in the proposed Kehewin village. Some householders have installed yard lights.

(iii) Fire Protection

Until the summer of 1979 Kehewin had no organized system of fire protection and no arrangements for service from the surrounding rural municipality or the town of Bonnyville. The Band recently purchased a used fire truck with 500 gallon capacity from the Enoch Band, and now has 15 trained volunteer firemen. In addition to the truck's capacity, water can be drawn from household cisterns, or from the 2000 gallon water delivery truck.

(iv) Police Department

Police protection is provided from the Bonnyville Detachment, R.C.M.P. The only significant change during the nine-year study period has been the training and employment of Special Constable Mark Gadwa, who joined in December 1977. The officer in charge of the Bonnyville Detachment expressed the following hope, in his report to the Band in April 1978, when S/Cst. Gadwa was nearing completion of training: "It is hoped that he will prove to be a valuable asset both to the native population in this area and to the police community. As he becomes more experienced and self-reliant, it is expected he will become even more valuable and others may find him an inspiration." S/Cst. Gadwa works as a regular member of the Bonnyville Detachment, but lives on the Reserve. From all reports, this arrangement is working well for all concerned.

In other respects, the R.C.M.P. maintain normal rural service at Kehewin.

(v) RecreationFacilities

During the winter works and other employment projects of 1972 and 1973, the present ball diamond and bleachers, and the rodeo complex, were constructed using lumber cut from the Reserve. At some time later, the skating rink was built just north of the school. Finally, in 1978, a new gymnasium was included in the multiplex. The steel plant was reportedly used as a gymnasium during the years when production was stopped. The Band is now planning to move its facilities to a more convenient location in the centre of the Reserve.

Programming

Our information on recreation programming is not yet very good. A recreation director was included in the structure created to administer and support the winter works program of 1972, and given the task of organizing sports and social activities. Included on the list were baseball, a rodeo, pow wow, talent show, etc.

Available information suggests that baseball, hockey and the rodeo have been maintained fairly constantly since 1971. It does not show a great number of other activities, but not all sources of information have been explored.

It appears that the Band has not always been able to maintain a recreation director, either because of staff turnover, or because of periodic interruptions in funding. A new director was hired in the summer of 1979, but did not stay long, and another one was hired in her place. This seems fairly typical of staff problems that have plagued recreation programming on the Reserve.

(vi) Counselling

Various forms of counselling have been carried out at Kehewin over the years. Employment counselling was made part of the system of services that surrounded the total-employment projects of 1972, and is still provided by the Band through the Community Services Department. Child welfare and family counselling have always been included in the functions of the welfare worker, with assistance from the Provincial child welfare authorities. Counselling is also provided through the school.

In 1974 the Band inaugurated the Kehewin Tribal Counselling Services with funding from the Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission. This has remained a mainstay in the Bands efforts to assist people with drinking problems.

In 1979 the Federal Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs brought their Food Talk program onto the Reserve, and hired local women to provide information and counselling on nutrition and food preparation.

(vii) Church

Two religious traditions are represented on the Reserve: Christianity, mainly Roman Catholic but with a small number of Pentecostal followers, and traditional Cree religion.

The Roman Catholic Church offers services in two churches. Our Lady of Mercy's Church was built in 1902, and is used for weekly Mass every other month. St. Peter's Church just off the southern end of the Reserve on Kehewin Lake, is used for the other months. A third place of worship is the hill-top, open-air St. Joseph's Chapel, used during the annual August Pilgrimage.

A small number of families maintain strong loyalties to the Church. Weekly services attract perhaps 15 or 20 people, with larger numbers at special events such as weddings, christenings and funerals. The Pilgrimage attracts large crowds both of people from the Reserve, and Indian and non-Indian visitors. It is, in fact, a major social and religious occasion.

Because of heating problems in both churches, services were held for a time in the school. People reportedly felt uncomfortable with that arrangement, and the churches were repaired in about 1976.

All the Church's pastoral work is carried out by a resident Sister, who is active in the community in other ways as well. A priest comes from Bonnyville to celebrate Mass. Religious instruction is provided in the school, at the request of parents, who are also involved in religious instruction.

We have no information on the extent of participation in traditional religious practices, but at least two households are active in organizing sweats and sundances. The importance of these to the community as a whole could not be judged in this study.

An interesting difference of opinion arose concerning the compatibility of Christianity with the traditional practices. Some respondents said that little overlap exists between the followers of the two ways, and that they are seen as incompatible. Others said that people practise both without a sense of incompatibility. We were not able to clarify this.

(viii) Band Hall

The old Band Hall was used as a social and meeting centre, and was constructed before 1971. It has now been turned over to Preventive Social Services to use as a cultural centre. Renovations were carried out during the summer of 1979 by the student summer employment program. The Band Hall function has been transferred to the new gymnasium. The women's group has taken a great deal of interest in the cultural centre, and will use it for arts and crafts. The women played an active part in the renovation activities.

(ix) Library

As far as our information shows, the only major library on the Reserve is in the school. The school concept called for this facility to be used as a public library, but apparently its use is confined to school children. A small agricultural library has been established for reference purposes in the Band Office.

(x) Community Hall

The old white school was used as a kindergarten until the new school opened, and then converted to a community hall for meetings, wakes, bingos and similar social occasions. It was gutted in 1979 for conversion to a pool room and amusement arcade, and re-opened in the Fall of 1979 as the Golden Eagle Amusement Centre.

(xi) Day Care Centre

A portable classroom to be used as a daycare centre was installed in 1972. By October 13 of that year, it was reported that 1 child was in play school and 4 children were in day care.

Reports say that the centre operated under three difficulties--irregular numbers of children, staff turnover, and fitful financing. By 1978 these had reached the point where operation was no longer feasible, and the centre was closed. It was used as a base of operations for this study in the summer of 1979, and will be devoted to adult up-grading in 1980.

(xii) Post Office

There is no post office on the Reserve. Band members use Bonnyville, Gurneyville and Hoselaw. The Band proposes to put a post office in the store.

(xiii) Public Transportation

The only form of public transportation on the Reserve is the Band van, bought to take school children on excursions, and to be used in support of local community activities.

(xiv) Garbage Collection

A number of different methods have been tried over the years. At present, garbage is collected regularly on routes on specified days and deposited in a land-fill dump. This has proven successful. Old cars, stoves, etc. are collected and brought to a central point every two years and sold for scrap.

6. Health

Throughout the nine-year study period the Reserve has been served by a public health nurse and a community health worker, employees of the Department of National Health and Welfare. Present personnel have arrived in 1974 and 1973, respectively. Such lengths of employment in one place are unusual in public health occupations.

Until 1975 the clinic operated in temporary quarters in a trailer, but a new clinic was built in the school. Doctors and hospitals are available in Bonnyville and Elk Point.

Health officials report that immunization rates on the Reserve are very high--nearly 100%--and that all residents have been immunized against tuberculosis. The public health worker is given much of the credit for this accomplishment.

The first three tables that follow show characteristics of births, and characteristics and causes of deaths, for Kehewin residents from 1971 to 1978. These are all based on data from the Indian Health Services Branch of National Health and Welfare. The first table shows that a large majority of mothers from 1971 to 1978 were smokers, a fluctuating percentage were drinkers (with no pronounced trend), and a rapidly increasing percentage were unmarried. Although these statistics must be interpreted cautiously, they are significant because of the increasing medical evidence that smoking and drinking on the part of pregnant women can put new-born infants at some disadvantage and, in extreme cases, subject them to permanent handicaps.

Information on chronic illnesses and tuberculosis supplied by National Health and Welfare shows that four cases of tuberculosis occurred since 1971: an elderly woman in 1972, a 12-year-old boy in 1977, and two young men aged 19 and 20 in 1979. Arthritis and diabetes are the two most common chronic illnesses. Arthritis is reported in 3 males and 2 females, all now aged 60 or more. No new cases have emerged since 1973. Diabetes occurs in 2 males and 9 females, with roughly one or two new cases a year. The average age of these people is 58 years, and the youngest person reported with diabetes is 43.

Further statistics for 1973 to 1977 were obtained from Alberta Hospitals and Medical Care. Table 14 shows the reported use of all hospitals by residents of Kehewin. The sharp increases in separations and numbers of patient-days shown there have not been satisfactorily explained. Data on hospital admissions from 1972 to 1977 obtained from National Health and Welfare are shown in footnote (4) to Table 14. These data, while they may not include all admissions, are thought to reflect trends more accurately. It appears that admissions to Bonnyville St. Louis Hospital were substantially under-stated in the data from Alberta Hospitals and Medical Care in the earlier years.

Table 15 shows the diseases for which people were admitted to hospital over the entire 1973 to 1977 period, according to Alberta hospital statistics. Notable are the very low rates of incidence for cancer and heart disease, and the high rates for respiratory problems, (colds, influenza, pneumonia, bronchitis, asthma) and infective and parasitic diseases (principally intestinal infections).

A letter written to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs by the Chairman of the Infection Control Committee of Bonnyville St. Louis Hospital on February 27, 1978 noted with satisfaction that the number of infections found in native people had decreased dramatically. The Committee attributed the decline to better housing and medical care at Kehewin.

Table 11
Kehewin Residents
Characteristics of Births 1971-1978

Year	Number of Births	Age of Mothers			Babies' Average Weight (lbs-oz)	Mothers Who Were				(1)
		Youngest	Oldest	Average		Sm.	Dr.	Ma.	Si.	
1971	14	17	32	23.6	7- 6	13	5	7	7	
1972	24	18	38	25.5	7-12	17	11	15	7	(2)
1973	26	16	44	25.6	7- 7	19	14	18	8	
1974	14	18	40	25.7	7- 7	14	9	7	7	
1975	22	15	39	23.1	7- 1	20	8	7	15	
1976	20	18	39	24.8	7-13	16	11	6	14	
1977	21	18	40	24.5	7- 2	18	9	6	15	
1978	33	17	45	24.5	7- 5	31	20	6	27	

Source: National Health and Welfare

(1) Sm.=Smokers; Dr.=Drinkers; Ma.=Married; Si.=Single.

(2) Marital status of 2 mothers not known.

Table 12

Kehewin Residents

Characteristics of Deaths 1971-1978

Year	Number of Deaths	Age of Person						Alcohol Related		
		1.t. 1	1-- 7	15--25	26--45	46--70	71 +	Yes	No	?
1971	6	1	1	1	1		1		4	2
1972	7		1	4	1		1	1	1	5
1973	3	1	1				1		2	1
1974	9	1		1	3		4	2	6	1
1975	2			1	1			1	1	
1976	8	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	6	
1977	2		1	1				1	1	
1978	3					3		2	1	
TOTAL	40	4	6	10	7	4	9	9	22	9

Table 13

Kehewin Residents - Causes of Early Deaths - 1971-1978

Age	Number of Deaths	Causes
1.t. 1	4	Prematurity; crib death; viral infection; cause not known.
01--07	6	gun accident; head injury; acute virus pneumonitis; house fire (2); respiratory failure.
15--25	10	suicide; skull fracture (2); drowning (2); car accident (2); acute alcoholism; exposure; house fire.
26--45	7	exposure; skull fracture; birth complications; car accident; cirrhosis of liver; eclampsia; alcoholism.
46--70	4	myocardial infarction; carcinoma; exposure; suicide.

Table 14

Treaty Residents of Kehewin⁽¹⁾ - Use of All Hospitals - 1973 to 1977

Hospital	1973		1974		1975		1976		1977	
	Sep. (2)	P.D. (3)	Sep.	P.D.	Sep.	P.D.	Sep.	P.D.	Sep.	P.D.
Total All Hospitals	101	789	126	906	173	1312	291	1875	488	3447 (4)
Bonnyville St. Louis	12	68	15	59	15	92	144	768	363	2410
Bonnyville Duclos	72	597	72	572	72	558	71	608	68	520
Elk Point Municipal	16	116	36	268	81	499	71	455	46	385
St. Paul St. Thérèse			3	7	2	4				
Edmonton Univ. of Alberta					2	144				
Edmonton Charles Camell					1	15				
Edmonton General							2	12	3	29
Vilna Our Lady's							2	10		
Two Hills Municipal	1	8								
Wetaskiwin General							1	22	2	25
Edmonton Misericordia									3	31
Edmonton Royal Alexandra									2	46
Rocky Mtn. House General									1	1

Source: Alberta Hospitals and Medical Care

- (1) Includes only Treaty Indians who reported their place of residence upon admission as the Kehewin Reserve. Alberta Hospitals and Medical Care warns, "Patients who were residents of the Indian Reserve but who gave some other address as their place of residence or who were living temporarily off the Reserve, will not be reflected in the data. Therefore, some caution should be exercised in interpreting the data as they may reflect a minimum rather than an actual level of inpatient utilization by Kehewin Indian Reserve residents during a year."
- (2) Separations. A separation is the discharge or death of an in-patient.
- (3) Patient days. Equal to the total days since admission of patients separated during the year.
- (4) According to National Health and Welfare, admissions of Kehewin residents to hospital from 1972 to 1977 were:

1972 - 194	1975 - 252
1973 - 224	1976 - 268
1974 - 259	1977 - 273

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Table 15

Treaty Residents of Kehewin: Use of All Hospitals

For All Diseases, by Major Groups - Total 1973 to 1977

	Total Separa- tions	Total Patient- Days	Patient- Days Per Separa- tion	Percent of Sepa- rations	Percent of Pa.-Days
Infective and Para- sitic Diseases	221	1898	8.6	18.8	22.8
Neoplasms (Cancer)	0	0	---	0	0
Mental Disorders	45	180	4.0	3.8	2.2
Endocrine, Nutritional & Metabolic Diseases	11	92	8.4	.9	1.1
Diseases of Blood & Blood- forming organs	11	100	9.1	.9	1.2
Diseases of Nervous Sys- tem & Sense Organs	66	421	6.4	5.6	5.1
Diseases of Circulatory System	9	42	4.7	.8	.5
Diseases of Respira- tory System	432	3462	8.0	36.7	41.6
Diseases of Diges- tive System	73	321	4.4	6.2	3.9
Diseases of Genito- Urinary System	35	177	5.1	3.0	2.1
Pregnancy Complications; Childbirth; Puerperium	55	225	4.1	4.7	2.7
Diseases of Skin & Subcutaneous Tissue	66	470	7.1	5.6	5.6
Diseases of Muskuloskeletal Sys. & Connective Tissue	14	154	11.0	1.2	1.8
Congenital Anomalies	0	0	---	0	0
Diseases of Early Infancy	0	0	---	0	0
Symptoms, Senility & Ill- Defined Conditions	13	49	3.8	1.1	.6
Accidents, Poisonings & Violence	96	566	5.9	8.1	6.8
Supplementary Classifications	31	172	5.5	2.6	2.1
TOTAL ALL DISEASES	1178	8329	7.1	100.0	100.0

Source: Alberta Hospitals and Medical Care

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7. Education

Discussions of education in this report are not designed to evaluate the school's education program or any particular aspect of it, but rather to see how the school has contributed to Kehewin's developmental process. Readers who want specific evaluations should consult Carney [4] and DINA [2]. An "official" evaluation will be carried out during the Winter of 1979-80, with results available in the Spring.

Education was a touchy political issue at Kehewin in the early 1970's. At that time, all children except those in kindergarten attended school in Bonnyville (a few in Elk Point), an educational and personal experience that was not thought to be very rewarding for them. Attendance and performance statistics are not available, but according to sources quoted by Carney, attendance was generally poor, failure and drop-out rates were high, and children generally were at grades lower than would be expected for their age. Reserve parents believed that the Bonnyville system was not well adapted to their children's educational needs, and that it may even have exposed them to informal racial discrimination.

Gobeil [6] quotes statistics on the age-grade distribution of children enrolled in Bonnyville in 1967-68. Table 16 shows the results for native and non-native students.

Table 16

Comparison of Age-Grade Characteristics for
Native and Non-Native Students Enrolled
in Bonnyville District Schools - September 1967

	Percent of Native Students	Percent of Non-Native Students
Enrolled in grades expected for their ages	31	56
Enrolled in grades lower than expected for their ages	66½	30
Enrolled in grades higher than expected for their ages	2½	14
Total	100	100

A 1978 survey carried out by the Seven Band Development Committee showed that, out of 108 adult respondents from Kehewin:

- 29% had completed grade 5 or less;
- 28% had completed grades 6, 7 or 8;
- 33% had completed grades 9 or 10; and
- 9% had completed grade 11 or more.

The survey reports do not define the word "completed" precisely; it is not clear whether respondents would interpret "last grade completed" to mean "last grade attended" or "last grade successfully passed". Nevertheless, the statistics do show a low level of school grade attainment among the adult population.

As a result of the school strike of 1971, Kehewin obtained a promise from the Minister of Indian Affairs that a new school would be built on the Reserve. In 1972 the Department produced drawings of a proposed new school with a conventional school design. The community, however, wanted a school that was architecturally more attuned to Indian culture. After some resistance from the Department, that had to be overcome by pressure tactics, an architect of native ancestry was engaged, a new school was designed, constructed and opened for business in September 1975. The program offered went from kindergarten (for ages 4 and 5 in separate sessions) to grade 6.

Philosophical Objectives

Early correspondence and documents describing the philosophy and objectives of the school started with the idea that an education centre should not be a "mere school house" but a "community place" where all learning both for children and adults can be combined with all sorts of recreational, cultural, leisure and social activities.

A large number of objectives was stated: to develop a positive self-image in the children and a sense of pride in being Indian; to develop an appreciation of the Cree culture in art, music, language and dance; to develop and maintain a high degree of health through physical education and other related school activities and studies; to develop competence in reading, writing, language and other basic skills such as mathematics, science and social studies; to develop the skills needed to live harmoniously and effectively in a

natural environment, to encourage the planning of a productive life and to develop a desire for continuous learning and an appreciation for knowledge; and to develop a respect and understanding for other members of the tribe and an ability to live happily with them:

In addition, the Centre would serve the broader community as a day care centre, an adult education centre, a social centre, a health clinic, and a cultural centre.

The school was intended to be an example of Indian control of Indian education, in the belief that education should be controlled by its client community, and that it will be more effective if the community is actively involved, if the concept of cultural relevance is applied, if native patterns of learning are followed, and if success is emphasized, but not failure.

Resources - The School Building

The Kehewin Community Education Centre was designed by architect Douglas Cardinal in a form that he and the community believed expresses important Indian cultural values. Apparently, though, the funds provided would not meet the cost of all the features desired by the architect and the community, so that a number of changes were made, and cheaper materials were used in places. Thus the quality of the building was substantially reduced. The exterior design was retained, however, giving the building an attractive and distinctive appearance. The total cost of the building was approximately \$713,000, comparable to other schools of its size built at the same time.

(A detailed evaluation of the building is contained in DINA [2]. In general, the evaluator applauded the general outline and concept of the building, but was critical of many of the details and cost-cutting measures. The over-all conclusion, however, was that "the Kehewin Project was sufficiently successful as a pilot project to encourage the delegation of authority to other Indian Bands for similar projects in the future." (Page E))

Although the original plans and school philosophy envisaged a multi-purpose building, the Kehewin Centre is used mainly as a school. The only non-school facility in it is the public health clinic.

Vandalism is reported to be low, perhaps because people genuinely feel that the school belongs to them.

Resources - Staff

The present staff of the Centre consists of 12 people:

- 1 certified principal-teacher;
- 4 certified teachers;
- 1 kindergarten teacher;
- 3 teacher aides;
- 1 secretary;
- 1 counsellor;
- 1 custodian.

Two additional people are regular contributors to the program: one providing exposure to Cree culture and crafts and the other, at the request of the community, giving religious (R.C.) instruction.

Only one major change has taken place in staffing since 1975. Until the Spring of 1979 the Centre had a non-teaching principal who was also the Band's Education Director. The Band began to believe that a Director of Education was not necessary, and that a teaching principal would be more valuable. When the Director/Principal resigned, the change was made.

The five certified staff are not native people, the remaining staff are. The teacher aides provide some full-class instruction as well as assisting the teachers. The Band Council established a policy that all certified staff must have completed four years of teacher training and be fully certified. Positions have not yet been opened to holders of two-year certificates from the Morningstar Program. Staff turnover has been low and staff morale and cohesiveness are reported to be good.

Enrolments and Attendance

The Band Council has taken a strong stand against truancy, and in 1977 passed a Band Council Resolution to force school attendance, as provided for in Section 119 of the Indian Act. Before then attendance reportedly averaged between 80% and 85%. Last year it was 94%. After grade 6, however, when children begin attending school in Bonnyville, attendance is said to drop off sharply.

Table 17 shows the history of enrolments at the Kehewin School since its opening.

Table 17

Enrolments at the Kehewin School - 1975/76 to 1979/80

	<u>1975/76</u>	<u>1976/77</u>	<u>1977/78</u>	<u>1978/79</u>	<u>1979/80</u>
Kindergarten*	23	43	39	38	32
Grade 1	16	21	21	26	20
Grade 2	} 17	} 37	20	21	20
Grade 3			11	17	17
Grade 4			24	23	15
Grade 5	14	18	18	15	18
Grade 6	18	16	16	16	11

Source: Kehewin School records

* Kindergarten is provided in two separate half-day sessions for four- and five-year-olds.

Program

The curriculum is described in Carney [4]: "The Centre follows the Alberta course of studies, supplemented by a (compulsory) Cree Language-Cultural Program. The Alberta syllabus is modified by an intensive language-arts emphasis at all levels." Extracurricular activities include a 4-team house athletics league and some inter-school team sports: soccer, track meets, basketball and baseball.

High School Services

Most children graduating from the Kehewin School attend Notre Dame Junior High School in Bonnyville and, if they persist, Bonnyville Centralized High School. The Notre Dame staff includes a Cree language-cultural instructor and a teaching assistant/counsellor, but no special services exist at the high school.

Governance

Up to the present the Centre has been formally governed by the Band Council, with some assistance from the Band Education Committee, which is chaired by a councillor. According to Carney, the Committee has not been especially active. The Council is now studying the question of governance through a school board of some kind, but no action in that direction has been taken.

Community Involvement

Until recently, community involvement with the school has been "not as extensive as one might expect" (Carney [4], page 8) considering the special nature and scope of the school. Carney points out, however, that parental interest and participation in parent-teacher meetings and other school/community sessions are probably as good as in many other school jurisdictions.

A special meeting was held in September 1979 with the parents of the in-coming grade 1 students to exchange ideas and discuss how homes can support school activities. This was reported to be a lively and useful gathering,

Finances

Table 18 shows the amounts received and expended annually for education since the beginning of the new school, according to Band financial statements.

Table 18

Education Receipts and Expenditures

Kehewin - 1975/76 to 1978/79

<u>Year</u>	<u>Received</u>	<u>Expended</u>
1975/76	\$218,978	\$234,349
1976/77	288,191	318,549
1977/78	278,255	272,970
1978/79	296,316	322,626

Source: Band Financial Statements

8. Social Assistance

Due to the vagaries of social assistance record-keeping, we were not able to get much information about social assistance payments at Kehewin. The Band financial statements yielded the information contained in Table 19. A new system of record-keeping instituted by the Band gives us much more detail for months in 1979; the information is summarized in Table 20.

Table 19 shows the extent to which social assistance declined during the work programs of 1972 and 1973. It bounced back, however, and now is required by a large percentage of Band residents. Even so, however, it appears that it has not again reached the levels that prevailed before 1972.

Table 19

Kehewin Band Social Assistance Payments

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Social Assistance Payments</u>	<u>"Real Per Capita" S.A. Index</u> (1)
1971/2	495	\$124,716	100
1972/3	515	42,792	31
1973/4	540	58,514	37
1974/5	545	158,589	86
1975/6	565	180,044	87
1976/7	580	216,583	96
1977/8	595	219,517	88
1978/79	620	207,097	72

Source: Band Financial Statements

(1) This is based on some crude assumptions, and will only be roughly accurate.

At this stage of the present year, it appears that payments in 1979/80 will be somewhat over \$300,000.

Table 20
Social Assistance Data - 1979

	Total Persons Under Assistance	Total Awards	Reason			Total Issue
			Health	Social	Econ.	
June	266	98	11	43	44	\$26,900
July	295	109	17	55	37	\$27,800
August	324	136	16	63	57	\$31,300
September	299	104	11	61	32	\$35,300
October	272	84	11	54	19	\$23,800

Source: Band records.

The lower level of payments in October shows the effect of housing construction on the Reserve.

9. Other Social Concerns

(i) Alcohol

Direct evidence on the extent of excessive drinking is not available, but many people interviewed, representatives of both households and staff, regard it as the most serious problem on the Reserve. Some reasonably solid evidence was presented.

For example, statistics on births given in Table 11 (page 67) show the number of mothers considered to be drinkers. No doubt not all of these, and perhaps not even the majority, are habitual heavy drinkers, but incidences of foetal alcohol syndrome (damage to children because of excessive drinking during pregnancy, resulting in such handicaps as physical underdevelopment and mental retardation) have been recorded, and drinking may be affecting as many as 3 births per year, or about 10% of newborn children. Instances of neglect and mental abuse were also reported.

Arrest statistics (Section (iii) below) show another aspect of the problem.

Band staff members estimated that 11 households are affected in some major way by a serious drinking problem, often involving the family head, perhaps the spouse as well in those cases that are not single-parent families, or one or more of the older children. Eleven households represent 13% of the 85 households on Reserve, but contain 24% of the on-Reserve population, because they tend to be much larger than average. Their average household size is 11 people; the Reserve's is 6.

Reports from school teachers indicate that children often show distress at the drinking behaviour in their homes, and fatigue because of disruptions to sleep. School staff firmly believe that children who live with the problem have greater difficulty at school.

Drinking seems to follow one of two patterns--an "alcoholic" pattern, or a "binge" pattern. Binge drinking is reported to be at least partly a seasonal phenomenon, and occurs particularly when people have ample funds. Alcohol seems to be used for two general purposes: first, as an aid to entertainment, celebration and social activity generally. This seems to be particularly prevalent among young people, from the age of 15 or so onward. On the edge of their groups are the 12- and 13-year-olds, watching, learning and imitating. It is also commonly used in family gatherings, and there children are spectators and learners, if not actual participants. Secondly, alcohol is used as a release from problems and pressures of jobs, school, family, loneliness and other aggravations. At times it appears that people are drinking to escape the consequences of their own and others' drinking, and so the problem perpetuates itself.

It is not true, of course, that everybody drinks to excess. In fact, families considered to be moderate drinkers or non-drinkers make up a substantial majority. Our data suggest that the number of alcoholics in the medical sense is fairly small. It is also quite probably true that drinking at Kehewin is not as serious as in some other native communities. Certainly the community-wide binge, in which everybody gets involved, is unknown, possibly because the physical layout of housing on the Reserve does not lend itself to such activities, and possibly because the people are not interested in them.

(ii) Suicides

According to our data on causes of death, only two suicides occurred between 1971 and 1978. The circumstances were not similar.

(iii) Arrests

Unfortunately the R.C.M.P. do not compile statistics on the places of residence of people arrested. Thus it was not possible to obtain a complete picture of Kehewin residents' difficulties with the law.

R.C.M.P. officers who have served in the Bonnyville Detachment during the nine-year study period said that Kehewin has no serious crime problem; most arrests are for petty theft and offences involving alcohol. Where these occur, they often result from domestic situations, especially on the Reserve.

Examination of records of arrests under Section 84 of the Liquor Control Act, for a twelve-month period from May 1978 to April 1979 shows that 57 individuals were detained overnight or for short periods of time for drunkenness during that period. The total number of detentions was 165. Table 21 shows the number of detentions and the age-sex characteristics of the detainees. For those detained more than once, the age used is that at the time of the first detention.

Monthly reports sent by the Bonnyville R.C.M.P. Detachment to the Chief and Council paint a consistently quiet picture of policing on the Reserve. The following comments are drawn from these reports.

"Aside from patrols for the purpose of the service of summons and sub poenae and the making of enquiries, no special activity occurred on the Reserve during March. Normal contact was maintained with the native people on a day-to-day basis, on and off the Reserve. The normal frequency of the regular native inebriate was experienced off the Reserve, but posed no particular difficulty." (Letter of April 12, 1978)

"Generally speaking the month of July has been rather quiet in regard to incidents involving native persons." (Letter of August 5, 1978)

"Generally, activity on the Reserve requiring direct police intervention or involvement continues to be at a low level. This may be regarded as an indication of the quality of the people on the Reserve." (Letter of September 8, 1978)

Matters on the Reserve requiring police attention were usually either break-and-enter or other relatively minor theft, or alcohol-related disturbances. Many of these were domestic.

Table 21
Kehewin Residents
Detention Under Section 84 of the Liquor Control Act
May 1978 to April 1979

Age Range	Sex	--Number of Times Detained--								Total Persons Detained	Total Number of Detentions
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7+*			
15-25	M	11	2	-	1	1	-	-	15	24	
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
26-45	M	7	2	2	-	1	2	2	16	60	
	F	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	6	21	
46-75	M	4	2	2	1	3	1	1	14	46	
	F	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	11	
Unknown	M	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	
	F	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Total Persons Detained		28	9	6	2	5	3	5	58		
Total Number of Detentions		28	18	18	8	25	18	50		165	

* The maximum number of detentions during the whole year for any person was 13; the maximum number in any month for one person was 4.

Source: R.C.M.P. Reports to the Band Council.

According to R.C.M.P. informants, this pattern of police activity has remained much the same over the entire nine-year study period.

10. Local Government and Administration

(i) Elections

During the study period 9 elections were held, five general elections and four by-elections. The results are summarized in Table 22. (next page).

Table 22
Kehewin Band Elections 1971 to 1979

<u>Date</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Total Voters List (Approx.)</u>	<u>Total Number of Voters</u>	<u>Voter Turnout (Approx.)</u>	<u>Number of Positions</u>	<u>Number of Candi- dates</u>
March 23, 1971	Chief Council	210	114	54%	1 4	4 7
July 20, 1971 ⁽¹⁾	Council	210	44	21%	4	5
Sept. 29, 1971 ⁽²⁾	Council	210	76	36%	1	3
March 23, 1973	Chief Council	220	100	45%	1 5	4 9
March 20, 1975	Chief Council	235	126	54%	1 5	2 13
March 11, 1977	Chief Council	250	154	62%	1 5	2 14
August 19, 1977 ⁽³⁾	Chief Council	250	125	50%	1 1	2 3
Sept. 16, 1977 ⁽⁴⁾	Council	250	50	20%	1	6
March 23, 1979	Chief Council	265	151	57%	1 6	2 15

Source: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, St. Paul Office

- (1) The general election of March 23, 1971 was set aside by Order in Council because "one duly nominated candidate for the office of councillor was inadvertently left off the ballot in violation of the Indian Act." (Order in Council P.C. 1971-1094 dated June 8, 1971)
- (2) By-election to fill a newly-created council seat.
- (3) By-election caused by resignation of the chief and creation of a new council seat
- (4) By-election to fill council vacancy created by election of a councillor to the position of chief in the previous by-election.

Table 23

Kehewin Band Elections 1971 to 1979

Electoral Attempts and Successes

Number of Times Elected	Men		Women	
	Number	Box Score	Number	Box Score
4	1	1 with 6 tries	0	--
3	2	1 with 4 tries 1 with 5 tries	0	--
2	9	3 with 2 tries 1 with 3 tries 3 with 4 tries 2 with 5 tries	0	--
1	9	3 with 1 try 2 with 2 tries 4 with 3 tries	1	1 with 2 tries
Total=38	37		1	
Not Elected	9	5 with 1 try 3 with 2 tries 1 with 6 tries	4	3 with 1 try 1 with 4 tries
30 men tried 82 times; 5 women tried 9 times; totals=35,91				

Table 24

Kehewin Band Elections 1971 to 1979

Winning Margins

<u>Election</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Largest No. of Votes</u>	<u>Av. No. of Winner Votes</u>	<u>Av. Winner Margin</u>	<u>Smallest Win. Mgn.</u>
March 23, 1971	Chief(1)	73		53	
	Council(4)	78	68.3	26.3	17
July 20, 1971	Council(4)	35	28.5	8.5	4
Sept 29, 1971	Council(1)	27		1	
March 23, 1973	Chief (1)	35		3	
	Council(4)	56	49.8	7.8	1
March 20, 1975	Chief (1)	88		51	
	Council(5)	71	56.6	12.6	2
March 11, 1977	Chief (1)	108		73	
	Council(5)	90	68.4	20.4	1
Aug 19, 1977	Chief (1)	65		6	
	Council(1)	79		49	
Sept 16, 1977	Council(1)	15		1	
March 23, 1979	Chief (1)	73		2	
	Council(6)	75	68.5	11.5	6

Table 25
Ages of Kehewin Chiefs and Band Councillors

<u>Term</u>	---Age at Beginning of Term---		
	<u>Oldest</u>	<u>Youngest</u>	<u>Average</u>
1971 to 1973	63	29	46.3
1973 to 1975	55	29	43.2
1975 to 1977	58	24	38.5
1977 to 1979	60	26	38.9
1979 election	52	27	37.7

A total of 35 people sought political office a total of 91 times in the nine elections, or an average of 2.6 runs each. 30 men ran 82 times and were elected 37 times, 5 women ran 9 times and were elected once. Table 23 shows statistics on the seeking and winning of office by men and women.

Elections are often very close. Table 24 shows the margins of victory in all the elections by two measures, the average winning margin for successful candidates, and the winning margin of the last successful candidate.

From 1971 to 1979 the average age of chiefs and councillors has declined considerably. The decline was rapid at first, but has been slower in the last three terms. Table 25 shows the average age of the chiefs and councils finally elected (after by-elections) to each two-year term.

(ii) Council Organization and Responsibilities

Since 1975, Kehewin Band Councils have been organized in a system of portfolios, with each councillor responsible for one portfolio. This responsibility involves reporting to the Council and to the Band as a whole (at Band meetings) on the activities in that portfolio, recommending policies to Council, supervision of the director of the program or other staff, and exercising some day-to-day control over operations, the amount of which varies with the portfolio and the personalities involved.

The portfolios, and the programs that come under them are:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Social Development | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- social services- preventive social services- counselling services- health/medical services- recreation- child welfare- cultural activities |
| Community Affairs | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- housing- roads- general maintenance- water delivery and sewage disposal- fire protection and prevention- policing (night watchman)- garbage disposal- utilities- training and adult education- job placement- work projects |
| Education | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- education centre- cultural education- spiritual development- school committee- busing- curriculum- gymnasium- caretaker |
| Agriculture | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- agricultural society- Alberta Indian Agricultural Corp.- rodeo- agricultural planning- agricultural extension- Kehewin consulting- agricultural financing- agricultural committee- oil and gas leases- land policy and land records |
| Economic Development | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Kehewin Development Corporation- analysis of business opportunities for Band and Band members- economic development planning |
| Finance and Administration | - controller |

This system replaced a more conventional hierarchy, under which all staff directly or indirectly reported to the Band Manager, who reported to the Chief and Council. That system had prevailed since the Band Manager arrived in 1970.

The Band has taken over responsibility for the delivery of most services on the Reserve since 1971, when virtually all were controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs. Exact dates of changeover are not always available. Most social services (including the welfare worker) were taken over as a result of the initiatives of 1971. Education came under Band control with the opening of the new school in 1975. The only major social service not now under direct Band control is health care, still operated by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

(iii) Flow of Information

As in all small communities, informal methods carry a great deal of information through the community. In addition, two formal methods have been used. Band meetings have been an important part of Band political life since before the beginning of the study period. Present practise is for meetings to be held roughly once per month where councillors report on the activities of their portfolios and Band members discuss various concerns. Minutes are circulated to all Band members, a practise that was widely applauded in our interviews.

The other formal device has been a Band newsletter. The first series of these began in 1972, and ran until sometime in 1973. Unfortunately a complete series could not be found in the Band files, but the dozen or so examples that were found were full of chat and useful information, and generally excellent. The idea has been revived in the Fall of 1979.

(iv) Administration

Although it was not possible to trace the development of Kehewin's administration in detail, some general observations can be made. As was described earlier, two forms of administrative structure have been used--a band manager system from 1970 to 1975, and a portfolio system since then.

A continuing administrative problem has been turnover of staff. In some programs, such as education and especially health care, turnover has been low. But in the Band Office employees come and go frequently. For example, in 1979 the Director of Education and the Director of Economic Development both left, a recreation director came, went and was replaced by another, and a major reorganization took place in the community affairs portfolio.

Our researches uncovered a number of attempts to codify administrative policies and procedures. None of these "took", apparently, and we received different comments about some inconsistencies in administrative practise from time to time.

(v) The Workings of Council

As part of this study, the Kehewin Consulting Group carried out an exhaustive review of Band Council Minutes and Band Council Resolutions (B.C.R.'s). This section is based on their report. Council minutes make up an interesting, detailed but not well balanced source of information, not well balanced because in the nature of things, the Council spends most of its time on the things that are wrong, and relatively little on the things that are right. That is only proper, but it means that we cannot extrapolate from the preoccupations of Council to draw conclusions about the overall state of affairs on the Reserve. As long as that is kept firmly in mind, there is no harm in using the information, and it does shed light on the things that have not gone well. We will present first of all a general summary of Band Council Resolutions, and then a year-by-year summary of Council's discussions.

(a) Band Council Resolutions

We anticipated that a review of BCR's for the study period would provide some indication of shifts or developments in policy. The procedure followed was to categorize each BCR by its main subject. A number of them covered more than one subject, in which case a judgement was made about the primary emphasis. With few exceptions BCR's dealt with financial matters. Other topics were protests against the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs, electoral matters, and expressions of appreciation or acceptance of Indian Affairs' policies or practices.

The subject-matter groupings were:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| Administration | - grouped minor items such as repairs to the band office, office machines, and signing authorities. |
| Agriculture | - dealt mainly with various grants relating to individual farming operations. In 1972-73 the cattle coop was prominent. In 1976-77 the five-year agricultural plan was developed, and in 1978-79 a Director for agriculture was appointed. |
| Budgets | - the main consideration over the years; various BCR's reflect the problems faced by the Band in implementing programs. Interim financing, bank loans, transfers were strategems used to facilitate the progress of programs that had been approved but for which funds were slow to come. |
| CESO | - Canadian Executive Services Overseas. The BCR's do not reflect great use of this organization, and the minutes show considerable ambivalence about it. |
| Community Affairs | - includes municipal services such as roads, sanitation, fire protection, townsite development; BCR's usually concern funding for these things. |
| Council | - most BCR's concerned honoraria and travel for councillors; other matters included elections, relationships with the Indian Association, and the Indian Act. |
| Culture/Recreation | - children's summer camps, pow wows, camps for elders, etc. |
| Economic Development | - includes various feasibility studies and funding for projects. The steel plant and Cree-ations were prominent. |

Education	- included adult education and training as well as matters relating to construction and start-up of the education centre, and active topic from 1972 to 1976.
Employment	- dealt with the various methods used to provide jobs for Band members and reduce social assistance. There is no evidence of any long-term policy to develop marketable skills. Rather, emphasis was on make-work projects such as WOP, FLIP, LEAP, and LIP.
Housing	- a major preoccupation since Council took over responsibility in 1973-74.
Land	- rights of occupation for Band members' farmland, mineral leases and other dispositions.
Multiplex	- started in 1976-77. Surprisingly few BCR's; most procedures and financing negotiated directly with Regional Office.
Social Services	- includes matters relating to policing, welfare, counselling, day care, preventive social services, cemetery, church, medical services--all involve requests for funding.
Staff	- BCR's concern senior appointments, salaries and training; all involve funding.

The following Table summarizes the issues dealt with by BCR's over the years. Those dealt with six times or more in any one year are marked with an asterisk. No particular pattern emerges; the distribution of important issues over the years is apparently random, and no systematic shifts appear to have taken place in the relative importance of the various categories.

Table 26

Summary of Issues Raised in Band Council Resolutions

Kehewin - 1971-72 to 1978-79

	1971 -72	1972 -73	1973 -74	1974 -75	1975 -76	1976 -77	1977 -78	1978 -79	Total
Administration	3					1	1	1	6
Agriculture	6*	5	2		2	8*	6*	5	34
Budgets	9*	3	3	10*	8*	5	8*	12*	58
CESO	1	1							2
Community Affairs	4	2	2	1		1	5	6*	21
Council	7*	7*	1	4	9*	6*	3	4	41
Culture/Recreation	1	5	3	3	4	3	5	4	41
Economic Development	4	13*	3	10*	7*	2	7*	1	47
Education	6*	18*	9*	9*	8*	3	1	7*	61
Employment	5	4	9*	3	4	17	2	5	49
Housing	6*	7*	8*	6*	5	5	3	6*	46
Land	4		2	1	5			1	13
Multiplex						1	2	2	5
Social Services	3	6*	2	8*	10*	3		4	36
Staff	8*	4	1	3	5	1	1	7*	30
Total	67	75	45	58	67	56	44	65	477

(b) Summaries of Council MinutesBefore 1971

Few minutes were found for this period. In 1965 employment opportunities were being discussed. In 1966 Verne Franklin was grazing his horses and cattle on the Reserve without permission. There were problems in school busing. It appears that most Council meetings were held at District Office to consider minor amounts of aid to individuals (called economic development), to approve moving of a house, improving a driveway, or assisting with the purchase of false teeth. In 1970 significant amounts of livestock and farm machinery appear to have been purchased for individuals, as evidenced by a seizure order due to non-payment in 1971. Joe Dion was appointed Band Manager in 1970. A number of economic development projects were considered, including a tree plantation that was opposed as a fire hazard.

1971

During this year considerable emphasis was given to welfare and associated housing problems. Agriculture was an active topic, with discussion of the cattle coop, the band farm, machinery and land tenure problems. Administrative matters included the structuring of committees, offices, the band hall, sanitation, and operation of the Council.. First discussions of the new school and CMHC housing which, along with self-government and economic development, were to be important items of discussion in subsequent years. The main accomplishment was organization of the administrative system and the institution of regular reporting through responsibility centres. The total employment project was launched.

1972

At the beginning of the year budgets were the prime topic. A budget of \$690,000 was proposed; \$570,000 was approved. Priorities in the proposed budget were housing for welfare cases, road, and agriculture. LIP winter works programs were stressed as an alternative to welfare. As in 1971, a great deal of time was spent on the personal problems of individuals, and community social problems. Much discussion of both agricultural and non-agricultural economic development--sawmill was organized.

The Chief resigned and was replaced with an acting chief.

1973

The Council appeared more self-assured, and pursued its educational and economic development ideas aggressively. Sound plans were laid for the new school. Agriculture declined in importance as an item of discussion, but there was much emphasis on employment on the Reserve--the steel plant, weaving factory, staff positions, LIP, WOP, and housing.

1974

School construction, development of curriculum and related matters, and problems of economic development were major topics. A dispute developed with Indian Affairs over the education program, and the Council's views eventually prevailed.

The economic development program slipped behind as absenteeism, low productivity and turnover of staff plagued both the steel plant and the weaving factory. Workers were dissatisfied with the training allowances paid at the steel plant, and wanted proper wages. Disputes arose between management and the Council.

Other contentious issues were housing, for which the Council lacked a consistent policy, agricultural land, and problems associated with the rotating cattle herd, which had to be liquidated. The Band manager resigned and there were some transitional difficulties. Staff problems included resignations, absenteeism, mis-matching of people to jobs, and drinking. The recurring problem of non-payment of utilities by social assistance recipients, day care, problem parents and many matters relating to individuals occupied much of Council's attention.

1975

The school was completed, salaries set, teachers hired, students transferred and the school program started. These details took up much of Council's time. Although there was criticism of workmanship on housing, and considerable wrangling with the Department about financing, the Council was happy enough with the year's results to make the Minister an honorary chief.

Numerous complaints were received about housing conditions, plumbing, maintenance by tenants, water, location of old folks' houses, etc.

The Council tried to take a hard line about social assistance, and insist that single people without dependents and able to work should not get it. There were instances of child neglect in the households with drinking problems, but the Council resented the fact that Provincial authorities were apprehending Band children, and thought they should not have that power. Council disclaimed responsibility for the personal debts of Band members, but did try to encourage repayment. Concern was expressed about repayment of loans from the Band to members and staff.

Staff problems continued--absenteeism, drunkenness, lateness were commonly reported. Administrative policies were outlined, and the portfolio system of organization adopted. Priorities were set, an organizational chart prepared and committees appointed. Attendance was reported to be very poor at their meetings, however, and the committees faded away. Core funding was accepted, on the condition that it not interfere with Treaty rights.

Agricultural progress was slow, with the ARDA fields and other farmer problems occupying some of Council's time. Steps were taken to hire an agricultural consultant. Members holding land were leasing it to non-Band members, and the practice was criticized. Other economic development activities also ran into hard times. Cree-ations was closed, reopened, and finally taken over by the Council. Efforts were made to reopen the steel plant and a manager was sought.

A study of treaty rights and land claims was prepared but not a final report. Some oil and gas lease revenue was obtained. First discussions were held on planning and construction of the multiplex.

1976

Agricultural planning was a major topic. Consultants were hired to outline a five-year agricultural plan, the first for a Reserve in Alberta. The concept was to develop fields through a Band land manager and turn them over to individuals later. An agricultural planning committee was set up and held two workshops for farmers. Council discussed the difficulties that farmers were having with payments on machinery. One had his machinery repossessed. There was considerable discussion of land tenure policies, but a land allocation and use policy meeting reached no decision. The continuing problems of land being held but not used, and of Band members leasing to outsiders and retaining all the proceeds, were not able to be resolved.

An agreement was signed with CMHC for new housing, and the first trailers were bought to provide temporary quarters for families. Occupants were required to sign promissory notes for the cost of installing plumbing. Housing for social assistance recipients and old folks again occupied discussion. Because wells were unsuitable, cisterns were installed, a water truck put into operation, and a fee structure established.

The portfolio system of organization was more firmly established, with the position of Band manager being formally abolished, and the Chief taking over as chief executive. Council decided to make many administrative decisions itself. There were numerous complaints about the effectiveness of staff--people not doing their jobs, attendance, drinking, threatened firings, etc.

Individual concerns occupied less time than in previous years, but some child neglect cases were discussed. Problems were still being experienced because social assistance recipients did not pay their utilities bills. Discussion of policing and a possible Band constable resulted from instances of vandalism and break-ins at the school, day care centre and Band office. Activity in the community affairs department declined and the director resigned.

A director of economic development was appointed. Funding was finally provided for the steel plant, effective January 1, 1977. Cree-ations continued its off-again, on-again progress, with staff problems and lack of management. Additional funding kept it going.

A major milestone was the first recorded support for a Band member to start his own business, a basement contracting firm that is still (1979) going strong.

Planning continued on the multiplex, the cost of which had risen to an estimated \$400,000. By the end of the year there was a financial shortfall of \$260,000.

1977

CMHC housing was constructed, with some difficulties due to efforts to combine construction with training. Instructors proved difficult to find and retain. A great deal of useful experience was acquired. More trailers were bought, and damage deposits required from renters. Several social assistance recipients were not paying their rents.

The five-year agricultural program was completed, but the necessary finances were not raised. Twine and fuel grants were made from Band funds, and the first horticultural program was launched with 43 gardens.

An evaluation was performed at the school. High school drop-out rates continued to cause concern.

The Multiplex was approved at an estimated cost of \$490,000 for the building alone. Funding was slow to come through.

A number of job-creation programs were operated using program and Band funds. The familiar range of social problems again occupied the Council's time, along with staff and organizational affairs. The chief resigned and a new one was elected. Reorganizations and/or re-staffing took place in the finance department and the counselling service. A number of initiatives were taken in recreation programming, with hockey and baseball activities, and the purchase of a van to facilitate team travel.

The water problem again emerged, and DREE approached for funding for piped water systems. The problem of non-payment of water bills by social assistance recipients was finally solved by deduction from cheques. A maintenance man was hired. Roads and land tenure were again discussed.

In economic development, the Kehewin Economic Development Corporation was created, but planning and development money were not available. A manager was appointed for Cree-ations and the steel plant continued in operation.

Despite an income of \$54,000 from seismic activity, the many and varied activities strained the Band's finances, and resulted in a shake-up of the finance department, with a non-native controller being appointed for the first time. Efforts were made to tighten internal control.

1978

The tremendous increase in the range and complexity of Band activities makes the job of summarizing Council's work much more difficult. Significant new developments took place this year in housing, in construction of the Multiplex, in economic development, in planning for the Reserve, in recreation, and in social programs.

Major changes took place in the regional political and program structure, with the emergence of the Seven Bands Council (now called the Tribal Chiefs Association) and the plans to reduce the St. Paul District Office of Indian Affairs by 22 positions. The regional bands became involved in the public hearings of the Energy Resources Conservation Board about the proposed Esso heavy oil development.

Council dealt with the usual social problems and staffing difficulties, and again had to come to grips with the problem of financial control. The Band was beginning to express concern about financial methods. A new controller was hired, and priority was given to reducing the deficit.

Agricultural development received a new thrust with appointment of an agricultural director, and the Band became actively involved in planning for the proposed Alberta Indian Agricultural Corporation.

(vi) Treaty Research

In July of 1975 a program of Treaty research began. In the first year the emphasis was on locating the various surrenders since 1889 when Kehewin first became a Reserve. Sources were the National Archives, Provincial Archives, Department of Indian Affairs files, the Provincial Department of Energy and Natural Resources, and elders of the Band.

The pieces of land that were being questioned were:

- (a) The hay reserve or long swamp 10 miles long by 1 mile wide located about 4 miles east of Bonnyville in Twp 61 and part of 62, Range 4 and 5;
- (b) Moose Lake fishing station, part of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ Sec 25 Twp 60-7-W4 on the south shore of Moose Lake, containing 126.9 acres less a road allowance of 5 acres;
- (c) The three small islands immediately north of the Reserve in Sinking Lake;
- (d) Bay Sands near Moose Lake was set aside for the Department of Indian Affairs, an area of 26.5 square miles in Twps 60 & 61-7-W4, surveyed in October 1897;
- (e) The Reserve called Makea, given to William Youngchief and not surrendered when he moved to Kehewin;
- (f) Two letters were found, dated August 6, 1910 and August 22, 1910 saying that Kehewin is entitled to 37.6 square miles of Reserve land, about 10 sections more than the present land area.

The Treaty research also looked into traplines and a possible timber reserve.

Results of the treaty research program were sent to the Band's solicitor, but no further action seems to have been taken.

11. Finances

Because of unsystematic financial reporting over the years, it was not possible to produce a complete summary of Band financial statements, as we had hoped to do. Particularly, the statements do not give accurate information on the sources of Band revenues, and the methods used for classification of expenses vary from year to year, especially in the early years, so that comparisons for many items are extremely dubious.

Table 27 shows two important sets of financial data-- total revenues, total expenditures and surplus or deficit; and the amount and percentage that Indian Affairs paid each year under the contributions to bands program. Table 28 divides total expenditures into six categories, five showing major items of expenditure, and the sixth a residual including administration and a host of small programs. Table 29 presents the same information in percentages. These tables show how the Band's budget has evolved, and shed light on the ever-increasing scope of its self-government.

Table 27

Total Revenues, Expenditures and Surplus or Deficit
With Share of Revenue from Indian Affairs'
Contributions to Bands Program
Kehewin - 1971/72 to 1978/79

	Total Revenues (\$'000)	Total Expenditures (\$'000)	Surplus* (Deficit) (\$'000)	DINA Share	
				Amount (\$'000)	Percent (%)
1971/72	256	250	6	241	94
1972/73	569	524	46	316	56
1973/74	475	540	(64)	418	88
1974/75	1,070	1,091	(21)	948	89
1975/76	830	927	(97)	677	82
1976/77	1,135	1,236	(101)	831	73
1977/78	1,409	1,474	(65)	1,003	71
1978/79	2,059	1,928	131	1,699	83

Source: Band financial statements

* May not add due to rounding.

Table 28

Analysis of Expenditures - Kehewin Band

Total Amounts - 1971/72 to 1978/79
(Thousands of Dollars)

Year	Social Assis- tance	Education ⁽¹⁾ Programs	Housing	Employ- ment Programs	Major Capital Projects	Administ- ration & Other	Total (2)
71/2	125	50				76	250
72/3	43	60		316		105	524
73/4	59	63		192		227	540
74/5	155	116		36	584 ⁽³⁾	200	1,091
75/6	180	227	88	17	97 ⁽³⁾	318	927
76/7	217	312	279	64 ⁽⁵⁾		364	1,236
77/8	220	271	368	66 ⁽⁵⁾	127 ⁽⁴⁾	423	1,474
78/9	207	398	312	44 ⁽⁵⁾	527 ⁽⁴⁾	440	1,928

Source: Band Financial Statements

- (1) Including busing.
- (2) Totals may not add exactly due to rounding.
- (3) School.
- (4) Multiplex.
- (5) Does not include \$415,000 contributed over these three years by the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission as a subsidy to Kehewin Steel.

Table 29

Analysis of Expenditures - Kehewin Band
Expenditure Categories as Percent of Total
1971/72 to 1978/79

<u>Year</u>	<u>Social Assis- tance</u>	<u>Education Programs</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Employ- ment Programs</u>	<u>Major Capital Projects</u>	<u>Administ- ration & Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
71/2	49.8	19.9				30.3	100.0
72/3	8.2	11.4		60.3		20.1	100.0
73/4	10.8	11.7		35.5		42.0	100.0
74/5 ⁽¹⁾	14.2	10.6		3.3	53.6	18.4	100.0
74/5 ⁽²⁾	30.5	22.9		7.0	----	39.5	100.0
75/6 ⁽¹⁾	19.4	24.5	9.5	1.8	10.4	34.3	100.0
75/6 ⁽²⁾	21.7	27.3	10.6	2.0	----	38.3	100.0
76/7	17.5	25.2	22.6	5.2		29.4	100.0
77/8 ⁽¹⁾	14.9	18.4	25.0	4.5	8.6	28.7	100.0
77/8 ⁽²⁾	16.3	20.1	27.3	4.9	----	31.4	100.0
78/9 ⁽¹⁾	10.7	20.6	16.2	2.3	27.3	22.8	100.0
78/9 ⁽²⁾	14.8	28.4	22.2	3.1	----	31.4	100.0

Source: Band Financial Statements

- (1) Major capital projects included in total.
(2) Major capital projects excluded from total.

A few other highlights can be gleaned from the financial statements;

(1) The first appearance of expenditures for progress on alcohol and drug abuse was in 1973/74, and amounts were shown separately until 1976/77, as follows:

1973/74 - \$28,999
1974/75 - \$22,200
1975/76 - \$34,914
1976/77 - \$53,019

Although the source of these funds is not shown, it appears that Indian Affairs and the Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission split the cost in the first year, after which AADAC paid it all.

(2) The Band received \$43,500 in 1973/4 from Indian Affairs for community planning and for the school and village survey.

(3) The Band received \$6,300 in 1975/76 and \$6,965 in 1976/77 from Indian Affairs for Treaty Research.

(4) An analysis of expenditures for employment projects is contained in Section 3 (vii).

Appendix ATERMS OF REFERENCEKehewin EvaluationA. Introduction

On the forward to the publication Kehewin Reserve 1972 The Land of the Eagle it is stated in part: "This Book is intended to reflect the great socio-economic changes that have so dramatically altered the lives of every citizen on our reserve ... The projects as such have been of great importance for Kehewin. The employment figures have been reversed; 98% of the working population is now gainfully employed as opposed to 98% of the population on welfare prior to May, 1972 ..."

In 1974 a Benefit Analysis Kehewin was done: "to assess what has occurred since the fall of 1971 when the Kehewin Band began promoting the principle of self-determination ...". This report noted that: "The impact of the development experience on individual and community expectations is difficult to assess but it can be assumed that if nothing more, the experience has opened peoples' eyes to what can be accomplished. Only if the developmental process is permitted to mature with related assistance will we know if the experiment in self-determination has been worthwhile in terms of band members, the larger community and the department." The report concluded with a recommendation that the activities undertaken on the Kehewin Reserve continue to be monitored and that the monitoring ... "will enable the assessment of the self-determination approach as a viable alternative for delivering services to Bands".

Since 1971 dramatic changes have been taken place on this Reserve. The continued documentation of these changes could be useful to the Band Council both for its' future planning and for the transmittal of its experiences to other Bands, as well as to Program and Regional Offices in the development of socio-economic strategies.

B. Purpose

To evaluate and document the socio-economic changes that have occurred at the Kehewin Indian Reserve between 1971 and the present time. The purpose is to:

1. assist the Band Council with its' future planning;

2. provide the Band with information that it could use in marketing its proposed Kehewin Consulting Corporation;
3. provide other Regions and Bands with information on the cost and benefit of what was called by Denis Chatain "The Total Community Approach";
4. provide the Region and Program with information for strategic planning and policy development purposes; and
5. facilitate analysis of the current resource allocation process.

C. Sources of Information

While the subject area is broad, and the time period long, it is noted that there is a great deal of reference material available such as shown below.

1. Task Force for Action Research in Socio-Economic Development using the Total Community Approach, Denis Chatain, November 1972.
2. Kehewin Reserve 1972. The Land of the Eagle.
3. Benefit Analysis, Kehewin, DIAND^o 1974.
4. Economic Development Planning Process of the Kehewin Reserve, Halgard Venture Analysis Ltd., 1975.
5. Vol. I of the Economic Development Plan for the Kehewin Reserve, Halgard Venture Analysis Ltd., Nov. 1976.
6. Analysis and Evaluation Report, Kehewin School Project, DIAND, 1976.
7. Band Community Development Plan (being developed).

D. Change 1971 to 1979

1. Community Profile

Community information for 1971 and for 1979 will be assembled and compared.

2. Situation in 1971

The reasons that led to "the great socio-economic changes" will be described. Are there particular requirements necessary to initiate such changes: are these internal or can they be externally influenced?

3. Highlights 1971 to 1979

During this period a number of significant events occurred, e.g. the school, economic development projects, organization structure, approach to social assistance, use of CMHC funding, approach to school drop-outs, housing allocation, community planning, etc. Each of these significant events are to be documented with respect to leadership, community involvement, the process for implementation and generally on "why did these things happen?" What have been the successes and what are the criteria that are used by the Band to measure "success" and what were the prime causative factors leading to success in terms of leadership, community involvement, implementation process, etc.? What were the failures or potential failures and how is the Band coping with these problems?

4. The Current Situation

The developments during the period in question will be analyzed in order to comment on their effect on the overall quality of life on the Reserve. The onus is on the Band to identify the criteria that it uses in measuring both positive and negative changes in "quality of life".

This analysis should facilitate planning future policies, programs and the general direction for the next 5-10 years. This planning however, is outside the scope of this evaluation but could considerably form a second phase of the study.

5. Cost-Benefit Analysis

To the maximum extent possible all expenditures, separated into normal and extraordinary input, by year, by primary objective, should be identified and then related to both quantifiable and other benefits. Included in the quantifiable benefits would be items such as changes in cost of health care, incarceration, social assistance payments, school performance, profitability of band of individual economic development ventures, etc.

E. Conclusions

While the report would not provide future direction that the Band may wish to take, conclusions and comments on required current District/Region support to Band, criteria for resource allocation amongst Bands, and the type of assistance that the Band could provide to others in earlier stages of development would provide a basis for discussion of future policy and programming at the Regional and Band level.

Community Information 1971 through to 1979

1. Community Profile

(a) Population

- Age
- Sex
- Family Units - No. in Family
- Whether on or off reserve
- Education (school attendance statistics, age/grade retardation)
- Skills
- Employment (on and off reserve)

(b) Housing

No. of Units	No. occupied & condition
No. of Units renovated	
Condition of Units	No. vacant & condition
Location	Average no. per house
Facilities	No. new required (1978)

Information on population will be essentially "census" information. Of most significance will be an evaluation of the development of skills to compete in the labor market and whether there are areas, policies or practises that might inhibit or advance development.

A review of the policies followed in providing, maintaining and administering housing would naturally follow the statistical review.

(c) Community Services and Facilities

- (On and off reserve) Recreation
- Counselling
- Medical
- Church
- Education
- Band Hall
- Library
- Community Hall
- Day Care Centre

Post Office
Transportation
Sanitation

- (d) Utilities
 - Electricity
 - Water
 - Sewer
 - Gas
 - Telephone
 - Street Lighting

- (e) Roads

- (f) Protection Services
 - (On and off reserve) Police
 - Fire

The foregoing four factors are, in a sense, the infrastructure within which the Band lives and operates. Whether the individual factors are adequate or fulfill the purposes for which they were intended will be considered. Particular attention will be paid to education and training.

- (g) Band Council
 - No. in Council and Responsibilities
 - Organization Chart
 - Elections
 - Flow of Information
- (h) Administration
 - Organization Chart and Responsibilities
 - Job Descriptions
 - Financial Controls
 - Records
 - Systems and Procedures

- (i) Land and Membership Records

- (j) Land Policies

Progress on the reserve and quality of life is directly related to the leadership provided by Council, the policies they adopt and the manner in which they meet their obligations. But Council is also dependent upon effective administrative procedures and controls and these are to be examined in detail.

2. Resource Base

- (a) Discussion of Human Resource Base
 - Age, Sex
 - Education and Skills
 - Individual Objectives
 - Employability

(b) Natural Resource Base and State of Development

- Agriculture
- Mineral Development, sand and gravel
- Petro-chemical
- Timber
- Fishery
- Recreation Potential
- Fur and Trapping
- Wildlife

An analysis of the foregoing should provide an overview of opportunities for development and an increase in individual and Band opportunities.

3. Industries and Businesses on Reserve

Band: Steel
 Cree-ations
 Fence Posts
 Fire Wood
 Construction
 Agriculture
 Community Store

Private: Construction
 Agriculture

Job Opportunities on Reserve
Job Opportunities off Reserve
Unemployment Rates
Earned Income statistics

Current on-reserve related industries are to be examined. An analysis will be made of their management and profitability and possibilities for expansion. The total employment picture for Band members will be discussed.

4. Welfare

By whom supplied
Administration
Criteria
Number unemployable and employable (also change as applicable by season, type, etc.)

A matter of considerable concern to Council is the number of welfare recipients. A review is to be made of this problem with particular reference to practices and procedures followed in approving welfare to employables.

5. Other Social Problems

Alcoholism
Suicides
Arrests
Health

6. Costing of Operations

Industries on Reserve
Band Operations

Although costing of the various services, programs and industries will be considered when they are discussed separately, the intention is to summarize such costs in this section to provide a summary or overview by categories.

7. Activity Measures

Band Budgets
Sources of funds
etc.

APPENDIX B

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