

**POLICING & JUSTICE  
MAINSTREAM AND  
MI' KMAQ DIFFERENCE**

# OUTLINE OF PRESENTATION

- INTRODUCTION
- KEY SALIENT POINTS FROM FOUR RECENT RESEARCH INITIATIVES
- THE RCAP PERSPECTIVE
- CURRENT CJS PATTERNS
- JUSTICE AND POLICING BEYOND THE CJS
- CONCLUSION

# FOR THE NONCE: POLICING & ABORIGINAL OCCUPATIONS & PROTESTS

IPPERWASH 2006. pp.114

## LEARNING POINTS

1. THE CHANGING NATURE OF THE  
POLICE ROLE
2. THE NEED FOR FIRST NATIONS  
DISPUTE RESOLUTION CAPACITY

# **ABORIGINAL POLICING IN CANADA – AN OVERVIEW OF DEVELOPMENTS IN FIRST NATIONS**

IPPERWASH 2006. pp.146

## **LEARNING POINTS**

- 1. THE SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN POLICING  
IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES**
- 2. HOW IS FIRST NATIONS POLICING  
DIFFERENT FROM MAINSTREAM  
POLICING?**

# REALIZING THE PROMISE: FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN ELSIPOGTOG

JUSTICE 2006. pp.151  
ATLANTIC INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY  
DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY

## LEARNING POINTS

1. APPRECIATING THE  
CONTINUUM
2. DEVELOPING A STRATEGIC  
ACTION PLAN
3. HOW RADICAL IS THE VISION?

**A Call for CHANGE...**

**A Call for VISION...**

**A Call for JUSTICE**

**“We are always the ‘visiting team’ in the mainstream system. We never get home ice, the restorative justice program being the exception.**

**WE NEED TO DO THINGS OUR WAY  
AND ON OUR TURF. WE ARE READY  
AS A COMMUNITY TO TAKE ON  
MORE TURF”**

**(Source: Elsipogtog program directors focus group)**

# Building a Vision



# Building a Vision



## GOAL 0

**Existing & Future Justice Initiatives**

## GOAL 1

**Expand Restorative Justice Program**

## GOAL 2

**Provide Migmag-Sensitive Court Processes**

## GOAL 3

**Facilitate More Migmag Ownership of Criminal Justice Sys.**

**MAINSTREAM DRIVEN**

### OBJECTIVES

- 1) Elsipogtog Youth Development Plan
- 2) RCMP Community Policing
- 3) Elsipogtog Crime Prevention Proposal
- 4) Articulate and define root causes of crime. Create mechanism to address root cause crime.

### OBJECTIVES

- 1) Obtain crown and corrections referrals
- 2) Have sentencing circles in Elsipogtog
- 3) Assisting in responding to under 12 offences
- 4) Address the restrictions RE: referrals for restorative justice

### OBJECTIVES

- 1) Obtaining an Aboriginal Duty Council and Court Worker
- 2) Exchange and Awareness days for Criminal and Family justice professionals
- 3) Information centre for criminal, civil and family matters

### OBJECTIVES

- 1) Criminal court sitting in community once / week
- 2) Explore Wellness Court models
- 3) Prepare a proposal for a Wellness / Problem Solving Court.

\*This project is currently being initiated



# PART 3: Building a Vision



## GOAL 4

## GOAL 5

## GOAL 6

## GOAL 7

**Dev. Elsipogtog Justice Model for Criminal Matters**

**Expand Elsipogtog's Justice Model for Civil & Family Matters**

**Working Towards Elsipogtog's Justice Model for Safety & Reintegration**

**Establish a Broader Context for a First Nation Justice Approach**



**MIGMAG/ELSIPOGTOG DRIVEN**

### OBJECTIVES

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- 1) Establish a Wellness Court
- 2) Establish permanent full-time Elsipogtog-based victims' assistance services

- 1) Wellness Court begins to address certain civil and family issues
- 2) Begin dealing with intra-band disputes (re: band policies, especially in the area of forestry, fishing and resource utilization)

- 3) To build capacity and implement APIGSIGTOAGEN (DRCR or ADR)

- 1) Offender reintegration project is initiated\*
- 2) To continue working on establishing temporary shelters for victims

- 1) Build partnerships that will support collaboration with other First Nation communities
- 2) Develop strategies for major First Nation justice initiatives
- 3) Take a leadership role in establishing a tripartite forum for First Nation Justice
- 4) Build a replicable First Nation justice model

\*This project is currently being initiated

# FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN MI' KMAQ JUSTICE

2006.pp.140

TRIPARTITE FORUM, NOVA SCOTIA

## LEARNING POINTS

1. THE CONSIDERABLE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN JUSTICE MOVEMENTS AND JUSTICE PROJECTS ACROSS CANADA
2. THE SIGNIFICANT JUSTICE IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT POLITICAL - ECONOMIC CHANGE IN FIRST NATIONS IN ATLANTIC CANADA
3. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF “POLICING ISSUES” IN OTHER (NON-CRIMINAL) JUSTICE SECTORS

# ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES (RCAP): PREMISES FOR THE NEW AGENDA FOR FN JUSTICE

1. MAINSTREAM CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM:  
IMPOSED, ALIEN, DOES A POOR JOB.
2. TREATY RIGHTS TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVES EXIST
3. THERE ARE PROFOUND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES  
BETWEEN THE CANADIAN AND THE ABORIGINAL  
APPROACHES

CJS: PUNISHMENT VS. RESTORATION AND BALANCE

AJS: NONINTERFERENCE AND INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY.

4. COMMUNITY CONTROL ARE APPROPRIATE GIVEN TREATIES, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, AND PRAGMATIC IMPERATIVES (E.G., IDENTIFYING WITH JUSTICE, SHAMING EFFECTIVENESS)
5. CORE AND PERIPHERAL FOCI (QUALIFICATIONS FOR AND ESPECIALLY FOR THE CRIMINAL LAW).

CORE IF: OF VITAL CONCERN TO CULTURE/IDENTITY AND NO MAJOR IMPACT ON ADJACENT JURISDICTIONS. AND IF NOT OTHERWISE THE OBJECT OF TRANSCENDENT FEDERAL OR PROVINCIAL CONCERN

6. ABORIGINAL SOCIETY CAN ACT UNILATERALLY WITH RESPECT TO CORE FOCI BUT IF A MATTER IS PERIPHERAL, IT NEEDS THE AGREEMENT OF OTHER RELEVANT ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT BEFORE JURISDICTION CAN BE EXERCISED.
7. POSITS WIDE AUTONOMY, BUT ACTUALLY EXPECTS MINOR DIFFERENCES ON THE WHOLE IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE FIELD.
8. STANDARDS OF EFFICIENCY, EFFECTIVENESS AND EQUITY MAY REQUIRE A STRONGER COHESION OF FN IDENTITY THAT TRANSCENDS BAND AFFILIATION.

# 3 CENTRAL TURNING POINTS IN SHAPING ABORIGINAL POLICING POLICY

1. THE WITHDRAW OF THE RCMP FROM REGULAR POLICING IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC ANNOUNCED IN THE 1960' S
2. DIAND' S 1971 CIRCULAR 55 POLICY ON POLICING ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES
3. THE FEDERAL FIRST NATION POLICING POLICY INTRODUCED IN 1991

# TYPES OF SELF-ADMINISTERED FN POLICE SERVICE IN CANADA

1. THE FULL-SERVICE TOWN MODEL:  
SIX NATIONS AND AKWESASNE
2. THE NICHE MODEL: WIKWEMIKONG,  
HURON-WENDAKE, T'SUU T'INA
3. THE REGIONAL MODEL:  
NISHNAWBE-ASKI, ANISHNABEK
4. THE MICRO TRANSITIONAL MODEL:  
TIMISKAMING, WHAPMAGOOSTUI

# PHASES IN FIRST NATION POLICING

## **PHASE ONE: UP TO AND INCLUDING THE 1950s**

- FEDERAL POLICING
- BROAD POLICING MANDATE
- ABORIGINAL HELPERS

## **PHASE TWO: THE 1960s**

- THE RCMP PULL OUT OF ONTARIO AND QUEBEC
- CONTRACTION OF THE POLICING MANDATE
- SOME DIRECT ABORIGINAL PARTICIPATION IN POLICING



# PHASES IN FIRST NATION POLICING (CONTINUED)

## **PHASE THREE: THE 1970S AND EARLY 1980s**

- THE 3B OPTIONS
- SELF-ADMINISTERED POLICING INITIATIVES
- NEW GOVERNANCE INITIATIVES (THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, THE ONTARIO INDIAN POLICE COMMISSION)

## **PHASE FOUR: THE LATE 1980s TO LATE 1990s**

- INQUIRIES AND COMMISSIONS
- FIRST NATIONS POLICING POLICY
- ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES (RCAP)
- THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS
- EMERGENCE OF SELF-ADMINISTERED (SA) FN POLICE SERVICES

# CURRENT SITUATION: 2000/2005

- NEAR-COMplete TRIPARTITE COVERAGE IN FN POLICING
- INDIGENIZATION EXTENSIVE IN ALL FN POLICING
- FIFTY SELF-ADMINISTERED SERVICES
- DIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONALIZATION
- RELATED INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN FIRST NATIONS

# THE FUTURE

1. EFFICIENCY ISSUES AND DEFINING COMPARABILITY FOR SAs
2. EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES FOR SA POLICING
3. VISIONS OF POLICING STYLES IN FN POLICING
4. NICHEs, NETWORKS AND REGIONALIZATION
5. IMPACT FOR SAs OF CONSOLIDATION, REGIONALIZATION AND ENHANCED PROVINCIAL STANDARDS FOR POLICING
6. IMPACT FOR SENIOR POLICE SERVICES (RCMP, OPP AND SQ) OF DEVELOPMENTS IN FN POLITICAL ECONOMY, IN THE EVOLUTION OF SAs AND IN THE CHALLENGE OF ABORIGINAL OCCUPATIONS AND PROTESTS

# OTHER CRIMINAL JUSTICE INITIATIVES AMONG FIRST NATIONS IN ATLANTIC CANADA

1. CORRECTIONS

2. COURT

(HEALING TO WELLNESS COURT)

# FIRST NATION LEADERS

OVERALL, OPINION LEADERS ACROSS THE PROVINCE SHARED MANY VIEWS SUCH AS (A) THE CENTRALITY OF THE ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE PROBLEM; (B) A SENSE THAT THE EXISTING JUSTICE SYSTEMS DO NOT OFTEN SERVE MI' KMAQ PEOPLE WELL; (C) AMBIVALENCE ABOUT THE EXERCISE OF MI' KMAQ ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLICY CONTROL OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM FOR THE NEAR FUTURE; (D) A PRIORITY ON MORE MI' KMAQ PRESENCE THROUGHOUT THE JUSTICE SYSTEM AND FOR MUCH MORE CULTURAL SENSITIVITY ORIENTATION;

(E) A HIGH REGARD FOR MLSN' S JUSTICE CIRCLES AND COURT WORKER PROGRAMS; (F) A WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT THAT THE KEY SHORTFALLS OF MLSN ARE THE LIMITED ATTENTION TO VICTIM SERVICES AND THE INSUFFICIENT COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION WITH IT. THE POSTULATE OF REGIONAL DIFFERENCES APPEARED TO BE MANIFESTED IN TWO WAYS, NAMELY A GREATER CONCERN IN CAPE BRETON / STRAIT FOR (1) MLSN INCORPORATING EMPHASIS ON TRADITIONAL VALUES AND SPIRITUALITY, AND (2) GOVERNANCE AND THE BOARD STRUCTURE OF N MLSN.

# CENTRAL THEMES THAT EMERGED FROM THE SMALL SAMPLE OF MI' KMAQ POLITICAL LEADERS IN CAPE BRETON:

1. RESPONDENTS WERE POSITIVE ABOUT THE CWP AND CLP PROGRAMS BUT WERE MORE CRITICAL OF MLSN THAN THEIR MAINLAND COUNTERPARTS WITH RESPECT TO COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION AND ACCOUNTABILITY, AND BEING TOO REACTIVE.

2. THERE WAS MORE REFERENCE TO THE REGULATORY JUSTICE SPHERE THAN AMONG THE MAINLAND SUBSAMPLE, ESPECIALLY TO ISSUES OF COLLECTIVE VERSUS INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND THE PRIORITY OF FORMER. STILL, THERE WAS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MUCH “CONTESTED TERRAIN” BECAUSE OF THE UNSETTLED TREATY SITUATION AND CULTURAL ASSIMILATION (MAKING MI’ KMAQ APPROACHES TO CONFLICT BOTH VALUABLE AND CHALLENGING).
3. MOST RESPONDENTS, BUT NOT ALL, EXPRESSED MORE CONFIDENCE THAN THEIR MAINLAND COUNTERPARTS REGARDING MI’ KMAQ PEOPLE’S CAPACITY TO MANAGE THEIR OWN JUSTICE PROGRAMMING.



4. RESPONDENTS WERE UNSURE ABOUT MLSN AS A BUILDING BLOCK FOR EXTENSIVE MI'KMAQ JUSTICE ACTIVITY AS THEY PERCEIVED IT NOT ROOTED WELL ENOUGH AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL AND NOT AN INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION.

5. MOST BUT NOT ALL RESPONDENTS EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THEY WOULD WANT A MORE INDEPENDENT MLSN IF IT IS TO BE BUILDING BLOCK FOR MORE JUSTICE PROGRAMMING.

# NOVA SCOTIA JUDGES

OVERALL, THERE WERE MANY POINTS OF CONSENSUS, INCLUDING,

1. AN OPENNESS TO THE ARGUMENT THAT MI' KMAQ CULTURE IS DIFFERENT AND THAT THE DIFFERENCES HAVE SALIENCE FOR BOTH CRIMINAL AND FAMILY COURT.
2. A WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS FOR SENTENCING CIRCLES DESPITE THEIR PERCEIVED CONSIDERABLE DEMANDS AND DESPITE OCCASIONAL PROBLEMS IN SUCCESSFULLY ACHIEVING THE RESULTS HOPES FOR, WHETHER IN PROCESS OR IN OUTCOMES.

3. A CONVICTION THAT SENTENCING CIRCLES ARE NOT ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE OUTSIDE THE ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY, A VIEW RELATED TO LEGISLATIVE POLICY (I.E., SECTION 718) AND A BELIEF THAT ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES ARE DIFFERENT (E.G., FEATURE MORE COMMUNITARIANISM, MORE OVERLAPPING AND INTENSIVE RELATIONSHIPS)
4. THE VIEW THAT MI' KMAQ ALTERNATIVES TO CONVENTIONAL COURT PROCESSING, WHETHER JUSTICE CIRCLES, FAMILY GROUP CONFERENCING OR ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED, AND AN ACCOMPANYING VIEW THAT MI' KMAQ CAPACITY ALONG THESE LINES NEEDS TO BE NURTURED SINCE IT IS LIMITED AT THIS TIME.
5. THE ASSESSMENT THAT MLSN AND ITS PROGRAMMING SHOULD BE EXPANDED, IN PARTICULAR WITH RESPECT TO THE FAMILY JUSTICE SERVICES SUCH AS COURT WORKERS AND FLIC.

6. A VIEW THAT THE GLADUE REPORTS HAVE VALUE BUT CAN BE ACCOMMODATED WITHIN THE FORMAT OF PRE-SENTENCE REPORTS.
  
7. AN OPENNESS TO THE IDEA OF A PROVINCIALY ADMINISTERED NATIVE CRIMINAL COURT ALONG THE LINES OF A WELLNESS COURT, ESPECIALLY SINCE ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE AND ADDICTION REMAIN CONSIDERABLE AND UNDERLAY HIGH LEVELS OF CRIME, FAMILY DYSFUNCTION AND GENERAL SOCIAL DISORDER IN MI' KMAQ COMMUNITIES.

# FAMILY AND CIVIL JUSTICE IN FIRST NATIONS

1. CURRENT PATTERNS IN ATLANTIC  
CANADA

2. TOWARDS A MI' KMAQ ALTERNATIVE

**PUSH FACTORS**

**PULL FACTORS**

# REGULATORY JUSTICE IN FIRST NATIONS

1. CURRENT PATTERNS IN ATLANTIC CANADA
2. TOWARDS A MI' KMAQ ALTERNATIVE

**PUSH FACTORS**

**PULL FACTORS**

# THE NEW DISCOURSE

THE MOOSE INITIATIVE IS BEING HELD AS A POTENTIAL TEMPLATE FOR MI' KMAQ CONTROL OVER OTHER REGULATORY PROCESSES, AS NOTED IN THE FOLLOWING EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE INTERVIEWER AND A LEADING MI' KMAQ SPOKESPERSON,

*Q: IN REGULATORY PROCESSES WITHIN THE MOOSE HUNT, THE BAND SIGN THE AGREEMENTS AND, SAY SOMEONE FROM THE COMMUNITY BREACHES THAT AGREEMENT, WHAT GOOD IS THAT AGREEMENT IF THERE ARE NOT ANY COMMUNITY BASED PROCESSES TO SANCTION IT?*

A: THAT IS THE KIND OF THING THAT IS GOING TO BE DEALT WITH THAT COMMITTEE WITH THE MOOSE HUNT. IN OUR SHOP IT IS A GOOD TYPICAL EXAMPLE FOR A TEMPLATE FOR THE FUTURE, LATER ON, THIS IS HOW WE HANDLED THE MOOSE ISSUE AND WE CAME UP WITH THESE KINDS OF THINGS TO DEAL WITH IT, AND AT LEAST THEY (MI' KMAQ PEOPLE) WILL HAVE THAT UNDER THEIR BELT.

SUBSEQUENTLY, AN INTERVIEW WITH A LEADING MI' KMAQ POLICY MAKER EXPLORED THE ISSUE FURTHER, RESULTING IN THE FOLLOWING EXCHANGE,

*Q: IN YOUR OPINION, WITH KMK AND THAT PROCESS AND IF THE PRIORITY IS AROUND NATURAL RESOURCE, I WAS TALKING WITH UINR ABOUT THE MOOSE INITIATIVE AND THE IDEA OF WORKING IN A PARTNERSHIP WITH DNR AND THEIR GUARDIANS AND THINKING OF WAYS TO SANCTION BREACHES OF THEIR AGREEMENTS. THEY ARE LOOKING AT A VEHICLE TO DEVELOP COMMUNITY BASED JUSTICE PROGRAM THAT COULD DEAL WITH THOSE KINDS OF CHARGES, AND WOULD ENTAIL THE COMMUNITY ENFORCING THEM, ANY THOUGHTS ABOUT THAT?*

*A: THAT IS A REAL CUTTING EDGE ISSUE. IT WOULD BE THE FIRST INSTANCE WHERE AN ABORIGINAL AND TREATY RIGHT IS REGULATED BY THE MI' KMAQ THEMSELVES. THAT IS THE FIRST TIME I HAVE SEEN THAT HAPPEN. UINR HAVE OBVIOUSLY ALL THESE CONSERVATION SPECIES INFORMATION, THEY ARE STUDYING THE SPECIES THEY ARE LIKE THE SCIENCE PART OF THE WHOLE THING AND THEY ARE WELL RESPECTED, SO IF UINR TELLS A COMMUNITY YOU HAVE TO RESTRICT YOUR HUNT BECAUSE OF CONSERVATION PURPOSES I THINK IT WOULD CARRY A LOT OF CREDIBILITY AND THE PEOPLE WOULD LISTEN. WHAT IS MISSING OBVIOUSLY IS THE ENFORCEMENT PART OF IT.*



RECENTLY A MI' KMAQ LEADER PROMINENT IN THE RESOURCE FIELD WAS QUOTED AS FOLLOWS CONCERNING A NEW ENFORCEMENT INITIATIVE.

“IT IS A STEP FORWARD FOR US TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY OURSELVES FOR THE MANAGEMENT AND ENFORCEMENT OF OUR PEOPLE’ S RIGHTS.”

# REGULATORY JUSTICE

OVERALL, IN THE REGULATORY SPHERE, THERE ARE, THEN, THE FOLLOWING KEY THEMES

1. IT IS A BURGEONING AREA FOR MI' KMAQ JUSTICE (E.G., BAND BYLAWS, "NATION" POLICIES, UNAMA' KI POLICIES).
2. THE MAINSTREAM GOVERNMENTS HAVE INCREASINGLY PULLED BACK FROM OR OFFLOADED REGULATORY RESPONSIBILITIES AND ENCOURAGED CO-PARTNERING MODELS OF ENFORCEMENT.

3. INCREASINGLY, ATTENTION IS BEING GIVEN BY MI' KMAQ LEADERS TO HOW TO CARRY OUT THESE ENFORCEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES AND WHETHER AND HOW MI' KMAQ APPROACHES TO JUSTICE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION MIGHT BE UTILIZED.
4. THERE HAVE BEEN SIMILAR DEVELOPMENTS ELSEWHERE IN THE ATLANTIC REGION AND THROUGHOUT CANADA.
5. DEMAND FOR JUSTICE SERVICES IN THE REGULATORY FIELD IS NOT YET AS PRESSING AS IN THE CASE OF FAMILY JUSTICE ISSUES AND PERHAPS NOT AS CLEARLY CONCEPTUALIZED AT PRESENT BUT IT IS DEFINITELY GROWING.

6. COLLECTIVE AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS ISSUES ARE STILL UNRESOLVED ADDING TO THE NEED FOR AND POTENTIAL VALUE OF THE MI' KMAQ ALTERNATIVE TO COURT ACTION IN THE RESPONSE TO REGULATORY VIOLATIONS.

7. THERE IS AN EXPRESSED NEED AMONG MI' KMAQ REGULATORY OFFICIALS TO BACK UP INCREASED UNAMA' KI RESPONSIBILITIES WITH A CAPACITY TO EFFECT AN ADEQUATE LEVEL OF CONSENSUS AND COMMITMENT: (“WE HAVE TO UPHOLD OUR POLICIES”).

8. DEVELOPING A RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE TO THE COURTS, AT LEAST AS A FIRST RESPONSE OPTION, IS WIDELY FAVOURED BY BOTH MI'KMAQ AND MAINSTREAM REGULATORY OFFICIALS.
9. MLSN IS WELL-POSITIONED TO EXPAND INTO THIS AREA OF JUSTICE (E.G., EXPERIENCED, CAPACITY, PROVINCE-WIDE, CAN AVOID CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS ETC).
10. THERE IS A ROLE FOR MLSN AS SHARING EXPERTISE, PERHAPS COORDINATING CIRCLES REFERRED BY UINR AND SO FORTH.

11. STAFF PERSONS IN UINR AND OTHER REGULATORY ROLES SEE THE VALUE OF CLOSER COLLABORATION WITH MLSN WITH RESPECT TO AVOIDING CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS AND NURTURING A CADRE OF EXPERIENCED, CREATIVE FACILITATORS.
12. FEASIBILITY FACTORS ARE HIGH (MLSN CAPACITY, CLEAR NEED, FUNDING PROSPECTS GOOD)
13. DEPENDING ON HOW MLSN WERE TO BE ENGAGED IN THIS REGULATORY JUSTICE FIELD, THERE COULD BE IMPLICATION FOR ITS GOVERNANCE MODEL (E.G., A REQUIREMENT TO BE FULLY APPRECIATED AS ACCOUNTABLE TO ALL MI' KMAQ FNS).