

POLICING AT INDIAN BROOK, 1997 - 2000

AN EVALUATION OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS

PREPARED FOR THE ABORIGINAL POLICING DIRECTORATE,

NOVA SCOTIA JUSTICE, INDIAN BROOK FIRST NATION

AND THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This evaluation has had the objectives of examining the police service at Indian Brook and in particular assessing its changes in recent years and the possibilities for future improvement. A wide range of methods and research techniques were employed. These included a large survey of adult residents, in-depth interviews with chief and council and members of the police advisory committee, in-depth interviews with CJs officials and leaders of other Indian Brook social/community agencies, ad hoc focus group sessions with young adult males and females, interviews and ride-alongs with RCMP officers, obtaining and analyzing crime statistics in a comparative and historical context, and analyzing other relevant data such as advisory board minutes, police occurrence logs and socio-demographic data.

This report has shown that there is a relatively high level of person, property and "other criminal code" crime in Indian Brook. The rate of such crimes increased significantly during the decade of the 1990s but appears to be abating over the past three years. In addition to the high crime levels, the Indian Brook police service clearly has had to contend with a heavy workload based on calls for service and the demand - and actual requirement - for police visibility and presence even into the early hours of most mornings. Given the modest base population (a major accepted determinant of police complement), police resources have been problematic so they have needed to be husbanded efficiently and police-community collaboration has had to be an important part of effective policing. There are many indicators that both these conditions have been at least partially met (e.g. the policing performance has improved on most conventional criteria and residents have been cooperative with, not alienated from the policing effort). But there have been shortfalls in both respects. The police complement over the past years has been less than the formal allotment (i.e., three rather than five). The infrastructure available for policing - equipment and buildings - has limited police efficiency and police presence/visibility. Community collaboration, whether at the level of partnering policing objectives and directions or at the operational level of reporting crimes, bearing witness and being active in actual police programs and activities, has been limited.

Indian Brook residents generally perceived their community to have average levels of crime but a large minority thought crime excessive and increasing. Whatever their perceptions of the crime levels, it is clear that most residents harboured fears of victimization, especially of burglary and vandalism. Social order was deemed problematic by large numbers of residents who identified many "big problems" in the community, and who thought that much crime went unreported to police and unresolved through any informal community mechanisms or by other local service agencies. Clearly, the community survey established that adult residents did report their own victimization to police authorities and considered themselves treated well by police when they did so. There was a dependency on the police to resolve social order problems that a vibrant civic culture could have prevented in the first place. The residents, on the whole, considered that police-community relations were good and that the police exhibited a willingness to help out when asked. While there was not a widespread alienation from the police, there was some skepticism about their attitudes and professionalism and much suspension of judgment as to the adequacy of the police service. Residents were quick to identify areas for change and to advance new priorities for the police service. There was a strong wish for greater community input, for more information from the police, for culturally sensitive policing, and for competent, fair policing. At the same time, residents were leery of encouraging any interference in operational policing by any community body or grouping, and opposed to any possible micro-managing of the police service by the band council - neither of which has characterized the situation at Indian Brook to date. A major challenge for Indian Brook policing is how to achieve real partnership and community ownership (and all that that implies for meaningful collaboration in setting out its directions and objectives) without the policing service being compromised or micro-managed. In general, Indian Brook residents did not appear to have excessive demands for policing, considering the levels of crime, the low clearance rates and the relatively little crime prevention programming that the shrunken and comparatively overworked police service has been able to provide.

It is clear, too, in this evaluation, that Indian Brook women, more than their male counterparts, look to and depend upon policing for their sense of security and order. Women were more likely to perceive crime levels as high and increasing. They were more likely to

express worry and fear of victimization and to identify major problems of social order and crime in the community. They were much more likely than males to contend that there were too few police officers in the community. Perhaps because of their expressed greater need for police services, coupled with their sense that the service was under-staffed, women generally were somewhat more critical of the Indian Brook police service. Their priorities were for more effective conventional policing, culturally sensitive policing and emphatically for some female police officers. They wanted community input without increased formal band council involvement, and were more willing than males to volunteer in various tasks to assist the police service.

It was noted that over the past three years there were formal meetings between the detachment commander and the band council, some newsletters issued by the police service, and a functioning police advisory committee. In many ways, given the shortage of staff and their heavy workload, this level of reporting and accountability was noteworthy. At the same time, looked at from the perspective of local governance and transparent police stewardship, it was quite limited. There was reportedly much informal interaction between the police commander and the chief and band manager. PAC members and band council respondents, the key governance partners for policing in Indian Brook shared many similar views concerning the areas where police performance was best and least adequate (i.e., response and enforcement and approachability versus crime solving and crime prevention), the appropriate mix of officers, and the desire for more community input into policing. PAC members clearly rated recent policing as a big improvement over the past and were reasonably confident of continuing improvements in the future as the police complement reached its mandated size. Band council members had more varied views but, on the whole, they were more critical of the police service, less inclined to say that it has improved in recent years, and not nearly as optimistic about the future, even with the expected increase in complement. They were more explicit than PAC members in demanding more formal accountability of the service and a more significant "ownership" of policing for the community. At the same time, like PAC members, while they suggested a more enhanced role for themselves vis-a-vis policing (getting reports, discussing objectives etc), they were cautious about there being any undue interference in the everyday conduct of policing.

To round out the assessment of the Indian Brook police service, interviews were also conducted with CJS officials and the leaders of community service agencies, as well as with small groups of elders, a warrior leader, young single mothers and young adults with a record of offences. The CJS and agency leaders were quite positive about the police service, the level of interagency and other collaboration, and considered policing to have improved in recent years despite the shortage in personnel. They identified the need for more community input and more interagency collaboration but, on the whole, they were inclined to emphasize that undue expectations should not be placed on the service and that the community has to show more support and commitment. The other groupings were less positive about the standard police performance but quite divided on whether policing had been improving and what its major shortfalls were. In all the above groupings there was a consensus that the current detachment commander illustrated well the kind of police officer orientation that Indian Brook people want and need.

STANDARDS FOR ASSESSMENT:

It was observed in the introduction that standards for evaluating the police service at Indian Brook would be drawn from FNPP, RCAP, the N.S. White Paper on Policing, and, more generally, based on the conventional "3Es" of efficiency, effectiveness and equity. Turning to the three "Es", the assessment of the police service has been seen to be complex. The data gathered, and the views expressed by most residents and interest groups, supported the position that the police service has delivered policing that is efficient (i.e., the undermanned and overworked police service has been cost effective) and equitable (i.e., most respondents considered that the police service has responded fairly and competently to all residents and virtually everyone indicated that they would get a fair hearing from the detachment commander). More divergence was evident over whether the police service has been effective. Crime solving and crime prevention were aspects of the police service particularly criticized and this judgment appeared to account for the large proportion of the respondents' questioning the adequacy of the service.

In terms of the principles of First Nations Policing Policy - comparative quality policing

to other non-native communities, control or, better perhaps, direction by FN communities, and responsiveness to particular FN needs, circumstances and traditions - the assessment again is complicated. There seems little doubt, on the basis of the views of residents and interest groups and other data, that the local police service has provided comparative quality policing in terms of response, enforcement, availability and concern. The assessment concerning community control and direction is more problematic. The same sources of information suggest that there has been quite modest local governance or oversight and little community - police partnership in determining the objectives and directions for the police service. The band council per se has had no apparent significant role. PAC, as noted, has had a valuable but quite limited role in partnering policing and providing a sense of community ownership, a circumstance that cannot be laid solely or perhaps even predominantly with the police service. There is much evidence in the views of leaders, and community residents in general, that the police service has been responsive to the community (e.g., the style of policing wanted, interagency activity) and open to more accommodation with traditions and circumstances; at the same time, the results have been less impressive as far as a distinctive policing service is concerned. It may not at all be clear just what the community wants, what are its distinctive focal concerns and suggested strategies for dealing with problems, and how far the police service can accommodate. There have been few systematic and sustained police-community conversations along these lines; rather there have been largely fruitless discussions occasionally about band bylaws coupled with a genuine readiness on the part of the police service to respond to requests for specific priorities.

Community ownership of policing, and policing that accommodates in functional fashion the core identity foci of First Nations, have been emphasized by RCAP. There does not appear to be strong community ownership vis-a-vis the local RCMP police service in Indian Brook; any profound estrangement appears to have been 'stayed' by the solid police effort acknowledged by residents and most local leaders, and by the effective 'policing for people' style of the detachment commander. As noted above, it cannot be said either that the policing has been especially functional for core cultural and identity concerns of this First Nation. It is quite unclear what these concerns and styles are but if they pertain to greater emphasis on the collectivity and a restorative justice / healing paradigm, then clearly the policing has only accommodated in a

modest way. Of course, it would be an onerous burden for the police service to have to uncover these concerns - clearly the community and its leaders have to take the initiative - but the police service might be expected to facilitate this process by being more transparent in its accountability to community, in collaborating in public conversations on these matters, and by regularly discussing objectives and directions in a formal way with either council or PAC. This latter strategy is deemed appropriate and requisite to effective civilian oversight of policing in most literature as, for example, the White Paper on Policing produced recently by Policing Services, Nova Scotia.

SPECIFIC AREAS OF RECOMMENDATIONS:

Both crime statistics and the views of most residents and leaders / stakeholders inside and outside the community support the conclusion that the police service in Indian Brook has improved much over the past two and a half years. Response has been faster, clearance rates up, a style of policing effected which people welcome, all these have occurred. In comparison to the previous few years where clearance rates were abysmal, the police officers frequently stressed to the point of having to take leave, and community-police relations quite "rough and strained", 1998 and 1999 witnessed a period of stabilization and refocus of policing.

Undoubtedly, the two most important factors in causing this positive change were the detachment commander's performance and the detachment status itself. However, there are still shortfalls that need to be addressed. Three broad areas for discussion in those respects are conventional policing, community-based policing / restorative justice, and partnership / direction.

In terms of conventional policing tasks, the clearance rates are still below-average, enforcement in some areas such as traffic has been legitimately criticized, and there needs to be more conventional crime prevention and regular school liaison. Beyond strict conventional and primarily reactive policing, there is a need, recognized by police and community alike, to implement better and more fully the RCMP's explicit, formal commitment to community-based policing and to restorative justice. The former would entail more problem-solving and interagency collaboration and clearly requires more of the community as well as of the police service. The latter, restorative justice, provides a possible venue for linking policing more

closely with cultural traditions and styles that are in the process of revitalization and, once again, has to be based on 'community conversations", since there is much diversity within the community on what the priorities should be with respect to the community's sense of itself and future direction. Thirdly, in keeping with government policy (both federal and provincial) and the consensus of numerous national-level inquiries, there is a need for more transparency and accountability regarding the police service and more community ownership which is reflected in partnership in establishing the directions, objectives and priorities for policing. These central three themes will be elaborated below in terms of specific issues and recommendations.

The main specific areas for discussion and change are as follows:

- 1) Size of the police complement: It is clear that the police service at Indian Brook requires the five officer complement that the detachment status formally was to entail. There was surprising consensus among police and community stakeholders that such a complement would be appropriate and sufficient. The police leadership contended that with five officers they could deal with most of the shortfalls noted above and residents / stakeholders considered that five officers could effect the style of policing they needed and wanted without generating a suffocating police presence.

- 2) Type of police officer: Given the crime level and the nature of the demand for police assistance in Indian Brook, it is clear that the priority has to be for competent, professional police officers who can relate well to people and obtain their respect and cooperation. That has evidently been demonstrated in the extremely high regard shown in all quarters of the community for the detachment sergeant. Building upon that kind of base, residents and leaders wisely look for a mix of native and non-native officers who can complement one another with their strengths and limitations. The community preference within that mix appropriately is for native and Mi'kmaq police officers and some female presence. There is much community ambivalence, rooted in experience as well as in theory, for having locally-reared officers; recently trained, locally-reared officers, with multi-year operational field experience in other communities, can bring a

depth of knowledge and valuable standpoint to the police service and may well be able to deal with the problems that have plagued their counterparts in years past, but recruitment here should be selective.

- 3) **Training and Borrowing:** Given the comparatively high level of crime and demand for policing, as well as the potential implications of facilitating a somewhat distinctive and relatively autonomous First Nation society and culture, police officers posted in Indian Brook apparently require special training in progressive developments, encouraged by RCMP policy and FN leaders, such as community-based policing and restorative justice. For example, getting at the drug / pill problems (a pervasive but 'nickel and dime' activity according to one community specialist in the field) seems to be more a matter of community problem-solving than enforcement / undercover police work. And programs of restorative justice / healing circles, and so forth, represent a trend that seems certain to increase in the future in Nova Scotia (where the provincial government has launched a major initiative) and throughout Canada, especially among FNs. While police officers cannot be expected to be facilitators in these activities, their presence at sessions and participation in both pre and post session activities will be sought and often required; and, of course, police collaboration will be essential since police are the primary referral agents for allowing cases to be directed to restorative justice forums. The RCMP's own community justice forums may also continue to co-exist but, given the small number of officers and the other priorities for their time and energy, the wisest course could well be for officers to work with extant, 'independent' agencies such as MYOP and the regional alternative justice society headquartered at Truro. Moreover, to meet the challenges of policing at Indian Brook, the detachment should take advantage of one of the major advantages of the RCMP police organization, namely its depth in specialists and great variety of officers. Drug specialist, female officers, school liaison officers with in-depth educational skills in combating violence etc should be regularly brought into the community on an ad hoc basis to enhance the detachment's capacity to serve the community.

- 4) Facilities for policing: It is clear that the police service in Indian Brook is operating with inadequate infrastructure with respect to office space, office equipment, holding capacity and the like. These shortfalls are even more significant given the community demands for presence and the heavy officer workload. To have to go to Enfield (some twenty-five kilometers away) to secure custody, interview persons involved in incidents under appropriate conditions and so forth is, at the minimum, inefficient. The police facilities at Indian Brook compare unfavorably with those of comparable, and even much smaller, Mi'kmaq communities in Cape Breton. Clearly, the band council and its governmental partners should treat the issue of facilities with some priority.

- 5) Partnership and Ownership: As noted above there appears to be but modest sense of 'ownership of policing' by community residents and quite limited participation, at least in any formal, explicit way, in establishing the directions and priorities for policing there. These fundamental principles have been stressed in the community-based policing movement embraced with enthusiasm by the RCMP and they have been stressed even more by FNPP, RCAP and Policing Services, Nova Scotia. At the basic minimum, there clearly has to be greater transparency of police stewardship and police accountability as through regular reports to band council and PAC and newsletters to the community, and through a willingness to listen and adapt. The latter seems to have been reasonably well accomplished but the former much more modestly so. Even still, these are, as stated, the minimum, especially so in the First Nations context where police are expected to be open to alternative objectives and strategies in policing. Police and community leaders and representatives should be collaborating much more in setting out what the police service should be trying to accomplish, establishing targets, assessing results and reiterating the planning cycle as partners.

- 6) There is genuine concern in the community, and among band council members themselves, for avoiding interference in day to day policing and creating a micro-managed police service. But this cannot be an excuse for avoiding formal processes and structures of planning partnership. There are alternative structures that can be put into

placed between the extremes of complete, direct band council control on the one hand and police-generated advisory committees on the other. In the event that a police board or commission is considered inappropriate, and that would be this evaluator's assessment, there could be a model of governance patterned after the situation in Quebec. There the band council deals directly with all budgetary and personnel matters while a representative public safety committee, selected with the formal collaboration of band council and police, focuses upon discussions of business plans, policing priorities and strategies, dissemination of information, holding occasional public meetings and the like.

The detachment commander at Indian Brook and PAC have shown the value of this latter activity in their reviewing and implementing criteria for selection of officers and in advancing interagency collaboration on youth problems, but there is a need to go well beyond this into formal partnered planning. It takes time and energy to do this and would require successful implementation of all the above recommendations with respect to the police service (i.e., the five officer complement, better detachment facilities, a supportive rather than leading role for police in restorative justice, the appropriately trained officers) and, equally important, the commitment of the community and its leaders.

- 7) Facilitating the community's partnership: Two major ways by which the community's formal participation in the direction and governance of policing could be encouraged are band bylaw development and training/education for members of a PAC-like organization. Ideally, band bylaws represent a statement of band autonomy and possible directions for the police service. They could conceivably represent, too, the most important means by which policing could be linked to what RCAP calls "core issues in FN culture and identity". Certainly there are many reserve problems (e.g., traffic, substance abuse, loose dogs) where bylaws are sought by many residents and by council. The issue of band bylaws has haunted PAC as we have seen, and there is considerable confusion about what if any band bylaws exist even now (e.g., a ban against toxic substance?). No charges have been laid by the police service, in the entire decade of the 1990s, based on infraction of a band bylaw in Indian Brook. It is difficult to find, among FN communities anywhere in Canada, examples of effective bylaw development and enforcement; a 1999 survey of

FN chiefs of police across the country indicated that band bylaws are considered "out of date and no basis for enforcement" by virtually all fifty-one respondents. How to generate valid band bylaws, get them enforced and then prosecuted, is a major national challenge. Recent Mi'kmaq projects, carried out in conjunction with DIAN and designed to advance this objective have been inconclusive (Mi'kmaq Justice Institute, 1999). These larger issues of generating and costing the administration of band bylaws have to be resolved at a level beyond the police and perhaps beyond any single FN community; if it is, it will assist greatly in contributing to a sense of ownership vis-a-vis the police service; if it is not, there will be possibly a missed opportunity for local governance and disrespect for any band council resolution.

Less of a conundrum, fortunately, is the issue of strengthening a PAC type organization (recall the recommendations above for a more robust and differently mandated PAC type organization) that would strengthen the community voice in policing. Currently there is no specific training or orientation provided to the PAC members but several have expressed an interest in participating in national level exchanges for boards, commissions and public safety committees sponsored by the Aboriginal Policing Directorate. While these exchanges, thus far, have been focused on self-administered police services, they would benefit greatly FN communities where there are community tripartite agreements (CTAs) as in Indian Brook. Provincial-level orientation and information might also be sought. Some such training would be required if members of a revitalized PAC body were to have the confidence and competence to collaborate as partners in the shaping of the police service.

- 8) The consensus in the community and among all stakeholders concerning the value and contribution of the style of policing embodied in the detachment commander is quite remarkable. Despite clear shortfalls in the police service, in areas such as clearance rates, crime prevention programming and formal community partnering in the direction of policing, there seems little doubt that the police service has gained much community respect in the past three years. Selecting a new detachment commander who can convey

such effective people-oriented policing to the other officers and throughout the community, would be a signal accomplishment. If, in addition, the other recommendations noted above, are acted upon, then Indian Brook policing would certainly meet the needs of the community by any of the progressive standards we have discussed in this report.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade and a half, there have been major social movements that have had significant implications for the policing efforts in First Nations (FN) communities. Some of these movements have been external, emerging from new perspectives and social forces operating on policing in the larger society. Among the most important of these latter have been the growth of community-based policing, problem-oriented policing and more recently restorative justice. These perspectives have emphasized that an effective police service is one that is committed to quality performance in all six standard police functions - response, enforcement, crime solving, crime prevention, referrals, public consultation and education (Clairmont, 1991) - and not just, or even primarily, to the first three functions. Other social movements in contemporary policing have included the emphasis on the police service being an active organization that shapes its environment and does not simply react to it (see Clairmont, 1996), a style that is quite compatible with community-based policing and problem-solving. Modern policing services have also been deeply influenced by corporate cultural styles and practices and have become more sensitive to their clients' assessments of policing (e.g. most leading police services regularly canvass the views of residents), more willing to be directly accountable for the policing service provided, and more concerned about measuring and assessing themselves as effective and efficient organizations. The R.C.M.P. as an organization has been in the vanguard of these movements in Canada.

There have also been significant social movements and social forces more internal or specific to policing in aboriginal or First Nations communities. These latter would include the major inquiries or royal commissions in the 1980s and early 1990s in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Nova Scotia, all of which called for major changes in the organization, style and delivery of policing services in First Nation communities (see, for example, Hickman, 1989). RCMP-directed inquiry (Head, 1989) into aboriginal policing, in the same period, led to the creation of the RCMP Aboriginal Policing Branch and advanced recommendations calling for greater FN/RCMP partnership in determining policing objectives and greater accountability of the police service to FN governing authorities. As Commissioner Head put it, "We will either adapt or we will be out of the policing business as we know it.". Virtually all these inquiries also emphasized the appropriateness of the new community-based policing philosophy for policing in First Nations communities and considered it to be neutral on constitutional issues. Perhaps the most important social movement, the catalyst for the others, was the effort of FN leadership to advance treaty rights and to secure official acknowledgement, in law and in practical policy, for their right to control their own institutions and advance their own objectives and priorities in the

field of justice.

Throughout the 1990s these earlier developments were elaborated upon. In 1992 the Solicitor General Canada, which assumed federal responsibility for aboriginal policing from DIAND, inaugurated its First Nations Policing Policy (FNPP). There were some ten principles that constituted the FNPP but its essential core focused on effecting (a) policing comparable to that provided in the non-native society; (b) policing that would be responsive to the special circumstances, needs and cultural ways of native communities; and (c) effective ownership and control over policing by the First Nations. There was an emphasis on negotiating tripartite agreements (i.e. Federal, Provincial and First Nation) whether spawning self-administered FN police services or agreements with the existing provincial police service (i.e. community tripartite agreements or CTAs). Related policies and guidelines concerning indigenization and governance were also developed. By 2000 almost three quarters of the eligible native population was being served under a tripartite policing agreement and the large proportion of police officers working in FN communities were themselves native persons. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), launched by the federal government in the early 1990s, emphasized further the need for - and FN right to - greater FN ownership and control over its policing and also the importance of 'placing' policing in the context of the core areas for aboriginal culture and identity (RCAP, 1996). Both RCAP and the FNPP identified the community-based policing philosophy, and subsequently the restorative justice/conferencing approach, as being in harmony with a policing service rooted in aboriginal values and identity.

Nova Scotian developments have mirrored the national scene. The Marshall Inquiry produced a large number of recommendations for policing (Hickman, 1989). RCMP "H" Division authorities followed up on the Marshall Inquiry report with plans calling for new staffing priorities, greater community consultation and changes in program delivery (RCMP "H" Division, 1990). Community-based policing has become the official policy of the RCMP and over the past four years detachments have been encouraged to be active in restorative justice through the creation of community justice forums (i.e. conferencing). Police and Public Safety Services, Nova Scotia, has recently produced a White Paper on Policing which emphasizes the need for effective community governance and a commitment to the philosophy of community-based policing (Police and Public Safety Services, 2000)

It is indeed an appropriate time to evaluate what has been put into place for policing in Indian Brook and to assess future possibilities. There have been large scale, Canada-wide studies of policing in First Nation communities (Murphy and Clairmont, 1996; Clairmont and Murphy,

2000) so contextual comparative information is readily available. Also assessment of policing at Indian Brook can be "placed" in community context well since a number of research reports are available on the community, dealing with a variety of justice issues, including policing (see bibliographical citations).

FRAMEWORK FOR THE EVALUATION

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

The central objective of this evaluation has been defined as "To conduct an assessment of the Shubenacadie / Indian Brook RCMP-FNCPS Agreement in order to provide the Shubenacadie First Nation, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Province of Nova Scotia and the Department of the Solicitor General of Canada with an evaluation of the effectiveness of the policing services provided to Indian Brook from 1997 to the present.". The assessment is expected not only or even primarily to be "looking backwards", gathering and assessing views and experiences as regards successes and problems, but also to consider priorities and suggestions for improvements in the police service. A third major objective is to incorporate as fully as possible the views of all parties, including chief and council, police advisory committee members, social service agencies, members of 'vulnerable' groupings, and of course the police officers and the service itself. A fourth major objective is to place these views, concerns, priorities and suggestions in context by gathering appropriate secondary and statistical data and by making salient historical and comparative analyses.

MAJOR EVALUATION THEMES

As specified in the contract, the main theme for this evaluation is to ascertain, from all the parties (e.g. chief and council, community, service agencies, police officers), "views on the past performance of the police service as well as on how things could be improved for the future". Other themes follow from the observations drawn above concerning major issues for effectiveness in First Nations policing and from the evaluation objectives. Certainly, an additional theme has been to assess the police service, in fact and in perception, according to the standard six police functions delineated above. Another theme has been to evaluate the police performance and future possibilities in terms of the principles laid out in the First Nations Policing Policy (Solicitor General Canada), essentially, comparability to police service in the larger society, First Nation ownership and partnership, and sensitivity to areas of cultural distinctiveness. The themes advanced by the

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, for effective policing in aboriginal communities, overlap much with FNPP principles but direct special attention to "compatibility with aboriginal cultural features and preferences" especially in core areas "where aboriginal cultural ways and identity are at stake". An evaluation theme emphasized in the White Paper (Nova Scotia Policing Services) is the adequacy of local governance mechanisms.

On a more concrete and operational level, themes guiding this evaluation have included description of the police service (organization chart, deployment etc), crime trends and analyses, RCMP service delivery with respect to its community-based policing philosophy and its community justice forums / restorative justice initiatives, and, overall, the evaluative criteria of efficiency, effectiveness and equity.

EVALUATION STRATEGIES

There are several strategies which have been featured in this evaluation. First, a variety of specific evaluation methods were employed, including in-depth interviews with key informants, one-on-one interviewing of community residents via a standardized questionnaire, the gathering of secondary (statistical) data, observation and ride-alongs with RCMP officers, and focus group discussions with special community subgroups. Secondly, there has been, where possible, a placing of Indian Brook patterns in historical and comparative context. Here the evaluator has drawn upon previous research on crime and policing issues in Indian Brook, and on a variety of sources (RCMP data, special studies) for contextual analyses. Thirdly, local area residents were hired and trained to assist in the interviewing and in the organization of the focus groups.

SPECIFIC EVALUATION METHODS

The Community Survey:

The views of the community at large were obtained through a standardized questionnaire which was administered in a one-on-one situation by local persons trained by the evaluator for this task. The questionnaire (see Appendix A) was essentially a "fixed format type" where respondents were asked to select responses, which best suited their views, from among a list of possible answers. There were, also, about fifteen 'open-ended' questions which provided lots of opportunity for respondents to elaborate on their views and to suggest other issues and options. The questionnaire that was employed has been, at its core, tried and successfully utilized by the

evaluator in other First Nations police research. It also was quite comparable to the instrument used in the 1991-92 assessment of policing in Indian Brook carried out by the evaluator for the Tripartite Forum On Native Justice In Nova Scotia; this comparability facilitates this evaluation yielding insights on more long-term trends.

The themes of evaluation examined through the questionnaire included perceptions of crime and safety in the community, perceptions of major community problems and how they are being dealt with, first-hand contact and experience with police, assessment of policing in terms of the conventional six police functions, and overall policing adequacies and inadequacies, perceptions of police-community relations, priorities and suggested improvements for the policing service, views concerning policing and new justice initiatives, and views regarding participating and volunteering in the policing effort. In addition, certain socio-demographic data were gathered (e.g. age, gender) in order to better appreciate the views and needs of different community groupings and facilitate causal analyses. The objective was to achieve a sample of approximately 130 adults which was representative of the adult Indian Brook population.

The community survey was successfully carried out. Three interviewers were trained and they did their task in an efficient way, sensitive to their own possible biases; all were initially interviewed themselves with the questionnaire so their own views were known. The three main geographical areas of the community were mapped out and interviews conducted in each area. The questionnaires were generally fully completed and many useful comments were made by respondents in response to the open-ended questions. Interviewers - and subsequent appraisal of the completed questionnaires by this evaluator - indicated that the respondents had no difficulty understanding the questions. In a number of incidents where the respondents chose to complete the instrument themselves rather than be interviewed, they did so without apparent problem. Only a handful of residents refused to be interviewed.

As indicated in Table One, females were more likely to be interviewed by the three female interviewers, constituting some 64% of the sample. According to DIAN data on the band's reserve population in 1999, there is no difference in the number of adults by gender in the forty years of age and under category, and only slightly greater numbers of females in the older age categories. Clearly, then, the sample was biased to female respondents. This is the normal result in community surveys unless there is a strict quota requiring an equal number of female and male respondents. In this case interviewers were encouraged to get male interviewees but there was not a quota. It can be observed that the 1991/92 community survey had a comparable gender split.

TABLE ONE
CHARACTERISTICS OF THOSE PARTICIPATING IN THE
COMMUNITY SURVEY (1991/2 AND 2000)
 (%)

	1991/92	2000
1. Gender:		
Male	39%	36%
Female	61	64
2. Marital Status:		
Single	33%	48%
Married/Common Law	52	33
Separated/Divorced or Widowed	15	18
3. Education:		
Grade 9 or Less	\ 85%	17%
High School	/	65
Some Post-Secondary	\ 15%	12
College Degree	/	4
No Answer	-	2
4. Main Activity in Past Year:		
Working	40%	45%
Looking for Work	12	13
Student	11	14
Homemaker	8	13
Retired	4	5
Other/No Answer	14	10

A full 48% of the 2000 sample was single while 33% were married or common law and 18% were separated, divorced or widowed. The single / married percentages were almost reversed in the 1991/92 sample, which raises questions about whether the interviewers disproportionately sampled younger adults or whether the trends in the larger society of deferring marriage and common law commitment are also happening in Indian Brook. In terms of education, roughly 16% of the sample had some post-secondary education and 4% had obtained university degrees; these figures are very similar to those characterizing the 1991/92 sample. The main activity in the past year for 45% of the 2000 sample respondents was 'working at a job or business'; 13% reported themselves as primarily 'looking for work'; while 14% were students, 13% were homemakers; 5% were retired; and 10% said 'other' or did not answer. Again, these figures are quite similar to those which characterized the 1991/92 sample.

Approximately one-third of the sample was aged forty years or more and 4% was over sixty years of age. The majority of the interviewees - 58% - were between twenty-one and forty years of age, and 7% were adults under twenty-one. The sample compares well with the population configuration in the DIAN 1991 data for Indian Brook's (on reserve) population. The sample percentages for under forty years of age and between forty and sixty years of age are within a percentage point or two in each case, while the sample slightly under-represents the Indian Brook's population sixty one years of age and older. The 2000 sample is then reasonably representative of the Indian Brook population on the age criterion. It is not possible to make precise comparisons on age with the 1991/92 sample but it does appear that the proportions over forty years of age and under twenty-one years are comparable while this sample may have had more people under thirty than the 1991/92 sample did.

Overall, then, it can be said that a large sample of Indian Brook adults were sampled from all areas in the community and, though there was a bias in favour of women and those under thirty years of age, it was fairly representative of the community and quite comparable to the representative sample carried out in 1991/92.

Secondary Data Analyses:

For this evaluation, data, where available, were collected on (a) calls for service (i.e. occurrence logs for the three year period 1997, 1998, 1999); (b) crime and other offences, clearance rates, and quasi-criminal band bylaw enforcement for the past two decades; (c) public complaints; and (d) the extent of other police programming such as community justice forums and crime prevention / public education activities. The data are analysed below in comparative and historical context wherever possible in order to highlight the patterns of the past three years. For comparison purposes and to provide some context, some data are presented on policing services elsewhere. Comparative measures over time and in relation to other jurisdictions include calls per member per month, files per member, major crime ratios and police-population ratio. Other secondary data sources have included the minutes of the Indian Brook Police Advisory Committee from late 1997 to the present and the Indian Brook RCMP's newsletters. Data were also obtained from the Department of Indian Affairs at Amherst on demographic and educational attainments patterns for Indian Brook band members.

In-Depth Interviews:

In-depth interviews were carried out with the chief, band manager and councillors of the Indian Brook First Nation, members of the RCMP police advisory committee (PAC), four leaders of service agencies in Indian Brook, all detachment police officers and other key informants and justice system officials (e.g. RCMP regional support officers, judge, probation officer and crown prosecutor). The format for these interviews involved core and specific areas for discussion. By core, it is meant that all interviewees were asked about (a) their experience with policing at Indian Brook; (b) their views on its special challenges, adequacies/successes and possible shortfalls with respect to the six standard police functions and the themes advanced by the First Nations Policing Policy; (c) the extent to which, in their view, it provides a policing service characterized by efficiency, effectiveness and equity, a sense of ownership by residents, and a sensitivity and integrative response to the community's special culture, needs and priorities; (d) how the policing "stacks up" historically and comparatively, and, finally; (e) their ideas about and suggestions for improvements in the police service.

In addition, specific areas were probed with the different groupings. With respect to chief, band manager and council, areas of governance, resources, views concerning the types of police officers and types of policing emphases desired, and FN input in shaping the objectives and priorities of policing were important; here, for example, attention was directed at specifics such as the reporting mechanisms in place, visions of policing and directional statements, and the policing of quasi-criminal band bylaws. With respect to the police advisory committee, issues of input, visions of policing, public complaints, knowledge of policing tasks, programs and resources, and actual participation in the policing effort were discussed (see the interview guide in Appendix B). With respect to community service agencies such as Native Alcohol and Drugs (NADACA), Mi'kmaq Children and Family Services (MFCS), Native Young Offenders Program (MYOP), and the Union of Nova Scotia Indians (UNSI), specific areas, supplementing the core areas, included experiences and views concerning partnerships and inter-agency collaboration, and awareness and involvement in RCMP programs such as community-based policing programs and community justice forums (see the interview guide in Appendix B). Interviews with criminal justice (CJS) officials focused on the core issues noted above.

The interviews with CJS officials, RCMP officers and regional support staff, and leaders in the four service agencies were all carried out by the evaluator. As well, the evaluator conducted interviews with the chief, band manager, two councillors and one PAC member; in addition the

evaluator made a short presentation on the project to the June meeting of PAC. Research assistants conducted interviews with six other councillors and the seven other PAC members. One councillor refused to be interviewed and two others could not be reached.

Focus Groups:

Focus group discussions can provide an opportunity to better appreciate the collective or subcultural views of particular interest or identity groups in the community. By bringing together a number of somewhat similarly placed or situated persons from the point of view of needs, concerns, priorities or values and visions for policing, it is expected that there may be a more in-depth consideration of themes and perhaps a more forceful and consensual assessment of the issues. Certainly, it is often hoped that focus group discussions can facilitate a greater community consensus about the strengths, weaknesses and possibilities of the community service in question, here of course the police service. Essentially in the focus group sessions there would be a discussion of the core themes discussed in the in-depth personal interviews, but, here, from the perspective of the grouping in question. It is expected that these focus groups would involve no more than a handful of persons each time. Tentatively, it was felt that appropriate focus groups would be elders, women, youth, and young male adults but other subgroupings could be deemed crucial for the focus group strategy as the evaluation project developed.

As it turned out, arranging focus group sessions became very problematic. Nevertheless, a few small groups (never more than three persons) were brought together to discuss policing issues. One was a group of three young women, another a group of two young male adults with significant criminal records, and a third was a group of three persons living in a complex called the 'apartments', a site which accounts for a significant number of calls for service in Indian Brook. In addition, two elders were interviewed and one leading member of the Mi'kmaq Warrior Society.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police:

Multiple interviews were conducted with all detachment officers and two ride-alongs were carried out. As well, there were interviews with two RCMP officers who have provide support for FN policing through the regional offices of 'H' Division in Halifax. In addition to the core areas noted above, the themes for discussion included (a) their experiences policing in Indian Brook; (b) the appropriateness of the training and preparation received; (c) the special opportunities and challenges at Indian Brook; (d) experiences in implementing community-based policing and special

RCMP programs such as community justice forums; (e) partnering and obtaining community input at all levels (e.g. chief and council, PAC, inter-agency, residents); and (f) ideas about and suggestions for improvement in the policing service at Indian Brook.

POLICING INDIAN BROOK

THE CONTEXT

In order to appreciate the task of policing at Indian Brook it is important to examine the frequency and type of crime, both over time and in comparative context. Different types of crime have different implications for time and energy requirements of the police officer and also for 'clearance' by them. Crime is, however, just one of the policing responsibilities and thus it is also important to examine occurrence logs in order to appreciate the wider range of police activities. Here the evaluation provides an in-depth examination of all these matters.

Table Two provides a variety of information, comparative and otherwise, for the year 1997, which is taken as a representative year for which these data are available. It is immediately apparent that the total criminal code offenses per officer in Indian Brook was roughly twice as great as that of the average policing unit in Canada as well as two and a half times that of the average First Nations self-administered police service. The officer to population ratio for Indian Brook was well under the average for Nova Scotian communities under 5000 population, and among the most favorable ratios in that regard. Clearly, the high level of offences per officer is the result, then, not so much of few officers but, rather, of high levels of criminal offences. This can be seen in Table Three which shows that violent crime rate per 10,000 was roughly eight times the Nova Scotian average rate for small communities and that the corresponding rate for property crimes was about 75% greater. Given these high rates of crime, coupled with the few officers available, it is not surprising that the clearance rates (i.e. cleared by charge or cleared otherwise) in Indian Brook were comparatively poor. In each of the criminal code categories, namely violent crime, property crime and other criminal code offences (e.g. mischief, probation violation), the clearance rate at best was never more than three-quarters of the clearance rates for other small Nova Scotia communities.

TABLE TWO

COMPARATIVE CRIME AND POLICING STATISTICS, 1997

1. Total Criminal Code Offences Per Officer:*

Average, Canada	46.2
Average First Nations, Self Administered	38.8
Indian Brook	97.4

**2. Selected Comparisons -
Nova Communities Under 5000 Population and Indian Brook:****

	N.S. Communities Under 5000	Indian Brook
(A) Officer per Population Ratio	388 (average) 287 – 817 (range)	240 ¹
(B) Violent Crime per 10,000	125 (average) 58 – 481 (range)	1022
(C) Property Crime per 10,000	415 (average) 143 – 650 (range)	716
(D) % Cleared, Violent Crime	75% (average) 45 – 100 (range)	46%
(E) % Cleared Property Crime	53% (average) 19 – 73 (range)	35%
(F) % Cleared, Total C.C. Excluding Traffic	42% (average) 27 – 65 (range)	25%

* **Source:** Aboriginal Policing Directorate, Solicitor General Canada, 1999.

** **Source:** Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada, 1998.

¹ This is based on an estimate of the on-reserve Indian Brook population as 1200 and assumes five officers.

TABLE THREE

**SPECIAL COMPARATIVE CRIME STATISTICS -
SMALL URBAN AND RURAL NOVA SCOTIA, INDIAN BROOK, 1996***

	Small Urban Nova Scotia	Rural Nova Scotia	Indian Brook
Violent Crime as % of Total C.C.	13%	15%	34%
Property Crimes as % of Total C.C.	39	45	19
Other C.C. as % of Total C.C.	48	40	47
Rate per 10,000 Violent Crime	150	87	1083
Rate per 10,000 Property Crime	435	252	550
Rate per 10,000 Other C.C. Offences	544	226	1506

* **Source: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Statistics Canada, 1998.**

Table Three provides further details on the above comparisons using special data available for the year 1996. Here Indian Brook crimes are compared with small urban areas and rural areas within the province. One major finding is that the pattern of crime was quite different in Indian Brook; there was a much greater proportion of violent or person offences in Indian Brook than in the other areas. Person or violent offences typically, and especially in Indian Brook where it will be shown below that the property crimes are largely minor crimes, require a greater police commitment of time and energy than do property crime or other criminal code offences. The comparative incidence rates for the different types of crimes underline the high levels of all types of offences in Indian Brook but especially for violent or person crime and for "other criminal code" offences.

Tables Four, Five and Six present longitudinal data on Indian Brook crime. Table Four lays out the trends for the period 1983 through to 1990. The second half of the table, focusing on offences rather than persons charged, shows both the number of such offences as well as the rates per 10,000, thereby controlling for population growth. It can be seen that there was a steady increase over the years in both the number of incidents and the rates per 10,000 for all types of offences with the exception of liquor act violations which leveled off after cresting in 1987 and 1988. Apart from liquor act violations, all other criminal code offences spurted in 1989 and 1990 and set the stage for the high levels of crime which characterized the decade of the 1990s in Indian Brook.

TABLE FOUR

TRENDS IN SELECTED OFFENCES, INDIAN BROOK, 1983 - 1990

TABLE FIVE

TRENDS IN SELECTED OFFENCES, INDIAN BROOK, 1990 - 1999*

TABLE SIX

TRENDS IN OFFENCES: INDIAN BROOK (1990 - 1999)
(Rates per 10,000)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Total per C.C. 'Persons'	933	911	790	664	730	1042	1083	1022	815	612
Total C.C. Property	457	418	536	601	549	525	550	716	485	880
Total Other C.C.	1467	1962	1600	1398	944	1550	1506	2107	1385	2014

Focusing on the 1990s, and especially the past three years, there are ten key patterns that can be noted in Tables Five and Six:

- 1) Person offences crested in the years 1995 to 1997 and have been reduced sharply over the past two years. The clearance rates which fell to all-time lows in that three year period (i.e. 1995 to 1997) have also improved over the past two years.
- 2) Property crimes have increased sharply over the past three years and most notably in the past year. The increase has been across the board as break and enter, serious theft (theft over \$5000) and theft from motor vehicles have all increased significantly, though the large majority of property crimes remain minor offences.
- 3) The years 1995 and 1996 were especially dismal years for the Indian Brook police service's response to conventional criminal offences. The 1996 clearance rates for person, property and 'other crime' offences, namely 34%, 10% and 16% respectively, were very poor by normal policing standards.
- 4) Clearly, the detachment is beginning to "put it all together" in the last few years but the low clearance rates compared to the more acceptable pre-1995 levels and to those elsewhere in Nova Scotia, suggest the need for more police officers to assist in investigation as well as, perhaps, the need for more community collaboration with the police.

- 5) Many interviewees have noted the relative decline of alcohol as the substance abuse problem. The figures for liquor offences over the past decade support that observation. The yearly level of liquor offences ranged from 29 to 55 and the numbers were greater in the early part of the decade than in the later part and that is despite the growth of population. At the same time there has been no noticeable change in the level of offences reported with respect to other addictive or harmful substances, despite widespread consensus that use of soft drugs and prescription pills have increased significantly.
- 6) The category 'other criminal' code offences refers to a variety of offences but especially highlights social disorder and respect for public institutions. The three major offences here are property damage, disturbance of the peace, and breach of probation. The statistics indicate that there has been a significant increase in property damage in the past three years compared with the rest of the decade, approximately a 40% increase in actual reported incidents. Disturbance of the peace on the other hand has not appreciably changed over three year intervals but the number of offences reached a decade low in 1998 (18 reported incidents) and then a decade high in 1999 (51 reported incidents). Breach of probation, quite infrequently charged in the early 1990s, has become a significant reported offence in the last three years and reached a decade high in 1999 (43 reported incidents): such a change would appear to reflect a different policy on the part of the probation service. It may also suggest the need for alternative justice solutions since it may indicate that offenders are not taking the court decisions seriously.
- 7) Federal offences (e.g. drug possession and trafficking) remained at a minuscule level throughout the decade while provincial offences were appreciably greater in the second half of the decade. With respect to municipal or band bylaws, there were no charges laid throughout the decade by RCMP but about 10 violations were reported over the 10 years.
- 8) In comparison with the previous decade, the incidence of person offences was significantly higher in the 1990s. The incidence of property crime doubled in the 1990s as did the incidence of 'other criminal' offences. The incidence of Liquor Act violations on the other hand were highest in the mid-1980s.
- 9) Calculating crime rates per 10,000 requires reliable information on population counts and

the salient population base would be band members - and others - living at Indian Brook. The population base used in the calculation of rates for the 1980s ranged from about 900 in 1983 to about 1050 in 1990. In order to be consistent with this earlier decade the population base for each year in the 1990s was taken as a 2.5 increase over the previous year and the population for the starting year, 1990, was as used in Table Four, namely 1050. On that basis, the rate of person offences was generally higher in the 1990s but it did decline significantly in the past two years. The rates for property offences have clearly increased significantly throughout the 1990s. The rates for 'other criminal' also increased significantly over the past decade. Property crime, property damage, public disturbance and breach of probation - the areas of largest crime increase over the past decade - are typically more often associated with young people (i.e. teens and young adults) than are person offences.

- 10) A comparison of averaged rates of the last three years with averages for the decade of the 1980s, clearly reveals the higher amount of reported crime in the community and pinpoints where the greatest increase has been. The three year average for person offences is about 700 per 10,000, about 35% higher than the 1980s' averaged rate of 540 per 10,000. The differences, however, are much greater for property and 'other' criminal code offences. Here both three year averages (i.e. 816 and 1835 per 10,000) are 300% and 250% greater than their respective 1980s averages (i.e. 270 and 688 per 10,000).

Overall, then, it is clear that Indian Brook has had, for two decades at least, very high levels of crime, especially violent or person crime and social disorder crime. The incidents and rates of most crime have increased over the past two decade and placed a great strain on the policing effort. Clearance rates particularly since the mid-90s have been poor compared to earlier years and to the situation in other Nova Scotian communities of comparable size and geography. In the past two years the incidents and rates have abated somewhat and the clearance rates have improved somewhat. Liquor acts violations have been sharply reduced as have violent crimes. Increasingly, property and "other criminal code" offences, the crimes most likely to be committed by teens and young adults have become more prominent. While the improvements over the past two years in dealing with conventional crime have been significant, there is still some indication

in the data of a police service struggling to meet its challenges. It is testimony perhaps to the outstanding people-oriented policing embodied by the detachment commander (see below) that under these conditions, the credibility of the service has not only been sustained but probably enhanced.

Table Seven presents the monthly flows of occurrences - incidents of police responses - for the years 1997 to 1999 inclusive. There were 1272 incidents recorded on the 1997 occurrence logs and these covered the gamut of normal policing activity. Overall, there were some 20 'calls' per month per officer which is a reasonably heavy load by conventional standards. There were numerous common assaults, fights and alcohol-influenced incidents demanding police response. False alarms, the bane of many metropolitan police services, were surprisingly common in Indian Brook, especially in the central area of the band administrative offices but also with respect to the few community stores. There were several calls a month for assistance in dealing with suicide threats and other incidents falling under the Mental Health Act; the high level of such calls would appear to require either or both special police training and a community volunteer emergency response team. Over the course of the year, 1997, seven officers were recorded as responding to calls and incidents though it appears that at any one time the operational complement was five officers. The logs also indicate that there were few school liaison and public education activities and that one officer appeared to take most of these assignments. The summer months constituted the busiest months for police responding to calls and incidents.

TABLE SEVEN

OCCURRENCE LOGS: INDIAN BROOK POLICE ACTIVITIES

	1997	1998	1999
January	94	101	84
February	67	82	74
March	112	91	102
April	106	88	109
May	92	141	125
June	110	122	138
July	125	113	130
August	117	120	103
September	134	97	106
October	111	104	85
November	114	82	115
December	90	102	121
Total:	1272	1243	1292

The occurrence logs for 1998 and 1999 essentially reproduced the same patterns as described for the overall number dipped a little (i.e. 2%) to 1243 in 1998 and then rose some 4% to 1292 in 1999. The busiest months were those of late spring and summer. For both years the usual operational complement was three officers which meant that, on average, they each handled a large load of about thirty-five 'calls' a month. The officers responded to a wide range of minor offences in addition to a steady stream of complaints about dogs, request for assistance for the mentally disturbed and a spate of false alarms. School liaison and related activities averaged one a month.

Overall, then, analyses of the occurrence logs for 1997 to 1999 inclusive indicate that the busiest time of year for Indian Brook policing is late spring and early summer (i.e. May, June and July) and that the level of occurrences (comparable to calls for service) is quite significant throughout the year. In 1998 and 1999 it averaged out to over thirty-five occurrences per officer per month. By comparison, the busy Unama'ki police unit at Eskasoni has averaged eighteen calls per officer per month and the Membertou unit much less than that. In the larger society such high levels of occurrences per officer per month are exceptional (Clairmont, 1991, 1999;

N.S. Policing Services, 1999). It should be remembered that responding to calls is only one of the officer's functions, additional to investigation, court appearances and so forth. The occurrence logs indicate that the offences to which the police respond are essential minor offences and that for a small community there is a surprisingly large number of false alarm calls, calls for assistance under the Mental Health Act (e.g. suicide threats), and 'suspicious person / possible prowler' calls. The logs indicate also that there has been a very modest level of school liaison and public education activity in the past two years. This is not unexpected given the few officers, the high rate of crime and the heavy calls for service; clearly, the priority for policing in Indian Brook (see survey results below) and in the larger society would be for police to focus on response, enforcement and investigation.

THE VIEWS OF THE POLICE

Six officers were interviewed, all but one on several different occasions; in addition there were three ride-alongs and attendance at one meeting of the police advisory committee. The evaluator also drew upon numerous interviews and ride-alongs during the decade with Indian Brook police. The officers saw the crime problem in Indian Brook as centred around drugs (soft drugs and prescription pills) and alcohol abuse. Person offences were seen as declining significantly but property crime (break and enter and theft of and from autos) was increasingly, relatively, and that was highlighting the problems with youth. The officers considered that residents would probably identify the major problems for policing as "drugs, bootlegging/alcohol, and youth", and in that regard, as the survey results below indicate, their perceptions were accurate. There was a confidence on the officers' part that they understood the people and the community dynamics and that Indian Brook residents were not much different from people elsewhere in society in terms of what they would consider problems as well as their priorities for policing. The officers did not think that their style of policing emphasized making arrests and laying charges; in fact, several indicated that they tried other imaginative solutions (such as having culprits clean off graffiti) and one observed that there was much more tolerance and leniency concerning traffic and other automobile violations than the RCMP would probably allow in other communities. - "There'd be a riot if we strictly enforced those laws and regulations."

Several common themes emerged from interviews and ride-alongs with officers policing Indian Brooks, whether now or in the recent past. Generally, there was the sense that Indian Brook was a tough community to police for several reasons, including the high crime rate, the heavy calls for service and high community expectations for virtually round-the-clock, visible policing. One ex-Indian Brook officer, now policing elsewhere, observed that "There is a lot of anger in the community [compared to his current community assignment]."; while another ex-officer suggested that, compared to his present community of assignment, there was in Indian Brook less willingness to readily mobilize against crime and trouble makers. The officers, in general, acknowledged the deeper problems of high underemployment, colonialist legacy, racism and so forth but also recognized that in large measure they could just deal with the symptoms. Collaborating with residents and local agencies to provide a policing service that could deal effectively with the symptoms, while also getting at the deeper causal factors, was a major challenge. It was noted by several officers that it was difficult to get the cooperation of victims and witnesses and that, as one said, "Sometimes it seems people report offences, get it off their chest and just aren't interested much in pursuing it after that - it's frustrating for investigations.". While the officers reported quite good relations with the major community social agencies (e.g. NADACA, MFCS), working with local agencies particularly with respect to youth issues, has been quite problematic and previous efforts have been largely unsuccessful in implementation. Eliminating bootlegging and drug/prescription dealing can be accomplished, it was argued, only when residents really want it done and thus report incidents and collaborate with investigations. One officer observed that when the community does mobilize it can be quite effective; here he cited an episode where "The community put heat on hard drug dealers and shut them down in Indian Brook.". While depicting Indian Brook as a tough community to police, most officers also mentioned the strengths, especially the character of the people, their appreciation of a good policing effort, and their spirituality, as well as the leadership available in other local agencies. The officers were quite interested in how the community regarded them, exhibiting a deep respect for the people and a concern for obtaining their respect in turn. In some ways the contrasts and variety in Indian Brook have made it a very interesting as well as challenging place to police, and it was possible for officers to obtain a sense of accomplishment in their service to the community.

The most basic view expressed by the officers was that the complement of the past few years was quite inadequate for the challenges facing the police service. Some of the officers were quite angry at the limited police resources available, seeing the situation as a "political problem", symbolized by the absence of a long-term contract until recent months; under the circumstances, it was argued, neither Band Council nor RCMP divisional headquarters would commit to an adequate level of resources for the detachment's manpower and facilities. RCMP organizational change in May 1998 formally meant that Indian Brook would have its own detachment with a sergeant and four constables; unfortunately, however, the complement was limited to three officers, albeit now all veteran police officers with the least experienced having ten years on the job and the senior officers having much background in policing First Nation communities. The complement of three officers in 1998 and 1999 was strained to accomplish well the basic conventional policing tasks, such as an acceptable clearance rate for person and property offences, let alone provide a highly visible policing and do much crime prevention, public education programming and participate in the new justice programming (i.e. community-based policing). The inadequate facilities significantly added to the problem as there was no holding cell, no appropriate interview room, outdated infrastructure (e.g. single page copier, poor storage) and so forth. The officers observed that to hold someone or to interview people they would have to go to Enfield and, accordingly, would be tied up and outside the community for significant lengths of time. Since 1998 the Band Council has had to hire people as private security to watch over the main administrative complex in the community and other special areas since, in the absence of police visibility, there has been considerable costly vandalism.

The Indian Brook officers acknowledged that, given the above circumstances, there was less attention paid to the non-reactive police functions than both they and community residents wanted. Crime prevention activities have been limited and one officer observed that with the small number of officers and high workload, "We were just trying to keep a lid on things.". There was, too, a limited engagement with new justice initiatives (i.e. restorative justice) launched by the RCMP and by the Mi'kmaq Justice Institute. Over the past two years, there have been few referrals to the Mi'kmaq Young Offenders Project (actually it is unclear whether there were any 'youth' referrals to MYOP prior to six months ago) and apparently only two adult diversions or

circles were held with formal police participation; and there have been only about three referrals to the RCMP's own 'community justice forum' program. The protocols for referring cases to these restorative justice programs were quite restrictive (i.e. minor cases, first time offenders, victim consent etc) but nevertheless the police participation has been rather minimal. There has been little formal information exchange either with the Band Council or with the community at large through newsletters or information / accountability sessions, although the three newsletters that were put out over the past three years did receive a very favourable response in the community. There was little apparent collaboration on the part of community political leaders or representatives in formulating the objectives and directions of the police service. Over three years there were apparently only two meetings with the Band Council and only one annual report delivered to the full council. The police advisory committee has functioned as an advisory committee more than as a police board or commission. The status of the advisory committee has been unclear. According to police, the members were recommended by the Band Council but chief and counsellors did not report themselves as having any role in the peopling of the committee. Attendance in any event was very spotty, though there were some useful initiatives undertaken, most especially perhaps the development of criteria to assess new candidates for the Indian Brook police service.

The officers had diverse views on the type of officers that should be recruited for Indian Brook but there was a widespread consensus that there should be a mix of native and non-native, where each could compliment the other (e.g. professional detachment on the one hand, and in-depth understanding and empathy on the other). Of course each type of officers have faced special challenges too. Locally reared officers sometimes faced unrealistic and inappropriate expectations and found it difficult to be able to relax when off-duty. Non-native members sometimes found themselves naively drawn into the quagmire of family feuds and histories and, infrequently, were confronted by residents who challenged their right to even be in the community. There was less consensus on whether locally-reared persons should be recruited. All officers were aware of the pressure on such persons, policing their own community in a situation where family ties are deep and where crime has been disproportionately person-offences, leaving scars in relations among the families. And all officers were aware of the strains and stresses that

had befallen the five locally-reared officers who policed Indian Brook in the mid-1990s. Several officers echoed the views of one veteran member who said, "You cannot survive here [as a police officer] if you live here."; while others considered that "locals", could do well and add a major dimension of understanding to the policing effort, especially if they obtained significant experience in other assignments before returning to the community. It was also contended that nowadays all native officers have received the same training as their non-native counterparts and are better equipped to handle the pressures of policing their own communities than their predecessors were.

While the police service, given the small complement of officers, the poor facilities and the huge demand for police services, struggled to meet standards of conventional policing acceptable to the RCMP, the community and themselves, and while there was limited opportunity to implement much formal community-based policing, there were some areas of high performance satisfaction. One was the sense among the officers - a perception borne out by the above analyses of the data - that, despite all, they had improved the police service in terms of conventional criteria (e.g. response, clearance rate, court preparation); secondly, the police leadership (i.e. the sergeant) provided a high quality "policing-for-people" style (for an academic discussion of this policing style see Mastrofski, 1999), establishing warm, respectful ties with many youth (e.g. talking with them, giving them rides, showing them how to trap) and adults (e.g. visiting homes, taking the time to listen and discuss their concerns and enforcement issues). The combination of solid police work plus a policing style embodied in the detachment leader, which was very much appreciated by virtually all Indian Brook residents, gained much credibility for the service over the past two and a half years and went a long way to compensating for the shortfalls that residents also perceived. It may be noted that in the past three years there have only been two formal complaints directed at the police service; one concerned the use of pepper spray and the other a complaint about an officer's attitude towards people.

The officers' recommendations for change and improvement chiefly were for a larger complement and a new detachment building. The officers were realistic and modest in their call for more members. In 1992/93, based on an RCMP formula for policing complement which took

into account crime levels, calls for service, and geography as well as population (i.e. the SARPLE system), it was suggested that a detachment at Indian Brook might have eight or nine members. Informed of this, the officers here thought that number excessive. It was considered that a complement of five would enable the service to provide quality conventional policing, do some 'beat' type patrolling in the centre of the community and initiate more community-based policing programs. The latter would especially be possible, it was felt, if at least one of the new officers had the training and commitment for developing programs with youth. There was some thought as well that there could be advantage in having an officer particularly trained in dealing with drug and prescription abuse. A new detachment building with a holding capacity, and appropriate interview and storage capacity would enable the officers to spend more time in the community and enhance the visibility of the policing service. Other recommendations called for the Indian Brook detachment having a mix of native and non-native officers as an optimum complement, and with all new officers being evaluated by the criteria for suitability developed by the detachment commander in collaboration with the police advisory committee. Officers acknowledged that band bylaws could be a significant way the community impacts on the objectives and directions of policing but there was a concern that at present the band bylaw 'track' is unfathomable and mine-laden, so much preparatory work would have to be done by governance authorities on bylaw issues. This view is identical to that expressed almost unanimously by chiefs of police in a recent national survey of First Nations self-administered policing services (Six Nations Geo System Inc., 1999). The Indian Brook officers reported that they would welcome greater community participation in policing. Finally, the officers noted that there is a need for some place where the youth "can hang around" now that the multi-service centre has been utilized for other activities.

COMMUNITY ASSESSMENTS: THE SURVEY RESULTS

Crime and Worry:

The community survey first asked Indian Brook adults about their perceptions of crime and their worry about victimization in the community. The results are presented in Tables Eight to Ten. It can be noted in Table Eight that, while roughly fifty percent of the respondents considered Indian

Brook to be a community with an 'average' level of crime, over a third of the females considered it a 'high' crime area. Similarly, while the most common position was that Indian Brook's level of crime is about the same as in the neighbouring non-native communities, almost a third of the sample held that there is more crime here. Few residents considered that crime had decreased in recent years. Indeed, almost one of every two female respondents, and a third of the males, reported that crime was on the rise in Indian Brook during this period.

TABLE EIGHT
PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME LEVELS AND TRENDS
 (%)

1. Level of Crime in Indian Brook:

	Overall	Male	Female
High	30%	21%	36%
Average	53	60	49
Low	12	17	9
Unsure	4	2	6

2. Indian Brook Crime Compared to Nearby Areas:

	Overall	Male	Female
More Crime	31%	33%	30%
Stayed the Same	43	42	44
Less Crime	11	8	12
Unsure	14	15	14

3. Trends in Indian Brook Crime Level:

	Overall	Male	Female
Increased	42%	33%	48%
Stayed the Same	37	44	33
Decreased	11	12	9
Unsure	10	10	9

TABLE NINE

**FEAR AND VICTIMIZATION IN INDIAN BROOK
(%)**

1. Do You Feel Safe Walking Alone Here After Dark?

	Overall	Male	Female
Very Safe	33%	56%	19%
Reasonably Safe	39	23	48
Unsafe	25	21	27
Unsure	4	-	6

2. Do You Worry About Being Attacked or Molested Here?

	Overall	Male	Female
Much	20%	10%	26%
Some	26	15	32
Not At All	54	75	42
Unsure	-	-	-

3. Do You Worry About Property Theft?

	Overall	Male	Female
Much	67%	62%	70%
Some	22	23	21
Not At All	9	13	7
Unsure	2	2	1

4. Do You Worry About Being Vandalized?

	Overall	Male	Female
Much	69%	65%	71%
Some	18	23	16
Not At All	12	10	13
Unsure	1	2	-

TABLE TEN

CRIME AND FEAR IN INDIAN BROOK (1991/92 AND 2000)
(%)

	1991/92	2000
1. Reporting Crime Level High	42%	31%
2. Reporting Crime Level Higher Than in Nearby Areas	23	36
3. Reporting Crime Level Increasing Over Past Few Years	51	46
4. % Feeling Very Safe Walking Alone After Dark	47	34
5. % Who Worry Much About Being Attacked	6	20
6. % Who Worry Much About Theft	25	68
7. % Who Worry Much About Being Vandalized	28	69
8. % Who Have Been A Crime Victim Within Past Two Years	61	32

Those who reported the crime level to be high and crime to be on the increase, typically explained their viewpoint by pointing to at least one of three major factors, namely problems with youth (e.g. they have nothing to do, are disrespectful, etc), parenting (e.g. parents are doing a poor job carrying out their responsibilities) and police inadequacy. These views were expressed across the board, age and gender-wise. A common explanation was rendered by a twenty-five year old female who claimed there was increasing break and enter and added "younger kids are out of control, doing pills, booze". Other respondents emphasized presumed underlying causes such as "They have nothing to do."; "They have no avenues but to do petty mischief."; "They are frustrated"; and "There is nothing for them to do except to steal and vandalize homes because they have nothing to do.". Commonly, respondents emphasized that young people need more guidance and better parenting: a thirty-five year old male summed up this view with his comment "High crime is due to lack of parenting and a lack of respect and lack of responsibility."; while a twenty-five year old female said, "Nowadays I find the majority of parents around here don't care about their children in the sense of what they're doing in their spare time. They need to sit down and explain to their children what is right and wrong." As for policing, some interviewees felt that crime had increased because "The cops are not doing their job." while others said the increase was because "Police are charging more people.". Despite citing these more general factors, residents frequently expressed the view that crime is limited to a small number of repeat offenders.

For a small, rural-like community Indian Brook residents exhibited a high level of fear and worry. Table Nine shows that only a relatively small proportion of female adults (i.e. 19%) perceived themselves to be 'very safe' walking alone in the community at night. While a clear majority of males and females perceived themselves as at least 'reasonably safe', it is surprising that about a quarter in each gender grouping apparently felt 'unsafe'. A clear majority (about 70%) in each category reported that they worry much about being the victims of theft and vandalism, and more than half the female adults reported that they worry 'much', or at least 'some', about being attacked or molested. It is not depicted in Table Seven but the survey also revealed that about 50% of the adults reported that they worry 'much' or 'very much' about problems of peace and general social order in the community such as fighting, loose dogs and so forth.

A comparison on crime and worry with the 1991/92 survey is interesting (see Table Ten). A smaller percentage of adults in 2000 claimed crime levels in Indian Brook are 'high' or that crime has been increasing. And a considerably smaller percentage (i.e. 32% to 61%) claimed to have been personally a victim of crime within the past two years. Still, the levels of perceived threat - presumably an indicator of fear of crime - is significantly higher nowadays. Residents reported feeling less safe walking alone at night, worrying more about being attacked and, most especially, were more than twice as likely to worry much about being the victims of theft and vandalism. Not surprisingly, they seem now more likely to perceive the level of crime in Indian Brook as higher than in the nearby areas.

Crimes and Big Problems in Indian Brook:

Indian Brook adults were asked whether a variety of specific crimes or social problems constituted a big problem, somewhat of a problem or no problem at all in the community. The results, given in Table Eleven, indicate that 80% of the males and females cited drug and alcohol abuse as a "big problem", while about two-thirds (females more than males) considered break and enter and vandalism to be "big problems". Nearly 50% of the sample (again more females than males) identified feuding among family groups as a "big problem". About 40% said that

child abuse and social disturbances were "big problems". Wife battering, the item least likely to be characterized as a 'big problem' was identified as such by about 25% of the sample. It should be noted that the number of adults who said that any of the above behaviours was “no problem” in Indian Brook made up a very small minority in all instances. Also, a surprisingly large percentage of the sample -20%- answered "unsure" or "don't know" with respect to the issues of child abuse and wife battering. When the adults were asked what crimes or legal wrongs go unreported to police in Indian Brook, their most frequent spontaneous response was family violence or sexual assault; not surprisingly, women were more likely to make this claim than males. The respondents were subsequently asked whether a variety of different specific wrongs would typically be reported to police or went unreported. As Table Twelve indicates, a large majority of the adults, whether male or female, believed that incidents of bootlegging, substance abuse and underage drinking were usually not reported to the police. A clear majority considered that child abuse and wife battering generally were not reported. Incidents of petty theft and vandalism were seen as more likely to be reported to the police though even here more than 40% of the sample claimed the opposite. A few respondents spontaneously identified other problems they considered 'big' such as wild, loose dogs and poor street lighting.

TABLE ELEVEN

PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Type of Problem	% Perceiving It A 'Big Problem'		
	Overall	Male	Female
Break and Enter	67%	62%	70%
Wife Battering	27	23	30
Child Abuse	39	42	38
Vandalism	64	54	69
Feuding Among Family Groups	46	40	50
Social Disturbance	44	54	38
Drug and Alcohol Abuse	80	79	80

TABLE TWELVE

REPORTING CRIME IN INDIAN BROOK: COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS

A. % Saying the Crime is Usually Not Reported to Police:

Type of Crime	Overall	Male	Female
Wife Battering	64%	56%	69%
Child Abuse	60	58	60
Petty Theft	48	56	44
Vandalism	42	40	43
Bootlegging	80	79	81
Substance Abuse	84	83	84
Underage Drinking	92	92	92

B. % Saying That Unreported Crime Dealt With By Other Community Agencies or Organizations:

	Overall	Male	Female
Dealt With Often	2%	2%	2%
Dealt With Sometimes	26	29	25
Dealt With Rarely	48	52	46
Don't Know	23	17	26

C. % Victims Who Reported Their Victimization to the Police:

	Overall	Male	Female
% Victims Who Reported Their Victimization to the Police	84%	85%	83%

Respondents were asked if wrongs, when unreported to the police, were usually dealt with informally 'often', 'sometimes' or 'rarely' in the community by local organizations such as family services, alcohol and drug counsellors or the Band Council. Virtually no one claimed 'often' but roughly 25% of both the males and females did hold that at least sometimes the wrongs were dealt with somehow. Interestingly, about 85% of all the male and female adults indicated that when they were personally victimized they did report the matter to the police.

TABLE THIRTEEN

COMPARISONS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS AND UNREPORTED CRIMES, 1991 AND 2000 (%)

	1991	2000
(A) Perceive as 'Big Problem':		

Break and Enter	33%	68%
Wife Battery and/or Child Abuse	60	84
Vandalism	56	64
Feuding	64	49
Social Disturbance	32	45
Drug and Alcohol Abuse	90	82
(B) Perceive as Typically Unreported:		
Wife Battery	94	80
Child Abuse	86	75
Petty Theft	68	57
Vandalism	41	45
Bootlegging	98	94
Substance Abuse	93	91
Underage Drinking	87	97
(C) Perceive Unreported Crimes as Dealt With By Other Community Agencies:		
	37	37
(D) Victims Reporting Their Victimization To Police:		
	77	84

Table Thirteen compares the reasons given in 2000 to those given to identical questions in 1991/92. Overall, the responses were quite similar in terms of what is unreported, whether unreported incidents get dealt with informally and whether the interviewees themselves reported their own victimization to the police authorities. There is not much difference either in terms of what the adults considered to be 'big problems' in the community with one major exception, namely that in 2000 the respondents were far more likely to claim that break and enter was "a big problem". It may be noted that the table presents a large difference on the matter of wife battering and child abuse but in this case the question in 2000 was not exactly the same as the question in 1991/92. In the 2000 survey residents were not asked why there was so much under reporting but in 1991/92, when they were asked this question, the top two reasons interviewees gave for incidents going unreported to police were that the police response was slow and/or ineffective. Among the few in the 2000 survey sample who indicated they did not report their own victimization to the police, it was claimed either that previous experience with the police was the reason or that the matter was "dealt with it on my own".

Assessing Police Performance in Indian Brook:

Tables Fourteen to Eighteen examine the assessments that the male and female respondents gave of the policing service. As indicated in Table Fourteen, the large majority of Indian Brook adults considered the police service to have provided good or average service with respect to the basic policing functions, namely responding to calls for service, enforcing the law and keeping order, and being approachable and easy to talk to; the latter police function was the one most positively assessed by the respondents. The residents were more critical of police investigation and crime solving, and of police efforts in crime prevention and community problem solving (though in the case of the latter there was much uncertainty about the actual level of the police collaboration with other local agencies). Overall, then, it can be said that the respondents judged the police service adequate on conventional policing but significantly less so on those functions highlighted in the policing philosophy of community-based policing. Males and females made very similar assessments.

TABLE FOURTEEN
EVALUATING POLICE PERFORMANCE:
THE BASIC POLICING FUNCTIONS
(%)

1. Enforcing the Law and Keeping Order:

	Overall	Male	Female
Good Job	16%	21%	13%
Average Job	61	65	60
Poor Job	18	14	20
Unsure	4	-	7

2. Responding to Calls for Service:

	Overall	Male	Female
Good Job	24%	29%	21%
Average Job	42	38	44
Poor Job	29	29	29
Unsure	4	4	5

3. Investigating and Solving Crime:

	Overall	Male	Female
Good Job	8%	10%	7%
Average Job	39	44	37
Poor Job	39	33	43
Unsure	12	12	12

4. Being Approachable:

	Overall	Male	Female
Good Job	41%	35%	44%
Average Job	33	38	30
Poor Job	21	25	19
Unsure	5	2	7

5. Providing Information and Crime Prevention:

	Overall	Male	Female
Good Job	16%	17%	16%
Average Job	21	21	21
Poor Job	50	56	46
Unsure	13	6	17

(...Table Fourteen Continued)

**TABLE FOURTEEN EVALUATING POLICE PERFORMANCE:
THE BASIC POLICING FUNCTIONS (%) (...Continued)**

6. Working With Others on Community Problems:

	Overall	Male	Female
Good Job	14%	19%	10%

Average Job	26	23	29
Poor Job	29	35	25
Unsure	31	23	36

TABLE FIFTEEN
POLICE AND COMMUNITY: PERCEPTIONS (%)

1. Relations Between Community and Police:

	Overall	Male	Female
Excellent	3%	6%	1%
Good	39	33	43
Fair	32	40	29
Poor	14	10	17
Unsure	10	10	11

2. Is the Community Being Adequately Served by Police:

	Overall	Male	Female
Yes	26%	25%	27%
No	23	17	27
Unsure	49	58	45

3. Local Police Service Compared to Nearby Areas:

	Overall	Male	Female
Better	6%	8%	5%
Same	46	52	43
Poorer	22	17	25
Unsure	25	22	27

4. Is the Number of Police Adequate:

	Overall	Male	Female
Too Many	12%	15%	11%
About Right	35	46	28
Too Few	41	27	49
Unsure	11	10	11

TABLE SIXTEEN

OVERALL COMMUNITY PRIORITIES FOR POLICING*
(%)

Item	Priority Level			
	Low	Medium	High	Unsure
Working With Youth	12%	17%	70%	-
Police – School Liaison	13	39	46	2
Focus on Seniors’ Security	9	20	70	-
Catching Criminals	8	17	74	-
Traffic Issues	16	50	33	-
Crime Prevention	10	39	48	2
Mediation and Peacekeeping	14	30	53	2
Inter-agency and New Justice Alternatives	14	30	55	1

* There were no significant differences in the responses of males and females, so only overall results are presented here. Also, there are no comparable 1991 data for these questions.

TABLE SEVENTEEN

**TYPES OF CHANGES DESIRED IN INDIAN BROOK POLICING
(%)**

POSSIBLE CHANGE:

1. More Police Presence:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	38%	31%	42%
Wanted Some	46	50	44
Wanted Not At All	10	8	12
Unsure	5	10	2

2. More Strict Law Enforcement:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	33%	27%	37%
Wanted Some	54	56	52
Wanted Not At All	7	6	7
Unsure	6	10	4

(...Table Seventeen Continued)

TABLE SEVENTEEN

TYPES OF CHANGES DESIRED IN INDIAN BROOK POLICING (%)

POSSIBLE CHANGE: (...Continued)

3. More Community Input in Policing:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	45%	42%	46%
Wanted Some	43	35	48
Wanted Not At All	5	12	1
Unsure	6	10	4

4. Elders and Leaders Advising Police:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	40%	33%	44%
Wanted Some	28	44	19
Wanted Not At All	23	12	28
Unsure	9	10	8

5. More Culturally Sensitive Police:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	48%	40%	52%
Wanted Some	37	38	37
Wanted Not At All	8	10	7
Unsure	7	12	4

6. More Native Female Officers:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	64%	56%	68%
Wanted Some	25	31	21
Wanted Not At All	8	6	8
Unsure	4	6	2

7. Greater Band Control Over Policing:

	Overall	Male	Female
Wanted Much	24%	31%	19%
Wanted Some	15	14	16
Wanted Not At All	50	40	56
Unsure	11	14	9

TABLE EIGHTEEN

**COMPARISONS OF ASSESSMENTS OF POLICING, 1991 and 2000
(%)**

	1991	2000
1. Police Service Doing Good or Average Job Re:		
Enforcement	77%	79%
Responding to Calls	54	68
Solving Crimes	61	54
Being Approachable	88	77
Crime Prevention	47	43
Problem Solving	58	57
2. Perceive Police – Community Relations as Excellent or Good	34	46
3. Believe Community Being Adequately Serviced By Police	56	52
4. Believe Local Police Service ‘Poorer’ Than In Nearby Areas	33	33
5. Believe the Number of Police Officers is “Too Few”	67	46
6. Want Much:		
More Police Presence	61	40
More Street Enforcement	70	35
More Community Input	72	48
More Elder Advisors	61	44
More Culturally Sensitive Police	84	52
More Native Female Officers	91	67
More Band Council Control Over Policing	34	27

Approximately half the respondents reported that they had had at least one official contact with the police within the past year. The most common circumstances were either to make a complaint or request police assistance where the respondent considered himself/herself to be a victim. Over 70% of those having an official contact with the police reported that they were treated either "extremely well" or "fairly well" by the police. Male and female adults reported identical patterns of interaction with police. The interviewees were asked whether, among other residents they knew well, relations between the police and the people were excellent, good, fair or poor. Table Fifteen shows that the large majority of males and females claimed such community-police relations were good or fair and that few considered them as either "excellent" on the one hand or "poor" on the other.

As indicated in Table Fifteen, a surprisingly large percentage of Indian Brook adults - almost 50% - were undecided about whether the community was being adequately served by the police. Among the decided, there was a rather even split though females were a little more likely

than males to say "no". The large proportion of undecided would suggest that the adults were "cutting some slack" and suspending judgement for the police service for some reasons. And the major reason is perhaps found also in Table Fifteen where over 40% of the respondents claimed that there were too few police officers in the community. Female respondents were especially likely to make this latter claim. A majority of Indian Brook residents, who expressed a position, considered that the local police service was comparable to that available in nearby communities but 25% of the women considered it to be poorer.

Respondents were asked to comment on the ways in which they considered the police service to be adequate or inadequate. The most frequent factor cited for inadequacy focused on how crimes were dealt with (i.e. investigated or solved). At the same time this factor was also the most frequently cited in the comments on how the police service was adequate. Clearly, perceptions of how police dealt with crime was the most salient, explicit determinant of respondents' assessments of the police service. Concerning inadequacy, the comments frequently dwelt on "too many offences overlooked", "not enough patrolling late at night" and allegations of selective enforcement in favour of some residents. Concerning adequacy, the comments frequently emphasized "open communication, very approachable" and availability ("Their sub-office is here in the community, [this] makes it faster and easier to familiarize with themselves with the community and community members."). It was very common for the respondents, even when otherwise talking about inadequacies in the police service, to highlight and praise the people-oriented policing approach of the detachment sergeant. It was noted that he listens well, takes time to talk about issues and explain matters, is fair to all, is not preoccupied with laying charges and so forth.

Priorities and Changes Desired in Policing:

Indian Brook adult residents responded with a variety of priorities to the general question, "What local problems do you feel the police should be trying especially hard to prevent or

eliminate?”. Nevertheless, two priorities stood out, namely better response and patrol, and dealing with illegal drug and alcohol activity. Lurking in the background of most responses was a concern for problems of youth and children. The respondents clearly linked their priorities to these latter concerns. The survey respondents were also asked what priority, whether low, medium or high, they would give to a specified list of issues. The results are shown in Table Sixteen. The highest priority was clearly accorded to "catching criminals", "working with youth" and ensuring "security for seniors". School liaison, crime prevention, peacekeeping and inter-agency collaboration also were frequently deemed to be of high priority but overall it is clear that the community residents put first the conventional, basic policing activities, and in that sense were not excessive in their expectations for policing. There were no significant differences in the responses by gender.

In their own spontaneous remarks about the changes that they would like to see in the Indian Brook police service, respondents particularly pointed to more crime prevention programming (e.g. Neighbourhood Watch) and more community involvement whether in the form of police participation at community activities (e.g. community events, sports, pow-wows etc.) or participation in policing by youth and elders. The respondents were also asked how much they desired various specified possible changes in the police service. These results are given in Table Seventeen. Having more native, female officers was the most wanted change, followed by "more culturally sensitive police" and "more community input into policing". The least desired possible change was "greater band control over policing". It is clear from the comments that the respondents interpreted the latter as implying more direct control of everyday policing by Band Council; while they were reluctant to see that happen, they certainly wanted more community input into policing. There was ambivalence over whether to have "elders and local leaders advising police on how to handle cases"; on the one hand, 40% of the sample wanted that much, but on almost equal proportion of the sample either did not want it at all or were unsure. Overall, the most widespread views were for more police officers, especially native females, who would perform their policing tasks with professional detachment and with cultural sensitivity and in collaboration with greater community input concerning broad policing objectives. This standpoint was common for both males and females but somewhat more so for

the female respondents. This standard appears to represent a solid and realizable basis for effective community-oriented policing in Indian Brook.

Table Eighteen provides some selective comparisons between the 2000 and the 1991/92 survey results on Indian Brook policing. Generally the assessments of the standard police functions were similar in both periods, the largest difference being the more positive assessment of responding to calls for service in 2000. There was, too, a modest gain in 2000 in the extent to which the respondents considered police-community relations to be either excellent or good. The preferences for specific changes in the police service (i.e. what respondents wanted much to happen) had roughly the same rank order in both surveys but clearly the demands were more considerable across the board in the 1991/92 period.

Working with the Police:

In order to get a sense of how residents might consider working more collaboratively with police a number of questions were asked. All survey respondents were questioned concerning their views of the police officers' orientations, whether they were unbiased, fair in their dealings with people, willing to help out and protective of rights. About 40% of the sample agreed with the statement that "Police are influenced too much by the more powerful people."; while about the same percentage disagreed or said they were unsure. The percentages were quite similarly distributed in response to the statement, "There is too much pressure on officers raised in the community to treat their relatives and friends better than others.". Fully 72% agreed, at least somewhat, that "Police in my area are usually willing to help out with almost any problem.", but only 47% gave such positive responses to the statement, "Police are careful not to arrest innocent persons.". Overall, then, there is a strong undercurrent of scepticism about the professional detachment of the police but at the same time there does not appear to be a widespread alienation from the police officers. Males and females held virtually identical views with respect to all the above statements.

Few respondents (14%) considered themselves well-informed about what the police do

and the resources they have available to do their work. Typically, the survey respondents placed responsibility for the lack of information on the police service, contending that it should make a better effort to inform the community. One young female went on to suggest "I feel that I have lost touch since they have been changing around so much; they should have a meal or feast to introduce the new officers to the community.". Over three-fourths of the sample did advance suggestions for how the police service could improve its communications with the people; typically they referred to the police service's putting out regular newsletters and/or to more community advisory groups but, somewhat surprisingly, a number also advised more one-on-one communication between officers and residents. Some respondents were quite sceptical that residents would show up for community meetings.

The survey sample was also questioned on whether they had the time and inclination to volunteer in public security and justice programs in the community. About 20% of the sample said yes. Asked about their willingness to be involved in specific ways as a volunteer with the police service, most respondents reported themselves as either unwilling or unsure, whether it was being on a police advisory committee, working on crime prevention programs, helping out at the station, being involved with a 'citizen-on-patrol' program or becoming part of a police auxiliary. Women were somewhat more likely to express a willingness to become involved, especially in crime prevention programs; on that option, almost 40% of the female adults expressed a willingness to participate as a volunteer. In general, persons who were willing to volunteer for one activity were likely to volunteer for the others as well, so it appears there is a small group of potential activists for this kind of volunteer work. These results concerning volunteering - depicting relatively low interest in volunteering compared with survey results elsewhere (see Clairmont, 1999) - suggest that effective police-community collaboration will require time and effort but also that a small core of residents could be readily mobilized.

Views on New Justice Programs and Possibilities:

In recent years there has been the emergence of new justice alternatives in Nova Scotia and indeed throughout Canada. Movements within the First Nations and in the larger society

have emphasized the philosophy of restorative justice, healing, and community-based participation in the objectives and processes of justice. In Indian Brook between 1993 and 1996 there was a community-based adult diversion program (Clairmont, 1996). Since then the RCMP in Indian Brook and elsewhere has launched its community justice forums to deal with minor offences. The Mi'kmaq Justice Institute (formed in 1997) operated a province-wide court worker / justice worker program and a Mi'kmaq Young Offender Program (MYOP) for minor youth crime; through the latter vehicle, MYOP, there have been a few adult 'justice circles' for some serious criminal offences. The Department of Justice, Nova Scotia, has recently launched an extensive restorative justice initiative, which plans to make restorative justice approaches available, in different ways perhaps, to all residents in all parts of the province and for all types of offenders and offences. It was considered important then to ascertain the community's views on these developments and assess the possible impact for the police service in Indian Brook.

Male and female adults in Indian Brook were asked how well informed they were of some of the recent developments referred to above. It can be seen in Table Nineteen that the large majority of respondents considered that they were "not at all" well-informed about the Mi'kmaq Justice Institute or any of its three main programs, namely the Court Worker Program, the Interpreters' Service or MYOP. Only about 10% of the sample reported that they had had any personal contact with any these programs. But the few people who did have contact were generally quite positive; as one thirty year old male said of the court worker program, "I have had contact with it; they gave good advice and helped things turn out for the better."

Despite the limited awareness of, and contact with, these Mi'kmaq initiatives which, while fairly conventional themselves, foreshadow more alternative justice or restorative justice programs, Indian Brook adults believed that they constituted important programs for the community. There was about an even split between those contending these initiatives were "very much" important and those either considering them of "somewhat" importance or being unsure of their value. Still, as Table Nineteen shows, no one claimed that these initiatives were of no importance. The interviewees' comments clearly reflected the diversity of viewpoints. A common opinion was they are important initiatives because "Mi'kmaq should take care of their

own"; others expressed the view that such programs could "assure our rights are not violated."; or have positive implications for parenting and community development. As in the larger society, there was diversity, too, over whether such programs as MYOP would be more effective in dealing with offenders; two contrasting views were each well represented in the sample, namely that, "People are worse off after being in jail.", and "Some may see it (restorative justice) as an easier way out.". There was a general recognition by the respondents that there would need to be more "community conversations" about these initiatives, more community input and perhaps even referenda and new organizations in order to achieve community consensus and ensure "equal treatment for everyone".

It is clear too from the spontaneous responses advanced by the adults that there was some uncertainty about the kinds of offences that might be handled outside the conventional court system. As Table Nineteen depicts, over 85% of the respondents held that at least some offenders and crimes should continue to be dealt with exclusively by the mainstream court system. Not unexpectedly, serious person crimes such as sexual assault, murder and child abuse were especially cited here; apart from these types of crimes where there was a broad consensus, different people had different candidates for mainstream justice (e.g. drug offences, drunk driving etc); there was a much difference too over whether repeat offenders should have the restorative justice options. The general consensus was that the alternative programs would be valuable but should be introduced carefully and in a limited way until experience and know-how can be built up in the community. A wide range of concrete suggestions were given by the respondents when asked, "What new justice alternative programs or organizations would you want to have in this community?". Suggestions ranged from sentencing circles and healing circles to more conventional crime prevention and rehabilitative programs such as neighbourhood watch, boot camp and extensive counselling. Respondents also emphasized the need for community reintegration programs for offenders. As Table Nineteen shows, there was a widespread view that community residents would support these initiatives, basically because "the community would be more involved", the programs "would be for the benefit of all" and/or because "a high percentage of our community do not agree with the present system". There was much scepticism that the community support would be wide but not deep and that these

alternative programs would not be sustainable; one person argued that, "Everyone would mean well but I can't see it being followed through."; while another claimed "It might get some initial support but then that support may fade as the novelty wears off.". It was generally felt that, in order to ensure the programs are fair and accepted by community residents, there would have to be much community involvement, openness, and regular evaluations of both an internal (e.g. elders, local justice committees) and external sort (e.g. panels from other reserves, others).

TABLE NINETEEN

**INDIAN BROOK COMMUNITY VIEWS ON NEW JUSTICE ACTIVITY
(%)**

1. Informed About Mi'kmaq Justice Institute:

	Overall	Male	Female
Very Much	8%	8%	7%
Somewhat	31	31	31
Not At All	61	60	62

2. Informed About Native Courtworker Program:

	Overall	Male	Female
Very Much	5%	6%	5%
Somewhat	32	29	34
Not At All	61	64	61

3. Informed About Mi'kmaq Young Offender Programs:

	Overall	Male	Female
Very Much	4%	6%	4%
Somewhat	30	25	33
Not At All	64	68	63

(...Table Nineteen Continued)

TABLE NINETEEN

INDIAN BROOK COMMUNITY VIEWS ON NEW JUSTICE ACTIVITY (%)

(...Continued)

4. Informed About Mi'kmaq Interpreter Service:

	Overall	Male	Female
Very Much	3%	4%	2%
Somewhat	19	21	18
Not At All	77	74	80

5. Any Contact With the Above Programs/Agencies:

	Overall	Male	Female
Yes	10%	17%	10%

6. Are These Important Programs For This Community:

	Overall	Male	Female
Very Much	46%	44%	48%
Somewhat	32	40	27
Not At All	-	-	-
Unsure	22	16	25

7. Are There Certain Crimes/Offenders That Should Be Dealt With By the Present Justice System:

	Overall	Male	Female
Yes	86%	83%	90%

8. Would Community Residents Support New Justice Alternatives:

	Overall	Male	Female
Yes	76%	73%	77%

There would be significant implications for the police service if the alternative or restorative justice programs were to be more fully developed in the community, as seems likely to be the case in the years ahead. It would appear that there would be some demand for police participation, if not direct police leadership, in these activities and this participation could well

be demanding in time and energy. In addition, it is clear that community views are quite diverse concerning the effectiveness and appropriateness of such alternative justice or restorative justice practices; how these latter are perceived would impact on community assessment of policing since usually the police are the main (though obviously not sole) official referral agents for diverting cases from the mainstream court processes and this pivotal role could put the police in the thick of controversy concerning the desirability of these new practices. It would seem that the police would have a major role in developing the protocols for new justice programming at the community level and also that they would have to contribute to the community conversations about it.

INDIAN BROOK POLICE: GOVERNANCE

There are two major bodies to consider when discussing civilian oversight and governance of the police service at Indian Brook. These are chief and council on the one hand, and the police advisory committee on the other. There is no distinct, authorized police commission or police board. Policing services are contracted with the RCMP under a tripartite agreement among the band, the federal government and the provincial government. Before discussing the views of the members of the two Indian Brook organizations - council and advisory committee - there will be a brief examination of PAC minutes, the RCMP reports to council, and the newsletters produced by the local police service. This can help establish a context to appreciate the views of those persons in governance roles.

POLICE-BAND COUNCIL MEETINGS

Over the past three years there were two meetings where the detachment commander reported to chief and council. The first meeting took place in May 1998. The sergeant reviewed the on-paper complement (i.e. a sergeant and four constables) and the personnel shortfalls caused by having members on sick leave. He pointed out that the overall clearance rate had improved in 1997 over the previous year, despite high levels of calls for service and crime. Vandalism and property crime were identified as primarily caused by a small group of youthful persons, while assaults were said to usually have occurred in a context where there was substance abuse. Much

attention was given to how the police service was dealing with crime and other issues. In the case of suicide, and other acts under the Mental Health Act, a crisis intervention team was being formed in the community and the volunteer participants had taken a suicide intervention course. In the case of youth, the sergeant discussed a number of ideas that had been vetted in PAC, namely possible curfews, a drop-in centre and school liaison. The RCMP's restorative justice or community justice forum concept was explained - "Both victim and offender must be willing to participate and if the offender does not live up to the agreement reached, the matter would go back to court." - and it was noted that so far there had been two cases of such restorative justice initiated by the police here. The sergeant also discussed the need for appropriate office accommodations in Indian Brook and the current necessity to go to Enfield to videotape persons, hold accused and so on. He also provided all council members with the white paper on policing recently released by Nova Scotia Policing Services. There was discussion of hiring policies and preferences (where the sergeant discussed the risk of hiring locally-reared persons in light of the stress and burnout they tend to experience), traffic issues, and especially the abuse of prescription pills.

The second meeting with council occurred in February 1999. Here there was some discussion of PAC's work and of the drug problem in Indian Brook. The detachment commander indicated that the 1998 police report would soon be available and that it would show an improvement in 1998 with respect to person crime and various clearance rates. Some councillors raised questions concerning patrols shutting down too early in the evening. The sergeant indicated that once the detachment received its fifth officer, more coverage would be provided; he also reminded Band Council members that even larger and more populated areas, such as Enfield, do not get a '7/24' coverage. There was a consensus at the meeting that the band would sign a five year contract for RCMP policing but it was also indicated that funds were not available for a new police building.

While there were only two formal meetings with chief and council over the period under examination here, the practice of the detachment commander was to visit informally quite frequently with both the chief and the band manager.

POLICE NEWSLETTERS

There were three newsletters issued by the Indian Brook police detachment over the past three years. The first, in April 1998, focused on the problems of substance abuse and youths, traffic issues, and other youth problems. It was emphasized that the police needed community support to get at the drug problem and stop the dealers. Police protection was promised for those who reported such offenders. The newsletter encouraged residents to obey stop signs and other traffic rules. It ended with an invitation to "drop in and chat" or "give a call" if any resident wanted to discuss policing issues. The second newsletter, issued in May 1998, was occasioned by the death of child in a drunk-driving incident. The sensitive newsletter emphasized the tragedy and the need for the community to do more to deal with substance abuse. The third newsletter, out in May 2000, dealt mainly with traffic issues and explained why police checks are carried out, the types of traffic violations and their penalties. PAC members were identified. Residents were told how they could communicate with the police without fear of their names being picked up by the many scanners that apparently exist in Indian Brook.

PAC MEETINGS

The minutes of PAC were available from November 1997 to April 2000. At the first meeting there were seven members in attendance and two police officers. Committee members identified the major community problems as 'youth with nothing to do', lack of information in the community on police issues (e.g. police resources, programs, policies), and 'drugs / pills / and bootleggers'. A number of possible policing strategies were discussed, including 'citizens-on-patrol' and a volunteer emergency response program to deal with suicide threats and the like. An officer discussed the idea of restorative justice and RCMP community justice forums in the guise of talking circles and wondered how the members would respond (and their perceptions of the community at large's views) to their utilization in recent cases of vandalism; the response, reportedly, was favorable in principle, especially if victims were accorded some say in the process.

Only four persons attended the December 1997 PAC meeting where it was decided to have a fixed monthly meeting date in order to encourage attendance; as well, it was decided to have a rotating chairperson. At this meeting, the detachment sergeant provided information on the service's manpower and schedules, on the upcoming report that would be presented to chief and

council, and there were further deliberations on the problems and strategies identified in November. There was much discussion on the problems of youth and the strategies that might be implemented to deal with them, such as school talks by various resource people, big brothers / big sisters programs, and the designation of a PAC member as youth representative. There was discussion of combating pills and other substance abuse by encouraging a Band Council resolution to ban sellers from the community and to have a major discussion of the problem with experts and authorities. Community divisions were seen as an underlying problem that led to certain violence and crime and the committee discussed way to generate community solidarity especially in the Christmas season.

In 1998 PAC meetings were few and not well-attended though one special public meeting hosted by PAC turned into a significant and well-attended community meeting dealing with drug and pill abuse (see below). Several meetings were cancelled as a result of poor attendance. A meeting was held in March 1998 attended by the sergeant, three members of PAC and two guests. One guest discussed a crisis intervention program using trained community volunteers while the other discussed a successful initiative whereby storeowners in Shubenacadie were encouraged to remove from their shelves certain brands of lysol cans that some Indian Brook residents were using to "get high". It was reported, too, that there was on the record, but not well-known or policed, a toxic substance band bylaw. Mention was also made of a women's support group that was meeting regularly in Indian Brook. The next two monthly meetings were attended by four and three members respectively and a major topic of consideration was what to do about the poor PAC attendance. Apart from this, there were discussions on an upcoming special meetings on drugs and pills with CJS officials, the chief, and Health Canada experts, the possibility of a police-sponsored bike rodeo for children and teens, and the problem of developing legally recognized and enforceable band bylaws. There was only one other PAC meeting, aside from the special meeting noted below, in 1998. Attenders at that June session were the usual small hard core of PAC, namely the sergeant and four women. Their focus primarily was on dealing with problem youth involved in extensive vandalism and, to that end, they discussed the value of restorative justice approaches, the "scared stiff" program (where inmates and ex-inmates talked about the realities of prison life) and the possibility of Band Council resolutions or bylaws to establish curfews.

As noted, a major meeting was held under the initiation and sponsorship of PAC in May 1998. It drew a large crowd and included members of the Band Council, CJS officials, Health Canada representatives, and personnel from local service agencies (e.g. NADACA). The meeting was presented with data showing that a small group of Indian Brook residents obtained through prescriptions very large amounts of pills such as lectopan and tylenol. There was spirited discussion about corrective solutions such as, on the one hand, bringing pressure to bear on doctors and pharmacists who collaborate in this prescription glut, and, on the other hand, doing positive things at the community level to create healthy alternatives for potential users, again especially youth.

In 1999 there were only two PAC meetings. There was a well-attended meeting in January. The meeting was preceded by a printed agenda and major items dealt with included the issue of legalities around the storage of firearms, and an interagency approach to the problems of youth. Four PAC members attended along with several police officers, the chief and several councillors, and representatives from the major community agencies (e.g. Drug and Alcohol, Family Services, Wellness Centre etc). There was also discussion of getting victim compensation from vandals or their parents. The March PAC meeting was attended by only two members (both the most regular attenders) and focused on youth vandalism and what to do about it. The curfew possibility was deemed to be unconstitutional, and the main other strategy discussed concerned whether offenders and/or their parents should have to pay victims for the damage they caused and, if so, how to ensure that they do. The issue of recruiting more PAC members was also raised.

Since the March 1999 meeting there has been little formal PAC activity. The sergeant visited all PAC members in their homes to obtain their input on the suitability of several candidates for police vacancies in the community. PAC members gave their rankings and their comments based on a set of criteria which included Mi'kmaq ancestry, cultural sensitivity, professionalism, honesty, ability to relate to elders and to youth, and how people-oriented the candidates appeared to be. All criteria were considered salient and important by PAC members but only when applied to people who were qualified and competent. There were three meetings in 2000. The first, in April, was the best attended since the first one in November 1997. Six members were present and, along

with the sergeant, they discussed possible new police hires, the criteria desired for selection of a detachment commander, and the desirability of a new building for the police service and a building for a youth drop-in centre. The possibility of band bylaws was also discussed. Subsequent meetings were less well attended and reiterated these same themes.

Overall, then, it is clear that the PAC was particularly focused on the problems of youth, vandalism and substance abuse. The members discussed a wide range of strategies, from the value of restorative justice approaches to ‘boot camps’ and ‘scared stiff’ programs, and pressuring parents and even doctors. It is not clear what concretely flowed from these discussions and there did appear to be a frustration concerning any implementation, and a reiteration of issues and possible strategies without results. Time and time again discussion came back to the issue of the possibility of enforceable band bylaws but the attractiveness of simple solutions (a Band Council resolution dealing with this or that problem) was always thwarted by practicalities of legality and constitutionality. PAC meetings were few and generally not well-attended; indeed, a frequent theme was how to improve attendance and/or recruit new members. Nevertheless, PAC appeared to have been a useful sounding board for ideas and the active citizen-police collaboration in that exercise was unquestionably positive for the police and the community. The PAC concept seemed particularly valuable in the few instances when the organization was able to be a catalyst for interagency deliberations (something essential to community problem-solving) and community information exchange.

POLICE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The police advisory committee (PAC) appears to be best described as a typical RCMP detachment advisory group in terms of its authority and legitimacy. It is peopled by the detachment commander in consultation with some community leaders and there has been an attempt to be representative in the sense of having members from among the major socio-demographic groupings such as male, female, youth and elders. According to chief and council, it was not established nor its members selected by them and in no way speaks for council nor is authorized to make any decisions on behalf of council. In the Indian Brook Band Council, no councillor apparently has the policing portfolio, although one councillor was on PAC over the past two years. About ten

individuals were listed as members of PAC though, as documented above, few participated regularly in PAC meetings. All but two PAC members were interviewed for this evaluation using the interview guide enclosed in Appendix B.

PAC members were generally positive in their assessments of the Indian Brook police service. They usually agreed that the police response and enforcement was good, in large measure, in their view, because of the local service getting detachment status in 1998. This latter development facilitated police visibility and presence in the community; as one member said, "now they are here, on reserve". At the same time, PAC members saw room for improvement in both response and enforcement. With respect to the former, there were a few references to "slow response" and "unsatisfactory after hours response" and one quite disgruntled former PAC member contended that police response was faster and better "depending on your status in the community". As for enforcement, PAC members generally wanted more of it; for example, one member suggested, "They should be out walking or on bikes; also I don't see any radar but they should be tougher on speeding laws.". For the most part, the PAC members held that the shortfalls were the result of too few officers and several were quite optimistic that positive changes were about to occur as the police complement reached its target of five officers. Not surprisingly, there was much consensus that the police generally were fair and approachable and that the sergeant embodied a very effective 'policing for people' philosophy and style; only one person did not share this assessment of approachability and fairness but even that person allowed that, "Maybe one or two of them [police officers] are at least half-decent."

PAC members were more divided and more critical in their assessments of the police service on other criteria or functions such as crime solving, crime prevention and police information / education activity. Several members shared the sentiment of one member who observed, "I can only rate them fair on that [crime solving] as the investigations often lead to no charges and no arrests."; in the same vein, another PAC member commented, "There's a lot of break and enter and police know who did it but can't prove it.". At the same time, with the exception of the person reiterating the view that "It depends on what family is involved.", the usual PAC view was that crime solving was "fair" and suffered because there were too few officers and also not enough

community involvement; as one said, "It would be better if people gave them the support needed.". Most PAC members did not think that the police service was doing enough with respect to crime prevention. One member expressed a common view with her comment, "I don't see any crime prevention being done here at present but hopefully in the future.". The several who rated the police service, "good" on crime prevention, pointed to the police response to PAC concerns and also to their interagency collaboration. All PAC members made note of the recent newsletters when discussing, usually in favorable terms, police reporting to and informing the community (especially cited was the newsletter that discussed motor vehicle violations). PAC members rated the police service as "good" on working with youth and with other community agencies but typically they referred to unfolding events rather than to successful past actions. Thus, the respondents cited the pending arrival of a young officer oriented to working with youth, promising interagency collaboration with Mi'kmaq Family Services, and "It will get even better with a five person [police] team.". Where a record of performance was acknowledged, it was with respect to the sergeant's work with youth (i.e. ride-alongs, easy talking, taking them trapping and so on).

Beyond assessing the service in terms of the conventional six police functions, PAC members were asked whether the police service carried out the wishes and priorities of the community and whether it took into account the community's cultural style and traditions.

On the former issue the PAC members mostly gave positive assessments. One member said that police will always respond to concerns while another gave a specific example of how police quickly responded to school violence by giving talks to students. Several PAC members pointed to the police response in the light of their reduced complement -"They answer all complaints even though they are low on men and can only do so much.". In terms of response to the community's cultural traditions and style there was a more qualified assessment. The majority of PAC members gave the police service good grades for trying; as one said, "They are not from here but try to understand once they are here.". Several PAC members indicated that the RCMP emphasizes cultural sensitivity and noted that their own views were recently canvassed on the suitability of a group of candidates for police roles in Indian Brook. But a common view was that the current police officers, "do not have the knowledge and the know-how" and that there was more cultural

relevance in the past when certain locally reared native officers were present.

The testimony of the PAC members was that they have not been conduits for complaints about the police or for demands about the priorities for policing. In their view either Indian Brook residents themselves go to the police or they go through the chief. In that style, most PAC members indicated that they had good personal relations with the police and went to them to discuss personal complaints and/or to raise community issues that they personally were concerned about. One male noted, "As a volunteer to PAC I have spoken to the police; they are open and honest and are looking out for the community and have a grass-roots approach."

PAC members usually emphasized that there should be a mix of native and non-native (including other minorities), locals and non-locals, and male and female officers stationed in Indian Brook. While most respondents indicated a preference for native people, there was ambivalence about locals, and generally the view was that a mixture provides a good balance; as one PAC member stated, "We need a variety, some of our own people as well as others from outside areas that are not familiar with the area, because of the fact that it would help outside police officers in understanding what goes on around here; our own [locally reared officers] better understand us but they receive a lot of flack on account they know everyone here.". PAC members generally emphasized that the police have to be competent and people-oriented first and foremost.

All PAC members considered that the police service had much improved in recent years. And all also had suggestions for future improvement. One members specifically cited the 'poor' police-community situation of three years ago and talked of "great progress" since then. Commonly, when PAC members talked of progress, they cited the existence now of "our own detachment". In terms of improvements, PAC members looked especially to having more officers to elaborate on what the police service is currently trying to do. There was also a specific wish for more community involvement and more linking the policing effort to what was seen as a revitalized native culture. Overall, the PAC members were quite optimistic that the police service would continue to improve as the full formal complement of five officers was attained.

In sum, then, PAC members generally gave favorable assessments of the police service, especially with respect to response and enforcement, approachability and listening to community concerns. They themselves reported excellent relations with the police. They saw much optimism in recent developments (e.g. newsletters, interagency work) and thought that the solid base, a major improvement of the past years, would be built upon as the pending five person police team was achieved. Still, there were not satisfied with many aspects of the service - especially crime solving and crime prevention - and obviously hoped that a few more officers would correct these shortfalls. At the same time, too, they recognized a need for more community involvement in the policing effort and there was a sense that somehow the PAC itself would have to be improved; in that respect they appeared eager to know more about how they could become more effective PAC members.

VIEWS OF BAND COUNCIL MEMBERS

All but three Band Council members were contacted for this evaluation and interviewed using the same interview guide as used with PAC members. In addition to the chief, band manager and eight councillors, two ex-councillors were also interviewed to ensure a representativeness of the sample. Band Council members were considerably more critical of the police service than PAC members but the divergences among them were also significant. On the whole, they rated the police service much less positively on the conventional policing functions, and were much more explicitly concerned about issues of reporting, accountability and civilian oversight, as well as issues of establishing policing priorities and cultural relevance.

This grouping was virtually split down the middle on whether the police service provided good or adequate response and enforcement. Response was deemed by about half these respondents to be often slow and selective, while enforcement was considered poor by several councillors who pointed out that the band has had to pay for special security to protect band offices and related properties. Among those who rated response and enforcement "good", the tendency was to cite the greater visibility and presence (e.g. at the ball park and at all hours) that has come with Indian Brook having its own detachment. Almost all Band Councillors and others did consider that the police service was approachable and generally fair in dealing with residents. As in

the survey and the PAC sample, even the critics of the police service specially acknowledged the "policing for people" skills and character of the sergeant (detachment commander); one observed, "He treats you like a person."; while another commented that "He will be sorely missed by the community and hard to replace."

Most respondents gave the police service poor grades for investigations and crime solving and, unlike the PAC sample, few qualified that criticism by suggesting that it was because there were too few police - though most did think that there were too few police. One councillor, for example, commented, "Look at the damage done to the community centre, and it has not been recovered, and vandalism to vehicles, nothing done; it's just written up and that's it.". Another councillor, more favorably disposed to police, quipped "You hear of them investigating crime but not solving them.". Still another said, "Property damage is reported but nothing is done.". Generally, Band Council members were quite frustrated at the recent increases and low clearance rates concerning property crime. And, in their view, police were neither solving the crimes nor preventing them. As for crime prevention activity by the police service, there was much skepticism. One councillor made a statement echoed by many others, namely, "I don't see any crime prevention; it don't seem to be working.". Similarly, most councillors said that they were unaware of any specially valuable work being done by police with youth or with other community social agencies. One councillor said, "They just talk to certain kids; I only hear of alcohol and drugs but don't see them working with care agencies."; the most common statement by councillors was that they have seen or heard nothing about police work with youth or interagency.

Consistent with the above contention, most councillors indicated that police do a poor job reporting to and informing the community. It was stated by many that the police may report to the chief but they do not report to council directly. Most indicated that they have had little contact with the police and that, typically, other residents do not channel their complaints or wishes to police through the councillors. Moreover, most reported that they do not receive regular monthly, quarterly or annual police reports. One councillor, quite alienated from the police, even dismissed the recent police newsletters as "more of a scare notice". In general, the councillors, of all stripes, wanted much more reporting and transparency from the police service, both to themselves and to

the community at large; as one observed, "[need] to keep our people more informed about the issues and hold public meetings".

The Band Council respondents were asked whether the police service was carrying out the wishes and priorities of the community and whether, in its policing, it took into account Indian Brook (and First Nations' more generally) cultural style and traditions. Most respondents replied no to both questions. One councillor commented, "They [local RCMP police service] have a direction from head office not chief and council, and they have their own mandates.". Another offered the view that council had made suggestions about "violent crime which is seen as getting out of hand by many band members" but that police response was non-existent. Some councillors were not negative about the policing effort but suggested that, "The police may not know what the community issues and priorities are.". A few councillors did see some progress in greater community and cultural linkage; it was noted by some that police appear to be getting along better recently with youth and that, under the sergeant's leadership, have developed both informal and culturally relevant relationships. Several councillors considered that the police service should not be expected to solve many community problems such as abuse of pills and youth alienation since these are the responsibility of parents and the community itself, and there is little police can do but react to them.

Certainly, the Band Council grouping was much more likely to stress governance issues. They wanted a more transparent police service which would report to them and to the community and where there could be discussion of policing directions, objectives and priorities. Several respondents here quite bluntly said "I feel I have little influence on the policing of our community and how the police perform their job.". It was widely held that all there seems to be are informal get-togethers between the chief and the detachment commander. At the same time there was a wariness expressed about any greater, direct control over policing by the Band Council and several councillors were quite adamant that that should not happen. One councillor making that point stressed that, "Families are so dominant on reserve and it's difficult to ignore biases in policing."; another observed that "The most important differences on the reserve are not socio-economic status or money but family groups that divide us."

Band Council members generally preferred to have native and Mi'kmaq persons working as

police officers in the community, but, like other residents, they were quick to qualify that preference by saying they wanted, first, competent, people-oriented officers and that a mix of native and non-native officers might be the optimum complement. There was not so much opposition but concern about locally reared officers, based on past experiences in the community and the sense that family ties are intricate and powerful and expectations from others, within and outside their primary family groups, could cause officers much stress. It appeared from their comments that the well-received policing performance of the sergeant had raised the bar for what councillors would find acceptable policing from anyone, native or non-native.

Unlike the PAC members, Band Council members were quite divided on whether policing had improved in recent years. Those who expressed no or very limited improvement, cited less community input, fewer native officers, and the need for the band to hire private security as a supplement to the police or limited their assessment of improvement to the establishment of a detachment on reserve. Those who thought there was improvement referred to more effective police leadership (i.e. the sergeant), better community-police relations, and the positive implications of Indian Brook receiving detachment status; as one councillor commented, "It [the police service] was poor years ago between Stewiacke and Enfield but since we've had our own detachment things have changed and are only getting better."

Overall, then Band Council respondents shared many of the concerns of PAC members, emphasized similar shortfalls in the police service, advocated roughly the same optimum mix of police officers, and similarly appreciated the policing style of the detachment commander. But, with the exception of the latter point, they were, on the whole, more critical. Band Council members typically focused more on issues of accountability, transparent stewardship, formal reporting by the police service, and local governance, and, in all these respects, they wanted significant improvement. They were clearly not as optimistic that the shortfalls they identified would be resolved as the detachment complement increased to five officers. At the same time, they were generally wary of direct involvement in day to day policing by chief and council and, accordingly, sought other ways to achieve significant influence on the direction and objectives of policing in Indian Brook.

OTHER STAKEHOLDERS AND INTEREST GROUPINGS

In addition to the community survey and examination of the views of the major organizations with respect to Indian Brook policing (i.e. the police, Band Council and police advisory committee), interviews were carried out with leaders of the major community service agencies, authorities in the criminal justice system, and a variety of persons of special standpoints such as the Warriors, elders, women's groups and young adult offenders.

LOCAL SERVICE AGENCIES

Leaders of the local service organizations most salient from a policing perspective - Mi'kmaq Family and Children Services (MFCS), Native Alcohol and Drugs (NADACA) and Mi'kmaq Young Offender Project (MYOP) were interviewed; additionally, there were brief interviews with a member of the Volunteer Fire Department and a leader in community economic development. There was high praise for the local police service among this grouping. The consensus was that the police service was doing a fine job despite being understaffed. Several leaders, who reported the police performance as excellent, discussed the positive police response to interagency collaboration and quick response to the agency's calls. One, a NADACA official, asked about citizens' complaints concerning police reaction to drug abuse, observed that the Indian Brook situation is "Soft drugs and pills; the sellers and the whole business is nickel and dime stuff; it's not much a police problem but rather the complexities of the arrest-conviction cycle [on trivial incidents]; and people leave it to the police ... depend too much on the police and the helping agencies.". He suggested, too, that the report of community members chasing a crack dealer off reserve was the equivalent here of 'urban legend' and never happened. A MFCS official compared the Indian Brook police very favorably with other police services with which the agency deals in Nova Scotia; in her view, they responded faster to crisis calls, were "professional and not patronizing", dropped around a lot for informal chats, and were very people-oriented. While acknowledging a high level of person-violence, she saw the problem more as one of poor parenting and male validation problems; under the circumstances, presumably police are limited in what they can accomplish and can only be faulted for occasionally not ensuring that the intoxicated persons they drive home are truly harmless to

others at that time.

While rating the police service positively on the standard policing functions, leaders of community service agencies did suggest areas for improvement. One suggested that police had to become more involved in crime prevention and problem solving and considered that the way for police to achieve that would be to work with other agencies in restorative justice and healing approaches. Another stressed the need for police to initiate more crime prevention programs but added, "The RCMP are worked to death here ... their numbers are too few.". There was a sense that the police service was responsive to community needs and cultural differences; some examples were provided, such as the officers wearing the red serge at special community events and having the symbolic eagle in their hair. Still, all leaders talked of police strengthening their involvement in the community and being as transparent and accountable as possible through reports to council and the community and by having a strong, effective PAC-type organization; all the leaders were wary of more direct involvement in policing by chief and council. There was skepticism, too, regarding the value of band bylaws. The leaders acknowledged that it was theoretically possible to effect more community ownership and tailor policing to community style and needs through band bylaws. But they referred to a widespread confusion and indecision in this area ("Do we have any valid band by-laws?"; "Is there a political will to pursue the issue?").

Leaders of local agencies considered that it would be best for Indian Brook if the police service, while predominantly native, had some mix of native and non-native, locals and non-locals. One leader observed that her agency's experience had demonstrated that point; she added, "Mi'kmaq communities are small, deeply kin-related etc ...locals know more and can cut to the quick on cases, but sometimes distance is needed.". Another leader, citing many examples of the negative experience of locally-reared Indian Brook officers in the recent past, suggested that it is very important to have native officers and not a good idea to hire locals as, "There is too much politicization.". He added that if an officer is non-native, "He has to be a very special person and very sensitive.". All leaders, explicitly or implicitly, suggested that some people such as the detachment sergeant may transcend the native / non-native divide but they wondered whether that

approach or style is something that can be learned. Several leaders bemoaned the fact that there were no female native officers, especially in light of the high level of family violence at Indian Brook.

LOCAL CJS OFFICIALS

Only three local CJS officials were contacted - a judge, a prosecutor and a probation officer - and in only one instance was the interview an in-depth one. There has been significant turnover in these positions and only the judge had a long experience with Indian Brook residents and police officers. All the officials agreed that the police service was professional and competent. The judge particularly stressed that there had been considerable improvement in the last few years in the quality of police reports ('information laid'), the presence and testimony of officers, and the "no-show" problem among accused, victims and witnesses; he attributed much of this improvement to the work and style of the detachment sergeant and was concerned about the impact of his imminent departure from the area. There was consensus that the police service was understaffed, something which made the police performance of their core policing tasks - core from a CJS perspective - all the more noteworthy. The judge indicated that, because of the combination of professionalism and community sensitivity, he had much confidence in the police and their trial and sentencing recommendations whereas, formerly, he had little confidence in the police recommendations.

There was some divergence in the CJS officials' views concerning community-based policing in Indian Brook. Both the other officials believed that there needed to be more community-oriented policing and more collaboration among the different CJS role players (i.e. police, prosecution, native justice worker) and other community people. These officials considered that the police orientation was still more traditional and charge-oriented than was appropriate given the type of offences and problems in Indian Brook (e.g. one official claimed that until recently the police there were not referring appropriate minor cases to diversion). While not particularly disagreeing with the view, the judge considered that a more distinctive, community-partnered policing would require much more support and commitment from the

community than is now the case.

OTHER COMMUNITY 'INTEREST' GROUPINGS

Brief discussions on policing in Indian Brook were carried out with small groups of women and men and also with elders and a leader in the Warriors' Society.

The two elders interviewed were both respected females in Indian Brook and particularly well-informed about the justice system. They both rated the police as good for response and enforcement and praised the approach of the detachment sergeant, noting however that police like him are the exception not the rule. They were critical, however, about crime prevention and the lack of community partnering; one elder observed: "They do not put on programs they should. Let the people be more active.". They did not think that there was any especially salient cultural style in the policing or a carrying out of the wishes of the community and/or the elders. Both elders called for police officers who "are fair, don't overstep boundaries, treat everybody equally and don't go by last names". The two elders split over the issue of whether policing had improved in recent years. One said yes on the grounds that they respond faster to calls for service and are more likely to treat people with respect. The other said no on the grounds that "They do not appreciate our treaty and other rights and there is too little community involvement."

The Warrior interviewed was a longstanding veteran in that grouping. He rated the police performance as poor on all standard policing functions, as well as for carrying out community wishes. The two major problems, in his view, were the "attitudes of the police" and their lack of respect for treaty rights. His major theme was that the police were not respecting and appropriately policing the treaty rights and relevant Supreme Court decisions. For him, it was important that police be educated in order to understand these rights and their responsibilities for upholding them. He believed that the race or gender of the officers was much less important than their willingness to "stand up for justice"

Two groups of three young adults discussed policing. A small ad hoc group of young adult women generally rated the police as "poor" on all standard police functions, apart from

approachability. In particular they cited the absence of crime prevention programming; one added "It's a good thing that the whole community is like a block parent for kids and make kids aware of situations.". As young single mothers, they considered themselves rather marginal in the community - "We don't have time to complain and when we do, it falls on deaf ears.". They did, however, note with approval the newsletters recently published by the police and they did think that, "Policing does seem to be improving over the past few years.". They wanted to see more native and more female officers but especially, "Officers who are easy to get along with and show more of a caring side for people."

The other group, one male and two females, lived in the 'apartments', an eighteen unit complex that has long generated a disproportionate number of calls for police service. This group conveyed a sense of social estrangement ("Anything usually happens, we're the last to know.") and of being treated poorly and unfairly by police. They noted that the police are often at the 'apartments' typically for complaints of noise or fights, and that "They [police] have little influence on the people in this building.", and rarely achieve lasting results (i.e. "The noise and fighting will continue when the police leave."). They were critical of police enforcement and crime prevention efforts ("It would be a good idea if they did some type of crime prevention even in groups, even if they had something for kids, but we can't rate what we don't see."), and pessimistic about improvements in the future.

Several young adult males with a history of criminal involvement were asked their views on the local police service. They characterized police response, perhaps amusingly, as "When you're the one running or being the one they're after, they seem to show somewhat quickly.". As for enforcement and crime solving, the young men contended that "If you have a record, they will always pinpoint you regardless; they think of you as a troublemaker always.". The young men shared the views of most residents that the police service does little crime prevention or culturally-specific policing. And, like others, and despite their claim that the police favour certain 'names', they exhibited a deep respect for the detachment commander - "He seems to care about you and your state of mind, so if they take the sarge away, it will be like no-one cared. He always cares regardless of what state you're in.". ...These young men thought a mix of native

and non-native officers would be best for the community and commented that, "It was not a good idea for our locals to be stationed here."

Overall, then, the views of these different groups varied much. Leaders in other local community agencies and CJS officials generally held that the police service was under-resourced but nevertheless provided the community with good policing. They considered that recent years had seen much improvements in policing. While generally arguing for the need for more community input and more police receptivity to community patterns and to alternative justice possibilities, they were as likely, if not more so, to consider that the community has to show more commitment and give police more support. The other groupings were chosen on an ad hoc basis to highlight certain issues. The small groups were generally more critical of the police performance, especially with respect to crime prevention and community input, but there were differences in their views on other issues and on whether there had been improvements in the policing service over the past several years. It was clear that the style of the detachment commander was very well-received across the board.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has shown that there is a relatively high level of person, property and "other criminal code" crime in Indian Brook. The rate of such crimes increased significantly during the decade of the 1990s but appears to be abating over the past three years. In addition to the high crime levels, the Indian Brook police service clearly has had to contend with a heavy workload based on calls for service and the demand - and actual requirement - for police visibility and presence even into the early hours of most mornings. Given the modest base population (a major accepted determinant of police complement), police resources have been problematic so they have needed to be husbanded efficiently and police-community collaboration has had to be an important part of effective policing. There are many indicators that both these conditions have been at least partially met (egg. the policing performance has improved on most conventional criteria and residents have been cooperative with, not alienated from the policing effort). But there have been shortfalls in both respects. The police complement over the past years has been

less than the formal allotment (i.e. three rather than five). The infrastructure available for policing - equipment and buildings - has limited police efficiency and police presence/visibility. Community collaboration, whether at the level of partnering policing objectives and directions or at the operational level of reporting crimes, bearing witness and being active in actual police programs and activities, has been limited.

Indian Brook residents generally perceived their community to have average levels of crime, but a large minority thought crime excessive and increasing. Whatever their perceptions of the crime levels, it is clear that most residents harboured fears of victimization, especially of burglary and vandalism. Social order was deemed problematic by large numbers of residents who identified many "big problems" in the community, and who thought that much crime went unreported to police and unresolved through any informal community mechanisms or by other local service agencies. Clearly, the community survey established that adult residents did report their own victimization to police authorities and considered themselves treated well by police when they did so. There was a dependency on the police to resolve social order problems that a vibrant civic culture could have prevented in the first place. The residents, on the whole, considered that police-community relations were good and that the police exhibited a willingness to help out when asked. While there was not a widespread alienation from the police, there was some skepticism about their attitudes and professionalism and much suspension of judgment as to the adequacy of the police service. Residents were quick to identify areas for change and to advance new priorities for the police service. There was a strong wish for greater community input, for more information from the police, for culturally sensitive policing, and for competent, fair policing. At the same time, residents were leery of encouraging any interference in operational policing by any community body or grouping, and opposed to any possible micro-managing of the police service by the Band Council - neither of which has characterized the situation at Indian Brook to date. A major challenge for Indian Brook policing is how to achieve real partnership and community ownership (and all that that implies for meaningful collaboration in setting out its directions and objectives) without the policing service being compromised or micro-managed. In general, Indian Brook residents did not appear to have excessive demands for policing, considering the levels of crime, the low clearance rates and the relatively little crime

prevention programming that the shrunken and comparatively overworked police service has been able to provide.

It is clear, too, in this evaluation, that Indian Brook women, more than their male counterparts, look to and depend upon policing for their sense of security and order. Women were more likely to perceive crime levels as high and increasing. They were more likely to express worry and fear of victimization and to identify major problems of social order and crime in the community. They were much more likely than males to contend that there were too few police officers in the community. Perhaps because of their expressed greater need for police services, coupled with their sense that the service was under-staffed, women generally were somewhat more critical of the Indian Brook police service. Their priorities were for more effective conventional policing, culturally sensitive policing and emphatically for some female police officers. They wanted community input without increased formal Band Council involvement, and were more willing than males to volunteer in various tasks to assist the police service.

It was noted that over the past three years there were formal meetings between the detachment commander and the Band Council, some newsletters issued by the police service, and a functioning police advisory committee. In many ways, given the shortage of staff and their heavy workload, this level of reporting and accountability was noteworthy. At the same time, looked at from the perspective of local governance and transparent police stewardship, it was quite limited. There was reportedly much informal interaction between the police commander and the chief and band manager. PAC members and Band Council respondents, the key governance partners for policing in Indian Brook shared many similar views concerning the areas where police performance was best and least adequate (i.e. response and enforcement and approachability versus crime solving and crime prevention), the appropriate mix of officers, and the desire for more community input into policing. PAC members clearly rated recent policing as a big improvement over the past and were reasonably confident of continuing improvements in the future as the police complement reached its mandated size. Band Council members had more varied views but, on the whole, they were more critical of the police service, less inclined to say

that it has improved in recent years, and not nearly as optimistic about the future, even with the expected increase in complement. They were more explicit than PAC members in demanding more formal accountability of the service and a more significant "ownership" of policing for the community. At the same time, like PAC members, while they suggested a more enhanced role for themselves vis-a-vis policing (getting reports, discussing objectives etc), they were cautious about there being any undue interference in the everyday conduct of policing.

To round out the assessment of the Indian Brook police service, interviews were also conducted with CJS officials and the leaders of community service agencies, as well as with small groups of elders, a warrior leader, young single mothers and young adults with a record of offences. The CJS and agency leaders were quite positive about the police service, the level of interagency and other collaboration, and considered policing to have improved in recent years despite the shortage in personnel. They identified the need for more community input and more interagency collaboration but, on the whole, they were inclined to emphasize that undue expectations should not be placed on the service and that the community has to show more support and commitment. The other groupings were less positive about the standard police performance but quite divided on whether policing had been improving and what its major shortfalls were. In all the above groupings there was a consensus that the current detachment commander illustrated well the kind of police officer orientation that Indian Brook people want and need.

STANDARDS FOR ASSESSMENT

It was observed in the introduction that standards for evaluating the police service at Indian Brook would be drawn from FNPP, RCAP, the N.S. White Paper on Policing, and, more generally, based on the conventional "3Es" of efficiency, effectiveness and equity. Turning to the three "Es", the assessment of the police service has been seen to be complex. The data gathered, and the views expressed by most residents and interest groups, supported the position that the police service has delivered policing that is efficient (i.e. the undermanned and overworked police service has been cost effective) and equitable (i.e. most respondents considered that the police service has responded fairly and competently to all residents and virtually everyone

indicated that they would get a fair hearing from the detachment commander). More divergence was evident over whether the police service has been effective. Crime solving and crime prevention were aspects of the police service particularly criticized and this judgment appeared to account for the large proportion of the respondents' questioning the adequacy of the service.

In terms of the principles of First Nations Policing Policy - comparative quality policing to other non-native communities, control or, better perhaps, direction by FN communities, and responsiveness to particular FN needs, circumstances and traditions - the assessment again is complicated. There seems little doubt, on the basis of the views of residents and interest groups and other data, that the local police service has provided comparative quality policing in terms of response, enforcement, availability and concern. The assessment concerning community control and direction is more problematic. The same sources of information suggest that there has been quite modest local governance or oversight and little community - police partnership in determining the objectives and directions for the police service. The Band Council per se has had no apparent significant role. PAC, as noted, has had a valuable but quite limited role in partnering policing and providing a sense of community ownership, a circumstance that cannot be laid solely or perhaps even predominantly with the police service. There is much evidence in the views of leaders, and community residents in general, that the police service has been responsive to the community (e.g. the style of policing wanted, interagency activity) and open to more accommodation with traditions and circumstances; at the same time, the results have been less impressive as far as a distinctive policing service is concerned. It may not at all be clear just what the community wants, what are its distinctive focal concerns and suggested strategies for dealing with problems, and how far the police service can accommodate. There have been few systematic and sustained police-community conversations along these lines; rather there has been largely fruitless discussions occasionally about band bylaws coupled with a genuine readiness on the part of the police service to respond to requests for specific priorities.

Community ownership of policing, and policing that accommodates in a functional fashion the core identity foci of First Nations, have been emphasized by RCAP. There does not appear to be strong community ownership vis-B-vis the local RCMP police service in Indian

Brook; any profound estrangement appears to have been 'stayed' by the solid police effort acknowledged by residents and most local leaders, and by the effective 'policing for people' style of the detachment commander. As noted above, it cannot be said either that the policing has been especially functional for core cultural and identity concerns of this First Nation. It is quite unclear what these concerns and styles are but if they pertain to greater emphasis on the collectivity and a restorative justice / healing paradigm, then clearly the policing has only accommodated in a modest way. Of course, it would be an onerous burden for the police service to have to uncover these concerns - clearly the community and its leaders have to take the initiative - but the police service might be expected to facilitate this process by being more transparent in its accountability to community, in collaborating in public conversations on these matters, and by regularly discussing objectives and directions in a formal way with either council or PAC. This latter strategy is deemed appropriate and requisite to effective civilian oversight of policing in most literature as, for example, the White Paper on Policing produced recently by Policing Services, Nova Scotia.

SPECIFIC AREAS OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Both crime statistics and the views of most residents and leaders / stakeholders inside and outside the community support the conclusion that the police service in Indian Brook has improved much over the past two and a half years. Response has been faster, clearance rates up, a style of policing effected which people welcome, all these have occurred. In comparison to the previous few years where clearance rates were abysmal, the police officers frequently stressed to the point of having to take leave, and community-police relations quite "rough and strained", 1998 and 1999 witnessed a period of stabilization and refocus of policing.

Undoubtedly, the two most important factors in causing this positive change were the detachment commander's performance and the detachment status itself. However, there are still shortfalls that need to be addressed. Three broad areas for discussion in those respects are conventional policing, community-based policing / restorative justice, and partnership / direction.

In terms of conventional policing tasks, the clearance rates are still below-average, enforcement in some areas such as traffic has been legitimately criticized, and there needs to be more conventional crime prevention and regular school liaison. Beyond strict conventional and primarily reactive policing, there is a need, recognized by police and community alike, to implement better and more fully the RCMP's explicit, formal commitment to community-based policing and to restorative justice. The former would entail more problem-solving and interagency collaboration and clearly requires more of the community as well as of the police service. The latter, restorative justice, provides a possible venue for linking policing more closely with cultural traditions and styles that are in the process of revitalization and, once again, has to be based on 'community conversations', since there is much diversity within the community on what the priorities should be with respect to the community's sense of itself and future direction. Thirdly, in keeping with government policy (both federal and provincial) and the consensus of numerous national-level inquiries, there is a need for more transparency and accountability regarding the police service and more community ownership which is reflected in partnership in establishing the directions, objectives and priorities for policing. These central three themes will be elaborated below in terms of specific issues and recommendations.

The main specific areas for discussion and change are as follows:

- 1) Size of the police complement: It is clear that the police service at Indian Brook requires the five officer complement that the detachment status formally was to entail. There was surprising consensus among police and community stakeholders that such a complement would be appropriate and sufficient. The police leadership contended that with five officers they could deal with most of the shortfalls noted above and residents / stakeholders considered that five officers could effect the style of policing they needed and wanted without generating a suffocating police presence.
- 2) Type of police officer: Given the crime level and the nature of the demand for police assistance in Indian Brook, it is clear that the priority has to be for competent, professional police officers who can relate well to people and obtain their respect and

cooperation. That has evidently been demonstrated in the extremely high regard shown in all quarters of the community for the detachment sergeant. Building upon that kind of base, residents and leaders wisely look for a mix of native and non-native officers who can complement one another with their strengths and limitations. The community preference within that mix appropriately is for native and Mi'kmaq police officers and some female presence. There is much community ambivalence, rooted in experience as well as in theory, for having locally-reared officers; recently trained, locally-reared officers, with multi-year operational field experience in other communities, can bring a depth of knowledge and valuable standpoint to the police service and may well be able to deal with the problems that have plagued their counterparts in years past, but recruitment here should be selective.

- 3) **Training and Borrowing:** Given the comparatively high level of crime and demand for policing, as well as the potential implications of facilitating a somewhat distinctive and relatively autonomous First Nation society and culture, police officers posted in Indian Brook apparently require special training in progressive developments, encouraged by RCMP policy and FN leaders, such as community-based policing and restorative justice. For example, getting at the drug / pill problems (a pervasive but 'nickel and dime' activity according to one community specialist in the field) seems to be more a matter of community problem-solving than enforcement / undercover police work. And programs of restorative justice / healing circles, and so forth, represent a trend that seems certain to increase in the future in Nova Scotia (where the provincial government has launched a major initiative) and throughout Canada, especially among FNs. While police officers cannot be expected to be facilitators in these activities, their presence at sessions and participation in both pre and post session activities will be sought and often required; and, of course, police collaboration will be essential since police are the primary referral agents for allowing cases to be directed to restorative justice forums. The RCMP's own community justice forums may also continue to co-exist but, given the small number of officers and the other priorities for their time and energy, the wisest course could well be for officers to work with extant, 'independent' agencies such as MYOP and the regional

alternative justice society headquartered at Truro. Moreover, to meet the challenges of policing at Indian Brook, the detachment should take advantage of one of the major advantages of the RCMP police organization, namely its depth in specialists and great variety of officers. Drug specialist, female officers, school liaison officers with in-depth educational skills in combating violence etc should be regularly brought into the community on an ad hoc basis to enhance the detachment's capacity to serve the community.

- 4) Facilities for policing: It is clear that the police service in Indian Brook is operating with inadequate infrastructure with respect to office space, office equipment, holding capacity and the like. These shortfalls are even more significant given the community demands for presence and the heavy officer workload. To have to go to Enfield (some twenty five kilometres away) to secure custody, interview persons involved in incidents under appropriate conditions and so forth is, at the minimum, inefficient. The police facilities at Indian Brook compare unfavorably with those of comparable, and even much smaller, Mi'kmaq communities in Cape Breton. Clearly, the Band Council and its governmental partners should treat the issue of facilities with some priority.

- 5) Partnership and Ownership: As noted above there appears to be but modest sense of 'ownership of policing' by community residents and quite limited participation, at least in any formal, explicit way, in establishing the directions and priorities for policing there. These fundamental principles have been stressed in the community-based policing movement embraced with enthusiasm by the RCMP and they have been stressed even more by FNPP, RCAP and Policing Services, Nova Scotia. At the basic minimum, there clearly has to be greater transparency of police stewardship and police accountability as through regular reports to Band Council and PAC and newsletters to the community, and through a willingness to listen and adapt. The latter seems to have been reasonably well accomplished but the former much more modestly so. Even still, these are, as stated, the minimum, especially so in the First Nations context where police are expected to be open to alternative objectives and strategies in policing. Police and community leaders and

representatives should be collaborating much more in setting out what the police service should be trying to accomplish, establishing targets, assessing results and reiterating the planning cycle as partners.

- 6) There is genuine concern in the community, and among Band Council members themselves, for avoiding interference in day to day policing and creating a micro-managed police service. But this cannot be an excuse for avoiding formal processes and structures of planning partnership. There are alternative structures that can be put into place between the extremes of complete, direct Band Council control on the one hand and police-generated advisory committees on the other. In the event that a police board or commission is considered inappropriate, and that would be this evaluator's assessment, there could be a model of governance patterned after the situation in Quebec. There the Band Council deals directly with all budgetary and personnel matters while a representative public safety committee, selected with the formal collaboration of Band Council and police, focuses upon discussions of business plans, policing priorities and strategies, dissemination of information, holding occasional public meetings and the like. The detachment commander at Indian Brook and PAC have shown the value of this latter activity in their reviewing and implementing criteria for selection of officers and in advancing interagency collaboration on youth problems, but there is a need to go well beyond this into formal partnered planning. It takes time and energy to do this and would require successful implementation of all the above recommendations with respect to the police service (i.e. the five officer complement, better detachment facilities, a supportive rather than leading role for police in restorative justice, the appropriately trained officers) and, equally important, the commitment of the community and its leaders.
- 7) Facilitating the community's partnership: Two major ways by which the community's formal participation in the direction and governance of policing could be encouraged are band bylaw development and training/education for members of a PAC-like organization. Ideally, band bylaws represent a statement of band autonomy and possible directions for the police service. They could conceivably represent, too, the most important means by which policing could be linked to what RCAP calls "core issues in FN culture and

identity". Certainly there are many reserve problems (e.g. traffic, substance abuse, loose dogs) where bylaws are sought by many residents and by council. The issue of band bylaws has haunted PAC as we have seen, and there is considerable confusion about what if any band bylaws exist even now (e.g. a ban against toxic substance?). No charges have been laid by the police service, in the entire decade of the 1990s, based on infraction of a band bylaw in Indian Brook. It is difficult to find, among FN communities anywhere in Canada, examples of effective bylaw development and enforcement; a 1999 survey of FN chiefs of police across the country indicated that band bylaws are considered "out of date and no basis for enforcement" by virtually all fifty-one respondents. How to generate valid band bylaws, get them enforced and then prosecuted, is a major national challenge. Recent Mi'kmaq projects, carried out in conjunction with DIAN and designed to advance this objective have been inconclusive (Mi'kmaq Justice Institute, 1999). These larger issues of generating and costing the administration of band bylaws have to be resolved at a level beyond the police and perhaps beyond any single FN community; if it is, it will assist greatly in contributing to a sense of ownership vis-a-vis the police service; if it is not, there will be possibly a missed opportunity for local governance and disrespect for any Band Council resolution.

Less of a conundrum, fortunately, is the issue of strengthening a PAC type organization (recall the recommendations above for a more robust and differently mandated PAC type organization) that would strengthen the community voice in policing. Currently there is no specific training or orientation provided to the PAC members but several have expressed an interest in participating in national level exchanges for boards, commissions and public safety committees sponsored by the Aboriginal Policing Directorate. While these exchanges, thus far, have been focused on self-administered police services, they would benefit greatly FN communities where there are community tripartite agreements (CTAs) as in Indian Brook. Provincial-level orientation and information might also be sought. Some such training would be required if members of a revitalized PAC body were to have the confidence and competence to collaborate as partners in the shaping of the police service.

- 8) The consensus in the community and among all stakeholders concerning the value and contribution of the style of policing embodied in the detachment commander is quite remarkable. Despite clear shortfalls in the police service, in areas such as clearance rates, crime prevention programming and formal community partnering in the direction of policing, there seems little doubt that the police service has gained much community respect in the past three years. Selecting a new detachment commander who can convey such effective people-oriented policing to the other officers and throughout the community, would be a signal accomplishment. If, in addition, the other recommendations noted above, are acted upon, then Indian Brook policing would certainly meet the needs of the community by any of the progressive standards we have discussed in this report.

POSTSCRIPT 2005

In 2005 as part of national assessment of policing in Aboriginal communities, the author revisited Indian Brook, completing a dozen one-on-one interviews with community leaders and RCMP police officers and collecting a limited amount of additional secondary data (basically demographic and educational data). Everyone was very cooperative and quite interested in discussing the policing situation. The First Nation was still embroiled in a “contested terrain” dispute with Canadian authorities and other fishers concerning fisheries rights in South-West Nova Scotia and the implementation of fisheries rights and development as featured in the Supreme Court directives in the Marshall Eel-fishing decision. There were other issues dividing the community as well. The factions at the time were a large group of councilors in multiple disagreements with a much smaller faction associated with the chief. This fragmentation has affected the operation of council meetings (e.g., a few meetings were held by subgrouping of council outside the community) but so far has had only a modest implication for policing in the community itself. The community had pockets of strong militancy (e.g., the Warriors Society), well educated adults, and cultural revivalists.

The Police Service

The “Shubie” band at Indian Brook was policed by a detachment consisting of a sergeant and five other officers. Its full complement was soon to be eight members, four of whom are FN members though none are from Indian Brook. The police were operating out of a new facility officially opened within the past year. There were no cells and prisoners are escorted to cell at the regional headquarters in Enfield some forty-five kilometers away. The OIC had been there for roughly one year and was proving to be a very popular police chief. There was no longer an active community consultative group for policing per se but rather police are part of an interagency community organization which meets monthly. The divided council and the struggles among the factions have resulted in little formal council participation in policing and no police reporting to council (council meetings have been strained). Indian Brook has had a reputation for years as a tough community to police whether for FN or non-native police officers.

Views of the Key Informants

There was much agreement among informants that there are serious problems of crime and social order, fuelled by large scale unemployment, the residential school legacy and family disruptions. The most commonly cited, surface level issue, was the drug problem in all its forms. There was much agreement that patrol and visibility are extensive though some criticism that there may be too much of a police presence. The failure to resolve the drug problem remains a criticism directed at the police and a challenge for the interagency organization. There appeared to be a general tendency to perceive the policing to have improved much in terms of public education, communication and working with other agencies though also a strong feeling in the community that there was too much emphasis on laying charges by the police. Factionalism and social problems such as unemployment and family breakdown were highlighted by all informants as major obstacles to problem solving. There was an underlying tension in police – community relations but no longer much talk among Indian Brook residents of wanting their own self-administered police service.

Overall Impression

For the past decade or more Indian Brook has been characterized by a high crime rate, serious underlying social problems and tension in the police-community relationship. To all this has been added now major overt struggles between factions and a very divided band council where sit-ins and warrior protests are always threatening. Still, at the local agencies level some organization was occurring, the police were relating better to the community and there were many persons in the community who are well-educated (e.g., professionals). The policing challenge to some extent was essentially the problem of achieving effective community integrated policing and working within a macro context of serious social problems.

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APPENDIX A

INDIAN BROOK COMMUNITY SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

POLICING AT INDIAN BROOK: COMMUNITY NEEDS ASSESSMENT SURVEY

Hello, I am conducting this survey on behalf of the Indian Brook First Nation, the Province of Nova Scotia and the Department of the Solicitor General of Canada, and in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The central purpose is to evaluate the effectiveness of the policing services provided to the community from 1997 to the present, and to identify possibilities for improvement. All survey responses will be treated in complete anonymity and confidentiality. No individual names or information will ever be communicated to any person or organization, neither in written nor in verbal reports.

First this interview is for people 19 years of age or over. Can you tell me how many persons age 19 or over (including yourself) live in this household. (Write in Number _____).

If One, Proceed To Interview.

If Two or More, Select the youngest male over 19 yrs old. If no males, interview the youngest female over 19 years of age.

If the appropriate person is not available, see if the interview can be conveniently scheduled. If it cannot be, interview any adult available.

Basic Codes: Phone number

ID of respondent

Sex of respondent

Interviewer

First of all I would like to ask you a few questions about your community in general.

1. How long have you lived in this community?

_____ years _____ months (*if < 1 year*)

2. Do you have many close friends living in other households in this community?
Would you say the number of such friends is: (**READ OPTIONS**)

ten or more
five to nine
two to four
one
none
d.k.

3. Do you belong to any clubs, or voluntary organizations in the community (apart from church groups)

the number? _____ #

4. Do you think this community is an area with a high amount of crime, an average amount or a low amount of crime?

high
average
low
d.k.

Why do you say that?

5. How do you think your community compares with the non-native communities in the surrounding area in terms of the amount of crime? Would you say it has:

(READ OPTIONS)

much more crime
more crime
about the same
less crime
much less crime
d.k.

6. In the last few years do you think crime has increased, decreased, or remained the same in this community?

- increased**
- same**
- decreased**
- d.k.**

Why do you say that?

7. How safe do you feel or would you feel walking alone in this community after dark?
(READ OPTIONS):

- very safe**
- reasonably safe**
- somewhat unsafe**
- very unsafe**
- d.k.**

8. Do you worry much if you have to leave your home/apt/room unattended, though locked, for more than a few hours? Would you say:

- not at all**
- some**
- much**
- very much**
- d.k.**

9. Do you worry very much, much, some or not at all about any of the following things happening to you in your area:

	Very Much	Much	Some	Not At All
being attacked or molested	_____	_____	_____	_____
having your house or property broken into	_____	_____	_____	_____
having your car or other property vandalized	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. Do you worry much about problems of peace and social order, such as fighting, loose dogs, etc.? Would you say you worry:

- not at all**
- some**
- much**
- very much**
- d.k.**

11. I am going to read a short list of things that are sometimes problems in communities. Please tell me if they are a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or not a problem at all in your community:

	Big Problem	Somewhat Problem	No Problem	D.K.
homes or other places being broken into	1	2	3	4
wife battering	1	2	3	4
child abuse	1	2	3	4
vandalism or property destruction	1	2	3	4
poor maintenance of property, broken windows, etc.	1	2	3	4
feuding among different families or groups	1	2	3	4
noisy parties, quarrels, loud music	1	2	3	4
drug / alcohol abuse	1	2	3	4

Anything else you would consider a big problem?

(Specify): _____

12A. Were you yourself the victim of a crime in this community during the past two years?

Yes _____ (*Continue with 12B*)

No _____ (*Go to Question 13*)

12B. Did you report it to the police?

Yes

No

If no, why not?

13. In any community there are some crimes or legal wrongs that are not reported to the police. What kinds of things that could be reported, are often not reported in this community?

Are any of the following wrongs often not reported to the police?

	Usually Not Reported	Usually Is Reported	D.K.
wife battering	_____	_____	_____
child abuse	_____	_____	_____
petty theft vandalism	_____	_____	_____
bootlegging	_____	_____	_____
substance abuse	_____	_____	_____
underage drinking	_____	_____	_____

14. When wrongs are not reported to police, are they dealt with informally in the community by organizations such as the Band Council, family services, or alcohol/drug counselors?

Often____ **Sometimes**____ **Rarely**____ **D.K.**

15. People may not report crimes or legal wrongs for many reasons. How important do you think the following reasons are in this community:

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important	D.K.
a) there is a lot of community pressure not to report things to officials	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) the response by police and other officials is slow anyways	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) the response usually is not helpful and the problems and the offenders carry on	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) these matters get dealt with by family groups informally	_____	_____	_____	_____

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT POLICING HERE:

16. Thinking about the number of police you see in your community, would you say that there are:

too many
about the right number
too few
d.k.

17. Do you think the local police forces does: a good job, an average, or a poor job.
Mark one response for each:

	Good Job	Average Job	Poor Job	D.K.
Of enforcing the law and keeping order	_____	_____	_____	_____
Of responding to calls for service	_____	_____	_____	_____
Of investigating and solving crime	_____	_____	_____	_____
Of being approachable and easy to talk to	_____	_____	_____	_____
Of providing information to the public on ways to prevent crime	_____	_____	_____	_____
Of working with other community groups and individuals to solve community problems	_____	_____	_____	_____

18. During the last year did you talk with or were you in official contact with a local police officer specifically for any reason?

Yes

No _____ (*Go To Question 19*)

- a) What were the circumstances of the most recent contact?

Do Not Read, Simply Record.

traffic incident

traffic or parking violation

complaint to police

request for police assistance

a non-traffic investigation by the police

a social occasion

other (*Specify*):

18. b) *If crime involved ask:* Were you a victim, witness, suspect, other? (*Specify*):

c) Would you say you were treated:

- extremely well**
- fairly well**
- somewhat poorly**
- very poorly**
- d.k.**

19. Would you say that, among most people you know well, the relations between the people and the local police officers are:

- excellent**
- good**
- fair**
- poor**
- d.k.**

20. Do you think your community is being adequately served by the police?

- yes**
- no**
- not sure** _____

21. In what ways is the policing service provided to your community inadequate:

22. In what ways is the policing service provided to your community especially good:

23. Does your community receive better, about the same or poorer quality police service than other nearby areas?

better _____
same _____
poorer _____
d.k. _____

24. In general, are there specific local problems that you feel the police should be trying especially hard to prevent or eliminate? *Record Verbatim. PROBE: FASTER RESPONSE? WORKING WITH YOUTH?*

25. Let's talk about what you think should be the priorities for policing in this community. Do you think that your police service should give low, medium or high priority to the following issues:

Issue	Low P	Medium P	High P
working with youth	_____	_____	_____
having school liaison by police officers	_____	_____	_____
security for seniors	_____	_____	_____
catching criminals	_____	_____	_____
traffic issues	_____	_____	_____
crime prevention programs (e.g. 'watch' programs)	_____	_____	_____
mediating disputes and peacekeeping	_____	_____	_____
working with other community agencies to develop new Mi'kmaq justice alternatives such as sentencing circles or diversion	_____	_____	_____

26. Are there any improvements or changes you would like to see in local police services in your community?

How much would you want any of the following changes? Would you say much, some or not at all?

	Much	Some	Not At All	D.K.
more police presence in the community	_____	_____	_____	_____
more strict enforcement of the law	_____	_____	_____	_____
more community input into policing	_____	_____	_____	_____
elders and other local leaders advising police on how to handle cases	_____	_____	_____	_____
more culturally sensitive police	_____	_____	_____	_____
more native female officers	_____	_____	_____	_____
greater band control over policing	_____	_____	_____	_____

27. I'm going to read you a few statements again. Could you tell me whether you agree or

disagree with each of them.

	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Disagree	D.K.
a) police are influenced too much by the richer and more powerful people	_____	_____	_____	_____
b) there is too much pressure on officers raised in the community to treat their relatives and friends better than others	_____	_____	_____	_____
c) police in my area are usually willing to help out with almost any problem	_____	_____	_____	_____
d) police are careful not to arrest innocent persons	_____	_____	_____	_____

28. Do you believe that you are well-informed about what the police do and the resources they have available to do their work? Why do you say that?

29. Do you have any suggestions for how your police service could improve its communication with the people in your community? **PROBE: NEWSLETTERS, COMMUNITY ADVISORY GROUPS.**

30A. Increasingly Mi'kmaq people have the opportunity to develop alternatives to the present justice system which emphasizes arrests and court hearings. Are you in favour of your community becoming more involved in these alternatives such as sentencing circles and healing circles? **PROBE: WHY, WHY NOT, ANY CONCERNS PEOPLE HAVE?**

30B. Are there certain crimes or offenders that you believe should be only dealt with by the police and courts?

30C. Are there any particular new justice alternatives that you want in this community?

31A. Would you have the available time and like to be involved as a volunteer with public security and justice programs in your community?

yes _____
no _____
d.k. _____

31B. Would you want to be involved with your police service in any of the following voluntary ways?

	Yes	No	D.K.
being on a local police advisory committee	_____	_____	_____
working with your police service on crime prevention	_____	_____	_____
helping out at the local police station	_____	_____	_____
being involved in a 'citizen-on-patrol' program	_____	_____	_____
joining a police auxiliary program	_____	_____	_____

NOW A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS WHICH WILL HELP US DETERMINE WHICH SERVICES ARE NEEDED MOST BY VARIOUS GROUPS OF PEOPLE.

. In what year were you born? 19

. Are you single, widowed, married, separated or divorced?

single _____
married/common law _____
widowed _____
separated/divorced _____

. Which of the following best describes your main activity during the past year?

working at a job or business _____
looking for work _____
a student _____
retired _____
homemaker or housewife _____
other _____

If working, please describe your job.

. What is the highest grade or year you completed in your schooling?

. If you are not the chief income earner in this household what is the current job of that person?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY. ONCE AGAIN LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT THIS INFORMATION WILL BE TREATED WITH RESPECT AND REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL.

INTERVIEWER'S COMMENTS: How did the interview go? Any peculiar circumstances? Any interesting remarks on policing, courts, courtworkers, and laws?

APPENDIX B

INDIAN BROOK POLICING: EVALUATION THEMES

A. CHIEF AND COUNCIL AND POLICE ADVISORY RE THE POLICE SERVICE

BASIC: VIEWS ON PAST PERFORMANCE AND HOW IT CAN BE IMPROVED

STANDARD SIX POLICE FUNCTIONS:

- ◆ RESPONSE
- ◆ ENFORCEMENT
- ◆ CRIME INVESTIGATION
- ◆ APPROACHABLE AND FAIR
- ◆ CRIME PREVENTION WORK
- ◆ PUBLIC EDUCATION AND PROBLEM SOLVING

FNPP PRINCIPLES (ABORIGINAL POLICING DIRECTORATE):

- ◆ COMPARABILITY TO POLICING IN OTHER AREAS
- ◆ FN OWNERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP
- ◆ CULTURAL SENSITIVITY

RCAP THEMES (ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES):

- ◆ COMPATIBILITY WITH ABORIGINAL CULTURAL FEATURES AND PREFERENCES

WHITE PAPER (NOVA SCOTIA DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE):

- ◆ GOVERNANCE MECHANISMS - COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP, SETTING OBJECTIVES, MONITORING PERFORMANCE, BEING INFORMED

THREE Es:

- ◆ IS THE POLICING EFFICIENT / EFFECTIVE / EQUITABLE?

NEW MOVEMENTS - WHAT'S HAPPENING HERE? WHAT'S WANTED?:

- ◆ NATIVE JUSTICE ALTERNATIVES?
- ◆ RESTORATIVE JUSTICE (ALTERNATIVE MEASURES, DIVERSION)?
- ◆ RCMP'S COMMUNITY JUSTICE FORUMS?

SPECIAL ISSUES:

- ◆ THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH THE POLICE TO DATE (CONTACT? KNOWLEDGE? COMPLAINTS?)
- ◆ HOW DOES IT COMPARE WITH EARLIER YEARS?
- ◆ PRESENT CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR POLICING?
- ◆ SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN POLICING?
- ◆ TYPES OF POLICE OFFICERS AND STYLES OF POLICING PREFERRED?

- ◆ ACTUAL INVOLVEMENT, IF ANY, IN SETTING POLICE PRIORITIES?
- ◆ BAND BY-LAWS - ARE THEY RELEVANT? ARE THEY POLICED?

B. COMMUNITY SERVICE AGENCIES' LEADERS ON POLICING

BASIC: VIEWS ON ITS PAST PERFORMANCE AND HOW CAN BE IMPROVED

STANDARD SIX POLICE FUNCTIONS:

- ◆ RESPONSE
- ◆ ENFORCEMENT
- ◆ CRIME INVESTIGATION
- ◆ APPROACHABLE AND FAIR
- ◆ CRIME PREVENTION WORK
- ◆ PUBLIC EDUCATION AND PROBLEM SOLVING

FNPP PRINCIPLES (ABORIGINAL POLICING DIRECTORATE):

- ◆ COMPARABILITY TO POLICING IN OTHER AREAS
- ◆ FN OWNERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP
- ◆ CULTURAL SENSITIVITY

RCAP THEMES (ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES):

- ◆ COMPATIBILITY WITH ABORIGINAL CULTURAL FEATURES AND PREFERENCES

WHITE PAPER (NOVA SCOTIA DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE):

- ◆ GOVERNANCE MECHANISMS - COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP, SETTING OBJECTIVES, MONITORING PERFORMANCE, BEING INFORMED

THREE Es:

- ◆ IS THE POLICING EFFICIENT / EFFECTIVE / EQUITABLE?

NEW MOVEMENTS - WHAT'S HAPPENING HERE? WHAT'S WANTED?:

- ◆ NATIVE JUSTICE ALTERNATIVES?
- ◆ RESTORATIVE JUSTICE (ALTERNATIVE MEASURES, DIVERSION)?
- ◆ RCMP'S COMMUNITY JUSTICE FORUMS?

SPECIAL ISSUES:

- ◆ THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH THE POLICE TO DATE (CONTACT? KNOWLEDGE? COMPLAINTS?)
- ◆ HOW DOES IT COMPARE WITH EARLIER YEARS?

- ◆ COLLABORATION TO DATE (INTERAGENCY MEETINGS? INFORMAL MUTUAL HELP?)
- ◆ SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN POLICING (ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS COMMUNITY PROBLEMS, PROBLEM FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS)?

C. FORMAT: SPECIAL INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS

BASICALLY WE ARE INTERESTED IN THEIR VIEWS ON THE PAST POLICE PERFORMANCE OR SERVICE IN THE COMMUNITY, WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN A NOTICEABLE CHANGE IN THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE MAJOR GOOD POINTS AND BAD POINTS ABOUT THE PRESENT POLICE SERVICE, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGE AND IMPROVEMENT, ALL FROM THEIR PARTICULAR STANDPOINT

1. HOW WOULD THEY RATE THE POLICE SERVICE FOR
 - (A) GOOD AND FAST RESPONSE TO CALLS AND INCIDENTS
 - (B) VISIBILITY AND GENERAL ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS
 - (C) INVESTIGATING AND SOLVING CRIME
 - (D) BEING APPROACHABLE AND FAIR WITH PEOPLE
 - (E) DOING CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY IN THE COMMUNITY
 - (F) WORKING WITH YOUTH AND OTHER COMMUNITY AGENCIES
 - (G) CARRYING OUT THE WISHES AND PRIORITIES OF THE COMMUNITY
 - (H) TAKING INTO ACCOUNT CULTURAL STYLE AND TRADITIONS
 - (I) REPORTING TO AND INFORMING THE COMMUNITY
2. WHAT HAS BEEN THEIR PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH POLICING?
 - (A) WHAT KIND OF CONTACT HAVE THEY HAD AND WHAT WAS THEIR ASSESSMENT OF IT?
 - (B) HAVE THEY HAD ANY INFLUENCE ON THE POLICING OR THE POLICE OFFICERS? MADE ANY SUGGESTIONS TO THEM OR RELAYED ANY COMPLAINTS TO THEM?
3. WHAT KIND OF POLICE OFFICERS DO THEY WANT? LOCAL PEOPLE? NATIVE OFFICERS? FEMALE OFFICERS? WHAT IS THEIR PRIORITY?
4. HAS THE POLICING IMPROVED OR WORSENERD IN RECENT YEARS? HOW? WHAT SUGGESTIONS DO THEY HAVE FOR IMPROVING THE POLICE SERVICE?