

TOXIC WATER: THE KASHECHEWAN STORY

Introduction

Focus

In fall 2005, Canadians were stunned to hear of the appalling living conditions on the Kashechewan First Nations Reserve in Northern Ontario. Initial reports documented the presence of *E. coli* in the reserve's drinking water. This was followed by news of poverty and despair, a reflection of a standard of living that many thought unimaginable in Canada. This *News in Review* story looks at the crisis in Kashechewan.

Definition

E. coli is the short term for *Escherichia coli*, bacteria that can be deadly to human beings.

 Sections marked with this symbol indicate content suitable for younger viewers.

It was the straw that broke the proverbial camel's back. A fax arrived from Health Canada (www.hc-sc.gc.ca) at the Kashechewan First Nations council office, revealing that *E. coli* had been detected in the reserve's drinking water. Enough was enough. A community already plagued by poverty and unemployment was now being poisoned by its own water supply. Something needed to be done, and some members of the reserve had a plan. First they closed down the schools. Next, they called a meeting of concerned members of the community. Then they launched a media campaign that shifted the national spotlight onto the horrendous conditions in this remote, Northern Ontario reserve. Eventually, the conditions on all of Canada's reserves were being discussed, leading to a national debate on the federal government's responsibility for Canada's Aboriginal community.

The Crisis

The fax that got the ball rolling arrived on October 14, 2005. It contained the hot-button reference to *E. coli*, the same bacteria that killed seven and made over 2 000 people sick in Walkerton, Ontario, in 2000. Band officials, along with other members of the community, leapt into action, using the *E. coli* result to bring as much attention as possible to the plight of the people of Kashechewan. Letters, faxes and e-mails were sent to government officials and the media. Pictures went into circulation showing children from the reserve suffering from skin conditions like impetigo and scabies. Reports began to surface that the people of Kashechewan

had been under a boil-water alert on and off for years.

A week after the water tested positive for *E. coli*, Indian Affairs Minister Andy Scott arrived in Kashechewan. He offered to provide the people with more bottled water but little else. Incensed by Scott's apparent indifference, the community redoubled their efforts, putting pressure on the provincial and federal governments to evacuate those who were suffering from the effects of the contaminated water. The Ontario government pointed the finger at Ottawa because the federal government is responsible for Canada's First Nations. Ottawa pointed the finger back at the province, saying that water safety and public health were under provincial jurisdiction. Finally, on October 25, Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty promised to evacuate the sickest in the community—a staggering 50 per cent of the population of the reserve. Within a week, close to 1 000 of Kashechewan's 1 900 residents were evacuated, with most going to Ottawa, Sudbury, Cochrane, and Timmins.

The crisis in Kashechewan highlighted two important issues. First, it demonstrated the brutal living conditions on some native reserves. Many critics wondered if Ottawa's apparent apathy toward Canada's First Nations people had led to an acceptance of poverty as a norm on reserves. The evidence seemed to support this view. Just in the area of maintaining the water supply on reserves, Ottawa appeared to have failed miserably. Within weeks of the Kashechewan story, reports began circulating that almost 100 of Canada's 858 native reserves were living under

Did you know . . .

Health issues often force school closings in remote Aboriginal communities and by Grade 8, some students are two years behind the typical Canadian student.

Quote

"These are unacceptable, deplorable conditions. No families should have to tolerate what those families are going through." — Premier Dalton McGuinty, *Toronto Star*, October 27, 2005

boil-water advisories. Another report stated that only 60 of Ontario's 134 reserves had water treatment operators with any formal training (Canadian Press, "Water Training Needed at Reserves, Agency Says," November 4, 2005). One news story reported that, in 2003, the Ontario Clean Water Agency (www.ocwa.com) had identified Kashechewan as a "Walkerton-in-waiting." If Ottawa was responsible for Canada's First Nations people, how could they have missed these extremely important issues of public safety?

The second issue involved federal and provincial responsibility for the situation on the reserve. The story broke on October 14, but the evacuation order was not issued until October 25. For the 11 days between these two events, the provincial government took the position that the reserve was under federal jurisdiction while the federal government called on the provincial government to intervene because health and water are provincial responsibilities. A co-ordinated effort might have been pursued immediately so that the prob-

lem could have been dealt with effectively. Instead, Canadians watched both levels of government struggle to respond, while the media brought conditions, not only in Kashechewan but on all reserves, into the national spotlight. Then, out of what appeared to be shame and shock, the provincial government promised to evacuate the sickest residents to proper medical facilities, while the federal government made a slew of promises to the people of Kashechewan as well as First Nations people across Canada.

The Kashechewan story forced Canadians to examine their collective conscience. Are First Nations people being treated as second-class citizens? Is the provincial and federal government bickering over responsibility a reflection of Canadian indifference to First Nations people? This examination of conscience leads to the most important question of all: will Canada embrace First Nations people into the fabric of Canadian society and ensure that a crisis like the one in Kashechewan will never happen again?

To Consider

1. What was the immediate cause of the crisis in Kashechewan? What fears did the crisis arouse in people?
2. What action did the Ontario government take to try to deal with the health concerns of the people of Kashechewan?
3. Briefly describe the two issues the Kashechewan story highlighted.
4. Answer the three questions posed in the final paragraph of the article.

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Video Review

Answer the questions in the spaces provided.

Archives

The CBC Digital Archives has several stories on conditions on Canadian reserves. Consider a visit to <http://archives.cbc.ca> and explore the files, "Davis Inlet: Innu Community in Crisis," "Mercury Rising: The Poisoning of Grassy Narrows." You might also wish to review the Walkerton crisis by viewing the file "Death on Tap: The Poisoning of Walkerton."

1. Where is Kashechewan? How many people live there?

2. What problems with the reserve's drinking water emerged in fall 2005?

3. How did the federal and provincial governments respond to the Kashechewan crisis?

4. Describe some of the health problems that people suffered as a result of the poor quality of the Kashechewan water supply.

5. Why were the federal and provincial governments blaming each other for the Kashechewan crisis?

6. What deal did the federal government make with the people of Kashechewan?

7. According to the documentary, how many First Nations are under a boil-water advisory? _____
8. How long has the water on the Kwicksutaineuk-ah-kwaw-ah-mish been undrinkable? _____

Analysis

1. Based on your viewing of the documentary, who do you think is responsible for the Kashechewan crisis? Support your answer with evidence from the documentary.

2. How should the federal and provincial governments have reacted to the Kashechewan crisis?

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The Plight of Kashechewan

Further Research

To stay informed about Aboriginal issues, visit the official Web site of Indian and Northern Affairs at www.ainc-inac.gc.ca. The Assembly of First Nations (www.afn.ca) speaks on behalf of most First Nations in Canada.

Quote

"I wash the clothes but the rashes still come back. I just want my babies to get healed." — Annabelle Wesley, resident of Kashechewan, *Toronto Star*, October 27, 2005

There is no disputing the desperate situation of the people of Kashechewan. Located on the north shore of the Albany River, about 10 kilometres upstream from James Bay, Kashechewan is the very definition of an isolated community. Its nearest neighbour, Fort Albany, is most easily accessible by boat and air, while the nearest urban centre, Timmins, can only be accessed by plane and is located over 400 kilometres away. The problem with isolation is that there is often not a lot to do on the reserve. The Kashechewan unemployment rate is a staggering 87 per cent. While some members of the community participate in traditional hunting and fishing practices some of the time, most people in Kashechewan have nothing to do. Boredom is just one example of the problems facing Kashechewan.

According to band elders, the federal government ignored a recommendation to build the reserve farther up the Albany River when it was first constructed in 1957. As a result, the current location of the reserve is prone to flooding. When the river overflows, flood waters back up onto the land, forcing people living in the lower reaches of the reserve to evacuate to higher ground. This means people are forced to move in with friends and relatives, causing serious issues of overcrowding. News reports surfacing after the toxic water story broke indicated as many as 19 people living in one house. This is common in Kashechewan. When the flood waters recede, people return to their homes, bail out any remaining water, and, in time, have to contend with mould. A

major cause of health problems, mould is a consistent and persistent problem in Kashechewan's houses, businesses and school buildings. This is why band leaders have consistently demanded to be relocated. They believe that their health will always be in jeopardy as long as they are located so far down the Albany River. Couple this with the fact that the water intake pipe for the reserve's water supply was placed 135 metres downstream from Kashechewan's sewage lagoon, and it is clear to see why the reserve was seen by many as a disaster waiting to happen.

Bad water has meant that the reserve has been under a boil-water alert on and off for years. In other words, in order to maintain their health, the people on the reserve have had to boil their drinking and, at times, their bathing water. This is especially difficult in winter. Residents using wood-burning stoves claim they are almost constantly cutting and splitting wood to boil water for cooking and bathing. The other option is to buy bottled water. One woman said she needed to use bottled water to bathe her baby because he was suffering from eczema. The cost of the water: \$36 per day (*The Globe and Mail*, "Tempers Flare with Ottawa as Airlift of Natives Begins," October 27, 2005). Since her only income came from government benefits, she eventually couldn't afford to bathe her baby more than once a day. It was just too expensive.

Technically, the residents could bathe in the water with little danger of getting too sick. This is because the sewage lagoon only backs up into the creek that feeds the reserve water supply on occasion—during times of flooding or

when beaver colonies dam up the lagoon's drainage streams. The reserve's two water technicians have dealt with the problem of sewage back-up by manually dumping chlorine into the water supply to combat bacteria like *E. coli*. This has led to over-chlorination of the water supply. Over-chlorinated water can contribute to the emergence of skin rashes and infections. The most common skin conditions reported at Kashechewan have been impetigo, caused by bacteria, and scabies, caused by mites. Scabies is of particular concern because the disease spreads quickly in overcrowded conditions, which are commonplace in Kashechewan. Scabies is also very difficult to eradicate because mites are tiny organisms that can live in bedding and clothes. These problems raise two important questions:

- How does a person effectively clean themselves when the water is either contaminated or over-chlorinated?
- How does a person effectively clean their clothes and bedding when the water is either contaminated or over-chlorinated?

The prospects of staying clean are indeed grim for the people of Kashechewan.

The positive *E. coli* test in fall 2005 was really the tip of the iceberg. Beneath the surface lay a mass of poverty and despair that is unacceptable by Canadian standards. This was the source of the outrage that captured the Canadian imagination as the plight of the residents of Kashechewan took the national spotlight.

Analysis

1. How is Kashechewan the "very definition of an isolated community"?

2. Why is the location of the reserve a cause for concern for public health? Explain.

3. What problems were created by the poor quality of water on the Kashechewan reserve?

4. Should Kashechewan be relocated? Why or why not?

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The Great Debate: Did They Need to Evacuate?

Did you know . . .

On one Manitoba reserve (Keewaywin), the water is so bad that it has a full “do not consume” warning because there is uranium in the water supply.

On October 25, 2005, Premier Dalton McGuinty made the announcement that the sick and beleaguered residents of Kashechewan would be evacuated to communities around Ontario. However, by early November, the decision to evacuate was challenged by a front-page article (“How Kashechewan Created a Political Stampede,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 4, 2005). The article claimed that the public reaction to the crisis was fuelled by the actions of some members of the Kashechewan community who were tired of the poor living conditions on the reserve. As a result, they used the positive *E. coli* water result as the rallying cry for all those who were unhappy with the quality of life on the reserve in order to bring about badly needed changes in the community.

Was the crisis manufactured?

According to the *Globe* story, elementary school principal Lloyd MacDonald hatched a media campaign that brought the nation’s attention to the plight of the citizens of Kashechewan. The article accuses MacDonald of fuelling the rage of members of the community in order to put pressure on the federal government to promise to relocate the reserve. He, along with a number of teachers on his staff, contacted the media by fax, phone, and e-mail, eventually mounting enough pressure to force Indian Affairs Minister Andy Scott to fly to the reserve within a week of the positive *E. coli* test result. When Scott arrived he was served with a list of demands—demands that he subsequently turned aside, promising more bottled water instead. This dismissal simply served to

add fuel to the fire as a new wave of faxes, e-mails, and phone calls went out to politicians and the media. Pictures started to do most of the talking. Photos of water bottles filled with vile brown liquid and children suffering from awful skin conditions like impetigo and scabies started to make their way into the national consciousness. While the images did the talking, the reality was that the contaminated water and the skin diseases were two separate issues. This was of little consequence as the Kashechewan story started to take on a life of its own. People were very concerned about the health and welfare of those living on the reserve. Finally, on October 25, the provincial government agreed to evacuate those suffering from the ill effects of life in Kashechewan.

What really happened?

The question is: did the reserve need to be evacuated or did the stories circulating in the media force the politicians to try to put a positive spin on the situation? Several issues came to the surface shortly after the Kashechewan story broke. First, a lot was made of the location of the reserve’s sewage lagoon. For some reason, the lagoon was built 135 metres upstream from the reserve’s fresh water intake pipe. How could such a colossal mistake have been made? As it turns out, the sewage lagoon was designed to drain away from Red Willow Creek, the source from which the intake pipe drew its water. Unfortunately, beaver colonies had dammed the drainage streams leading out of the lagoon, causing it to back up into the creek. According to an article published in the *Toronto Star* (“Nobody Really

Trained Us,” November 10, 2005), band leaders were warned about this problem in 2002 by an engineering firm hired to assess the safety of the water supply. Their advice: get rid of the beavers and destroy the existing dams. This was never done, which is one of the reasons why the reserve’s water supply became contaminated with the potentially deadly *E. coli* bacteria.

The Feds Respond

After word had reached the federal government about the presence of *E. coli* in the reserve’s water supply, Chris LeBlanc of Northern Waterworks was dispatched to fix the problem. LeBlanc arrived the day after the Health Canada fax indicating the presence of *E. coli* and quickly discovered that a \$30 chlorine injector needed to be replaced. He also discovered that a water system alarm that would have sounded a warning about potentially contaminated water had been disconnected. Apparently, years earlier, the plant operators reportedly turned off the alarm because it kept making annoying sounds. According to the chief water operator, the system never seemed to work properly, always setting off false alarms (*Toronto Star*, “Nobody Really Trained Us,” November 10, 2005). Had the beaver dams, the chlorine injector, and the water system alarm issues been dealt with properly, the *E. coli* scare never would have happened.

LeBlanc performed other maintenance and repairs on the water system and, within days, it was producing clean water. He also adjusted the water’s chlorine to a better level. LeBlanc said the boil-water advisory was no longer needed and that he had been “happily” drinking the water being produced at the Kashechewan water treatment facility (*The Globe and Mail*, “How

Kashechewan Created a Political Stampede,” November 4, 2005). Despite this, the federal government sent a Canadian Forces water purification unit to the scene to provide more clean water. With so much clean water already being pumped out of the reserve water treatment facility, why did the federal government send in the army?

The Province Responds

Let’s get back to the pictures of appalling living conditions and people suffering from revolting skin diseases. No one really went out of their way to separate the *E. coli* from the pictures of people with skin sores characteristic of impetigo and scabies. When the provincial government sent the Emergency Medical Assessment Team (EMAT) to Kashechewan, the medical staff encountered two health problems: diarrhea and stomach issues along with skin conditions. There is no doubt that the diarrhea and stomach cramps experienced by many could be directly attributed to the contaminated water. However, the skin problems were caused by poor hygiene that probably spread due to overcrowded living arrangements and a lack of clean water for bathing. Impetigo is caused by bacteria while scabies comes from mites. Neither skin condition can be directly linked to *E. coli* in the water. However, no one went out of their way to separate the two health issues.

Nonetheless, the Ontario provincial government found themselves in a tough spot by late October 2005. The presence of *E. coli* in the Kashechewan water supply brought back memories of Walkerton, Ontario, where seven people died and thousands of others got sick in 2000. While the EMAT team could take care of the problem on location in Kashechewan, pressure was

mounting to evacuate the sickest people living on the reserve. Certainly the province could claim that this was a federal problem, but the health of people living in Ontario was in the balance. The government also had to deal with the seemingly forgotten Emergency Preparedness Agreement of 1992—wherein Ontario agreed to provide emergency assistance to First Nations people in crisis at the request of the government in Ottawa. In turn, the federal government would cover the cost of any intervention. Neither the federal or provincial government had a clear understanding of the agreement until about a week after the crisis started. By October 25, Ontario was compelled to act under the terms of the Emergency Preparedness Act. The government prepared for the evacuation of almost half of Kashechewan’s 1 900 residents, despite the fact that the *E. coli* had been eliminated from the water supply and the chlorine levels were back to an acceptable standard.

Why evacuate?

By the beginning of November 2005, it became clear that the decision to evacuate Kashechewan was not medically necessary. The water problem had been fixed and EMAT could provide medical assistance to the people who were sick. So why did they evacuate Kashechewan? Perhaps the photographs and video footage of poverty on the reserve was a motivator. Perhaps there was degree of shame that the problem was allowed to evolve to such an extreme level. Or perhaps, deep down, someone recognized the need to give the suffering people of Kashechewan a break, to get them off the reserve to a place where a sustained infrastructure like those in Ottawa or Sudbury would allow them to get healthy and enjoy life away from the impoverished conditions of the reserve. The residents of Kashechewan were scheduled to return home before Christmas 2005. Time will tell if the evacuation was a gift of renewed hope and escape from poverty or another in a series of broken promises given to Canada’s First Nations people.

Activity

Fill in the following chart. Once you have completed the chart write a paragraph (75-100 words) stating whether or not you think the reserve needed to be evacuated.

Arguments for Evacuation	Arguments against Evacuation

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What is a Boil-water Advisory?

A boil-water advisory is declared if a determination is made that the water could affect the health of members of the community. As noted at cbc.ca, there is more to a boil-water advisory than most people think. Read the following and complete the activity that follows.

- During a boil-water advisory, use bottled water or disinfected water for drinking. This includes making drinks, infant formula and ice cubes; brushing your teeth; cooking and steaming food; and cleaning vegetables. Keep bottles of clean water next to the sink for these purposes.
- To disinfect water, bring it to a rolling boil for one minute to destroy disease-causing organisms. Water treatment devices, such as those built into taps or jugs, do not destroy these organisms.

- Boiled water can taste flat. Adding a little salt can help the flavour.
- Water for washing dishes should be hot, but doesn't need to be boiled. A small amount of bleach can be added to rinse water for disinfecting.
- Adults and teenagers can take showers, if they don't swallow any water. Sponge baths are safer than showers for younger children.
- During a boil-water advisory, tape plastic bags over taps and showerheads so you don't turn them on out of habit. The last thing you want to do is forget to take the necessary precautions and find yourself sick.

Source: www.cbc.ca/news/background/water/boilwateradvisory.html

Follow-up

1. Go to the Health Canada Web site. How many boil-water advisories are there currently on Canada's First Nations reserves? _____
2. Go to your provincial government's water standards Web site. How many boil-water advisories are there currently in your province? _____
3. Describe, in detail, how a boil-water advisory would affect life in your family and your school.

Family _____

School _____

4. Describe any times that your family has had to boil water for health reasons.

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Document Analysis

The Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs sent this news release on October 27, 2005. Read the news release and answer the Reflection question that follows.

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES PLAN TO RESOLVE SITUATION IN KASHECHEWAN

OTTAWA, ONTARIO, October 27, 2005 - The Government of Canada has announced an action plan to assure the health of residents of Kashechewan and the long-term well-being and sustainability of their community. Details of the plan were revealed after a meeting between the Minister of Indian Affairs and First Nations leaders in Ottawa this evening.

"We are working with our partners to improve not only water quality but the quality of life in Kashechewan," said Andy Scott, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs. "A successful resolution of this situation requires a collective effort, and tonight's meeting is an important commitment to that process."

Definition

DART refers to Canada's Disaster Assistance Response Team, which has the ability to move rapidly into a disaster situation and produce clean water and offer emergency medical assistance. It has been used most recently in Kashmir after the earthquake.

The plan includes steps to support the residents of Kashechewan by providing the following: increased and accelerated integrated health services; shipments of bottled water; stepped-up water monitoring; stabilization and long-term fix of water treatment facilities; additional water safety in the community through the deployment of a portable water purification system (mini-DART); deployment of certified water treatment operators; availability of federal facilities to house evacuees; additional housing; and enhanced social services.

The Government of Canada is also strengthening the \$1.6B First Nations Water Management Strategy, including accelerating the development of a regulatory and testing regime for all reserves.

"We commend Chief Friday of Kashechewan for bringing national attention to a national issue," said Assembly of First Nations National Chief Phil Fontaine. "We've agreed to a comprehensive response to the drinking water crisis in Kashechewan as well as the beginnings of a national strategy to address the critical needs across the country."

"The community has suffered long enough. A lot of people didn't expect this to happen. I am so thankful that it is," said Chief Leo Friday.

Reflection

Did the federal government go far enough to help the people of Kashechewan? Explain. Your answer should be 100-200 words in length.

Notes

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The Black Hole of Our Nation's Consciousness

Did you know. . .

Part of the problem in Kashechewan is the fact that while the federal government in Ottawa has responsibility for Native affairs, it has no real capacity to monitor water quality on reserves. On the other hand, the Ontario government has the capacity to monitor water quality in all Ontario communities except those on First Nation reserves.

The black hole of our nation's consciousness

By Jeffrey Simpson (*The Globe and Mail*, October 28, 2005)
Reprinted with permission

Suddenly, like a message from the black hole of the nation's consciousness, comes Kashechewan.

Native people on the western shore of James Bay are sick from contaminated drinking water. The pipe was installed in the wrong place, containing clean water with effluent. This problem has been known for some time. Nothing was done.

People are being airlifted out. The first 74 arrived in Sudbury for treatment. Many more will follow.

It's a scandal, and politicians predictably are pointing fingers at each other. The media have shifted into full coverage and editorial outcry modes. Eventually, the water contamination problem will be solved. Then what?

The Indians who live on the Kashechewan reserve will presumably return. Life will resume its normal patterns.

Anyone who has travelled along the shores of James Bay knows the bleakness of the terrain. It's starkly beautiful in its own way, but bleak.

There's not much to do there, except for the traditions of hunting, fishing and trapping. These are noble occupations, in their way, but they can assure at best a marginal economic existence.

About 1 900 people reside on the Kashechewan reserve. Assume that half of them, or maybe two-thirds, could work. What would they do? A thousand university doctorates or skilled trades people would struggle to make a vi-

brant economy function there, let alone operate the systems of a modern state as a self-governing "nation"—systems of education, justice, social welfare, policing, housing, environmental protection.

Dozens of Kashechewans are scattered throughout Northern Ontario, and many exist all across Canada: clusters of Native people, living on unforgiving land, far from urban centres, yet asked by their leaders to be treated as "nations."

The rhetoric is uplifting, but the task is insuperable by dint of small numbers, isolated locations and forbidding geography that would render the most skilled among us incapable of building a functioning economy, let alone the bare superstructure of a modern government.

The royal commission on Aboriginal affairs, established by the Mulroney government, took up the cause of these "nations" and designed an entire parallel political superstructure of "nation" to "nation" dealings. That the majority of these "nations" had fewer people than a small Saskatchewan town, and that many of the members had drifted into cities, did not seem to matter within the commissioners' dream palaces.

Dreamier still were the commissioners' views of economics. Perhaps because they were academics, judges, and Native political leaders, they had no idea how an economy actually works. Their economic proposals, therefore, mixed a bit of the great American social activist Saul Alinsky into the model of postcolonial Africa.

Obviously, there can be no excuse for the tainted water at Kashechewan—a problem known about but left unattended for too long, with serious conse-

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Activity: The Fine Art of Negotiating

The Kashechewan story is a classic example of many different groups having to come to an agreement on how best to solve a problem. Use the information you have learned about the crisis to negotiate a settlement in the case of the Kashechewan First Nations Reserve.

Negotiating Teams

The Band Council – led by Chief Leo Friday

- The council's primary objective is to relocate the reserve to someplace safer.
- They also want to work with the Assembly of First Nations to have more freedom and power to manage their own affairs.

The Federal Government – led by Indian and Northern Affairs Minister Andy Scott

- The federal government wants to keep Kashechewan where it is but improve the social infrastructure of the community (see "Document Analysis" on page 29)

The Provincial Government – led by Ontario Natural Resources Minister David Ramsay

- The province wants the government to take full responsibility for the quality of water on Native reserves. They want the water standards on reserves to be as high as they are for any other community in the province.
- The province also wants an "action plan" in the event of another Kashechewan-type crisis to prevent costly delays in getting people the help they need.

Format of Negotiations

Team formation – Teachers may wish to select the leader for each negotiating team and then assign the remaining students to one of the three teams.*

Preparation – one or two classes. Students should review the information from *News in Review* on Kashechewan and do further research if necessary.

Negotiation – The teacher will chair the meeting. The formal negotiations will proceed as follows:

- Opening Statements – from the three parties (1-2 minutes)
- Round-table Discussion – what each side feels they absolutely need to have if the negotiations are to be successful (5-10 minutes)
- Challenge Claims Made Thus Far – Each side will be allowed two challenges where they can dispute claims made by the other parties. The team that is challenged may briefly respond to the challenge (1 minute per challenge / 1 minute per rebuttal = 12-15 minutes)
- The Bottom Line – Teams re-state their bottom line and then work together to try to solve the problem for the people of Kashechewan. Financial cost, inconvenience, and saving face should not be an issue at this point. The bottom line is what is best for Kashechewan. The chair will keep track of the discussion and find the five most important points of agreement.
- The Agreement – The chair will read the five most important points of agreement to the teams one by one. The chair will confirm that each team agrees with each point. The proceedings will end with the chair directing the three

