

Self-Administered First Nations' Policing:

**An Overview of Organizational and
Managerial Issues**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides an overview of organizational and managerial issues in self-administered First Nations (FN) police services. It complements, and represents a second phase to, a previous report by the authors which examined a comprehensive survey of a large representative sample of the front-line aboriginal officers policing Canada's aboriginal communities. The major policy issues in FN self-administered policing are discussed in an introductory chapter where the central foci of this project are developed. The central areas of concern are defined as organizational structure and challenges, varieties of management styles, special challenges and accomplishments of FN management, the needs, adequacies and strategies with respect to resources in FN policing, community expectations, demands, problems and participation in FN policing, issues of FN oversight and political context, and characterizations of the unique features of FN policing. The methods employed in this second phase research have included a modest survey of FN police managers, on-site visits, review of audits and evaluations where available, and examination of management-level data obtained in the previous 1995 survey of FN police officers.

This report discusses first the evolving overall structure of FN self-administered police services in Canada. The number, size and organizational features of FN self-administered police services are described for all regions of Canada and central issues such as autonomy and regionalization are highlighted. A chronology of major events and policy developments in FN policing since 1960 is also provided. The data drawn upon for this report are discussed in relation to this general overview and the conclusion is advanced that the data are adequate to provide generalizations about FN organizational and institutional issues.

The bulk of the text in this report deals with the views of FN police managers with respect to the concerns outlined above. Survey and other data are examined to indicate levels of agreement and divergence among these central figures in FN policing. Tables summarizing the survey results are provided. In addition, there are subsequent chapters where the views of two special subgroups of FN police managers are examined in greater depth. These subgroups are a core of leading aboriginal FN police managers and the grouping of non-aboriginal FN chiefs of

police. It may be noted here that there was considerable consensus that aboriginal or FN policing is unique and based on different principles, and responds to different realities, than policing in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities. There was also a consensus that the resource needs of FN policing are considerable and have not been sufficiently met by the funding available. At the same time there are divergent viewpoints among the FN police managers in several areas such as the nature of the political dimension of FN policing, community orientations, and personnel issues; in particular differences are noted here between aboriginal and non-aboriginal police managers. It may be noted that most FN police managers report an increasing level of adequacy in non-personnel resources, identify areas of 'best practices' in their management activity, and convey a sense that while much remains to be accomplished, much has already been accomplished.

Five major themes are identified as constituting the social construction of FN policing held, with varying degrees of conviction, by the majority of FN police managers. These themes are "setting us up for failure", "policing isn't a make-work project", "we seem to be the only ones concerned about problems in the community", "aboriginal policing is different from small town policing", and "aboriginal policing and politics are inseparable". Each theme is examined for its claims, typifications and details as advanced by police leaders in the survey questionnaires, on-site interviews and other published materials. As well, the authors analyze the themes and relate them to other aspects of contemporary FN policing.

The reports ends with an overview of policy issues where the emphasis is placed on the need to reconsider the FNPP, and for government and FNs to discuss their visions of FN policing now that indigenization has been achieved and the policing infrastructure has been put in place. The data indicated that currently FN police managers and FN political leaders have identified the shortfall of FN policing in very similar fashion - as not providing highly visible, community-based policing which is oriented to problem-solving in a culturally sensitive fashion, largely because of scarce personnel resources. It is suggested that the solutions to this perceived shortfall chiefly require, on the one hand, a commitment by government to facilitate the achievement of the more elusive objectives of FNPP, and, on the other hand, a realistic evaluation by FN political leaders of trade-offs in their policing preferences. A model of FN policing which might assist in focusing these policy deliberations is put forward. The proposed model describes a two

path model of FN policing wherein FN police services would strive to provide a basic, quality, first-response conventional policing, and supplement that with a distinctive emphasis on peacekeeping. Appendices to the report provide information on and present the instruments used in this research.

INTRODUCTION

This report deals with the second phase of our research on policing in contemporary First Nation (FN) communities in Canada. A major survey of 430 police officers in these communities was carried out in 1994 and 1995 under the auspices of the Aboriginal Policing Directorate (APD), Solicitor General, Canada. The mail-back survey provided basic data from a large representative sample (430 of a population of 806) of field-level officers in the five current policing arrangements, namely the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.), the Self-Administered or 'Stand-Alone' First Nation Police Services, the Ontario Provincial Police (O.P.P.) - affiliated policing services, the Securite Quebec (S.Q.) - affiliated police services, and the Band Constable system. The second phase study builds on the survey findings and directs attention to issues of organizational and institutional development among the self-administered policing services.

THE FIRST PHASE RESEARCH: ABORIGINAL POLICE OFFICERS

The survey of individual officers policing in Canada's aboriginal communities provided an in-depth description and assessment of values, attitudes and behaviours among field-level police. It confirmed the extensive indigenization that has occurred in the 1990s at both the field officer and the organizational level. Whereas there were few fully credentialized aboriginal police officers at work in Canada's aboriginal communities prior to 1991, by 1995 the majority of police officers there were aboriginals who had both aboriginal background and upbringing. Police boards and police services controlled by aboriginal people became commonplace in Canada during the same period. The survey showed that FN police personnel in the aboriginal communities were quite comparable to their counterparts elsewhere in Canada in terms of education, training, philosophy of policing, assessment of police work, evaluation of their policing organization, time spent on diverse policing functions, job satisfaction and major stress areas. They differed with respect to age and experience (being less in both), their greater preference for doing community-based policing, and their having to confront some special

circumstances; these latter were defined as 'political' pressures, possible discordance between native concerns and the directives and thrusts of the justice system, and for some officers, new organizations with start-up problems). Surprisingly there were few significant differences between FN officers with the R.C.M.P. and those employed in self-administered police services as regards credentials, post-recruit training, values and attitudes, job satisfaction and morale, and reported actual police behaviour.

A number of issues were identified in the survey of individual officers. It was found that the officers were committed to both community-based policing and professional or crime-oriented policing and that developmental policy for FN police services must reflect the objectives of this dual path. These policing philosophies, in turn, respectively related to job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. Reducing job dissatisfaction was indicated to require attention to the adequacy of conventional training, the level of education among recruits and the adequacy of police resources (including linkages with other police services). Improving job satisfaction on the other hand, as demonstrated through correlation-regression analyses, was seen to require training in newer policing strategies (e.g., problem solving) and an organizational / management system conducive to community-based policing.

FN police officers, in all policing systems, considered that their style of policing was different from that in non-aboriginal society. Still they frequently claimed that they were not doing the kind of policing that they wanted to do and that was needed in the aboriginal context (given, in their view, the extensive expectations of residents, the lack of effective social service and volunteer agencies, and the serious social problems in the communities). They reported a vulnerability to political pressures and to the ordinary problems of policing in one's own small, kin-focused communities. Here there were significant differences by police organization where only 15% of the R.C.M.P. aboriginal officers policed their home community compared to 70% of the 'Stand-Alone' officers. Interestingly, statistical analyses did not reveal any strong connection between policing one's home community and a host of variables such as stress levels, job satisfaction and perception of police-community issues. Still, all officers readily identified advantages and disadvantages of policing one's home community. There were concerns regarding organizational adequacy (e.g., promotion opportunities, employee assistance

programs) and institutional development (e.g., the need for well-functioning police boards) especially among the officers in the self-administered services.

Clearly, competent, motivated aboriginal police officers are increasingly in place in the aboriginal communities. As well there has developed a greater sensitivity to aboriginal concerns among long-standing police organizations (e.g. R.C.M.P., O.P.P., S.Q.), a national organization among the FN self-administered services (i.e., First Nations Chiefs of Police Association), the growth sector of aboriginal policing, and complex supportive and collaborative networks among all the organizations. In addition, extensive support is being provided to the self-administered services in a variety of ways and at a variety of levels (e.g., boards, chiefs of police etc) by the Solicitor General Canada through its Aboriginal Policing Directorate.

A SECOND PHASE: MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES

As noted, the second phase research has concentrated on the organizational and institutional development of aboriginally controlled police services, namely the self-administered or 'stand-alone' FN police service. This is the growth sector of aboriginal policing and, in the light of governmental policy and FN aspirations, may be expected to presage the future of aboriginal-directed policing, both in an organizational (e.g., self-administered service) and a cultural (e.g., style, philosophy) sense. First phase research, review of the pertinent academic and policy, and discussions with staff of the Aboriginal Policing Directorate and with several FN chiefs, as well as with executive members of the First Nations Chiefs of Police Association (FNCPA), generated a number of major themes to which the research was directed. These themes included the following

1. Understanding what is special or unique to FN policing services in terms of organizational features, social and community context, resource needs, training and management requirements, and policing styles.
2. Capturing the views and social constructions of the chiefs of FN police services with respect to management challenges, service philosophy, strategic directions, and collaboration with local governing authorities and external police agencies.
3. Appreciating the experiences that FN police managers have had with respect to managing their organization and their self-designated 'best practices' and 'lessons learned'

whether in effecting organizational change, managing their resources, or dealing with the political context of aboriginal policing in Canada today.

4. Obtaining information at the organizational level comparable to that provided by the first phase survey on individual officers' values, attitudes and behaviour. This would require securing data on organizational characteristics, the level and scope of crime and social problems that police respond to, and so forth.

Preliminary research had indicated that most FN police officers, whether in management or at the patrol level, held the view that policing in aboriginal communities is unique. While some simple behavioural indicators, such as time spent on various police functions, have yielded no clear difference from non-aboriginal policing, there is a widespread social construction that claims FN policing operates with a wider policing mandate (e.g., going well beyond law enforcement), is more informal in style, and has a more holistic conception of public security and community health where policing is a part and only a means. Another set of claims for uniqueness brackets policing style and centres around the special working conditions and working environment of FN policing. Here reference is often made to high officer stress and turnover levels, to policing in one's home community where family ties and dependency loom large, and to social and environmental factors such as high unemployment and high levels of personal violence and social disorder. While clearly some of the specific aspects cited as constituting a unique policing situation may be found in many small towns and rural areas in non-aboriginal society, there seems little doubt that cultural traditions, and especially colonialism, have produced a special configuration in aboriginal society. Moreover, like all social constructions, there is a preservative and 'official morality' dimension to the conceptualization of uniqueness in that it may speak as much to preference and mobilizing myth as it does to current empirical reality. Many FN police services, on the surface at least, offer a very conventional policing service without much crime prevention programming or regular community consultation, and many officers, like their non-aboriginal colleagues elsewhere, emphasize the satisfaction gained from effectively pursuing law enforcement and crime fighting in their work. Audits and evaluations indicate that FN band chiefs very often disagree with the police chiefs on the extent to which the service is indeed providing a culturally sensitive type of policing.

There is little doubt that FN policing has a different political and institutional context than its non-aboriginal counterpart. FN policing, as attested to in the statements and policies of governmental leaders, and those of national and local FN leaders, is an integral part of the process of self-government for native people. As such it is entwined in all the complexities of federal, provincial and FN jurisdictional claims and power plays. The FN police service, especially its management officers, may have to exhibit greater sensitivity to political issues, and, even on a minor but symbolically important level, to upholding local bylaws, than would small town police managers. Sensitivity to these larger political considerations may entail entertaining - or at least having to confront - conceptions of policing quite different from those accepted in the larger society whether it be in the appropriateness of direct oversighting activity by political leaders (as opposed to the concept of a 'neutral' police board as a buffer), giving priority to communal over individual rights (e.g., aggressive police search, arrest without charge etc), and selectively enforcing provincial statutes if not specifics of the criminal code itself (e.g. perceiving 'smuggling', and bootlegging as legitimate aboriginal trade) reflecting their 'contested terrain' as valid law.

Issues of managerial styles, training needs and required competencies have been emphasized in policy documents and in statements of FN police leaders. There has been a widespread demand for more training of FN police managers and supervisors and especially for adapting existing programs (e.g., senior management courses, problem-oriented policing) better to the realities of FN policing, if not establishing a distinctive aboriginal-based training and management institute. In addition to the usual managerial needs for leaders of small police services (e.g., budgeting, scheduling, prioritizing) there has been a widespread view, especially among aboriginal leaders, that the unique nature of aboriginal policing and its special political context mean that two types of skills are particularly required of the FN police managers. These are skills pertinent to the incorporation in policing of (and sensitivity to) cultural traditions, whether revitalized or re-invented, (e.g., peacekeeping, holistic healing), and skills pertinent to dealing with jurisdictional ambiguities and value conflicts (e.g., collaboration, negotiation and mediation); concerning the latter, the FN police chief may have to be a pivotal socialization agent vis-a-vis both band leaders and external police authorities.

There is of course significant organizational variation among self-administered police services. Few of these small services (a number of which are micro-departments with less than a handful of members) are in reality completely self-administered, and they are regularly scrutinized by federal and provincial authorities who dispense the virtually 100% funding on the basis of short term agreements; moreover, all FN services, in their operational activity, depend to a significant extent on collaboration with larger external, non-aboriginal police organizations (e.g., specialized identification and other services, investigation of major crimes). These organizational contingencies (degrees of autonomy) create still further challenges for FN police managers. And FN police services as organizations differ significantly on the basis of size, degree of geographical isolation, level and type of crime, institutional / community infrastructure, and recency of their creation. Perhaps most importantly, FN police services differ with respect to how many different bands and how many different tribal cultures they serve. The range is wide, from the single site, single band and tribal culture jurisdiction to the regional service responsible for multiple bands and communities and having to be sensitive to several tribal cultures. The organizational implications of dealing with multiple bands can be daunting given the practice in Canada of federal government departments considering each band as a First Nation exercising considerable, if often ambiguous, autonomy in its own right.

Perhaps the most controversial topic in FN policing is the bread and butter issue of resources. Typically FN political leaders and police managers emphasize that the resources made available to them by either or both the two senior levels of government are inadequate. The police budget has usually been derived 100% from these sources though a few bands with independent funds (resource royalties, investment income) have topped up governmental funds, and there are signs that this could happen more frequently in the future if bands experience some economic growth. The common position is that start-up and self-administration costs have been under-appreciated by the funding governments and that community conditions (e.g., high expectations for service, a civic culture thwarted by colonialism, high levels of stressful, resource-draining serious crimes) have not been appropriately factored into the funding formula. In turn the senior levels of government usually claim that the resources made available to FN police services are comparable, if not superior, to those available to similar non-aboriginal communities but that they are inefficiently utilized (e.g., scheduling systems that generate too

much overtime?). It would appear that, apart from the specifics of the comparability debate, there are two major policy issues. On the one hand, since funds are externally derived and apart from the rest of the bands' funding envelopes, there may be little imperative for FN band chiefs and police chiefs to adopt positions other than claims of resource inadequacy. Issues of prioritization and alternative utilization of existing resources can be readily deflected to the quest for more funding. On the other hand, since the federal government's First Nations Policing Policy proclaims a commitment to culturally sensitive policing as determined by native peoples themselves, it may be asked whether governments are willing to budget for the realization of that objective. There has been a strong emphasis on the part of the federal government on achieving tripartite agreements and ensuring comparability and professional institutionalization (e.g., police boards, training) but it is not clear how far it will pursue and underwrite the enhancement and facilitation of distinctive FN policing.

Clearly, collaboration with non-aboriginal and provincial police services, and networking perhaps with other FN police organizations, would appear essential to the establishment of FN police organizations which can meet the increasingly high standards mandated by provincial police acts, never mind the additional standards of culturally distinctive policing. Formal protocols, and informal collaboration and backup, are crucial. It is clearly important to assess how the parties perceive developments in this regard and what policy issues, strategies and resources are deemed pivotal.

This second phase research, by focusing on organizational and institutional issues, contributes to the examination and assessment of the themes and issues discussed above. The survey instrument, for example, directed at police managers and using a variety of fixed and open-ended questions, gathers information on organizational structure and challenges, management style, special challenges and accomplishments, needs, adequacies and strategies with respect to resources, community, oversight, and political concerns, and the unique features of FN policing.

THE STRUCTURE OF FN 'SELF-ADMINISTERED' POLICE SERVICES

There are reportedly some 600 bands dispersed quite thinly and widely across Canada today and the average band size is roughly 800 members¹. Clearly these numbers create great challenges for the development of highly autonomous and culturally-sensitive police services that can be simultaneously efficient, effective and equitable. Collaboration with other bands or FNs and/or with surrounding provincial and municipal police services would appear to be absolutely essential. Elsewhere in Canada there has been and continues to be a powerful movement of amalgamation and regionalization such that police services, even those of significant size, correctly fear for their continued autonomy. Certainly a non-aboriginal police service of less than 50 officers would appear headed the way of the dinosaurs in provinces such as Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia unless they can forge significant collaborative networks with other police services in order to meet increasingly stringent provincial standards. At present there are two FN self-administered policing services in Canada which have more than fifty members (the Nishnawabe-Aski Police Service (NAPS) and the Anishinabek Police Service (APS) in Ontario) and only two others that have more than twenty-five officers. As will be seen below, almost all of the FN self-administered police services do have protocols with their counterpart provincial police organization (i.e., the R.C.M.P., O.P.P. and S.Q.) whereby they access back-up and special policing services and resources. These protocol-based relationships are sometimes neither well delineated and implemented nor without some edge and tension even though the operational and administrative support services provided are those typically extended to smaller police services (e.g., major crime, identification, information services, and specialized services).

Regionalization as an organizing principle in aboriginal policing has been developing slowly but steadily since the new Indian Policing Policy was announced in 1991. In Atlantic Canada the four FNs or bands, all Mi'kmaq, that have a fairly autonomous, self-administered

¹ There is some modest inconsistency between official government data and reports of police managers concerning the number of bands and the complement of officers in certain jurisdictions. Here the authors have cited the official APD records.

policing service, are affiliated in the Unama'ki Tribal Police Service. Some bands in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have contracted RCMP policing through tripartite agreements (i.e., referred to as CTAs) while other bands there, and virtually all the New Brunswick bands, are covered in what is known as federal-provincial framework agreements. New Brunswick, unlike Nova Scotia, still has an extensive band constable system where the band constables have very limited policing authority, training and resources. Throughout Atlantic Canada, with respect to FN communities, the R.C.M.P., acting as the provincial police, provides, at the minimum, the sophisticated policing services (e.g., swat team, identification) and investigates the most serious major crimes.

There are fourteen Inuit and forty-two FN communities (thirty-nine officially recognized bands) in Quebec¹. Some regionalization by cultural grouping has taken place in the North among the James Bay Cree (nine communities) and the Inuit (fourteen communities) but clearly the process has a long way to go before there is a reasonably autonomous regional police service. For example, the Kativik Police Service which serves the Inuit communities is largely a coordinating structure which depends heavily, in law enforcement, on the provincial police. It could scarcely be said to be an Inuit-directed service and the local officers are more comparable to band constables at this point in time; the chief of the Kativik PS noted that "our officers are not armed". Still, the trend is unmistakable and, at a 1998 national conference on aboriginal justice, a leading judge in the Nunavik region observed that "the S.Q. are pulling back from policing in the Inuit communities and more and more Inuit officers prepare the crown sheets and appear in criminal court". Self-administered policing services in the three Mohawk FNs in Southwestern Quebec, namely Akwesasne, Kanesatake, and Kahnawake, have reportedly been discussing common concerns such as forming a collective 'swat team' and how to incorporate Mohawk traditions into policing practice but each modest-sized (twenty-plus members) service is quite independent of one another. After a long period of contested status, the peacekeepers of Kahnawake and Kanesatake have been fully acknowledged as police services in tripartite agreements (i.e., federal government, provincial government and First Nation). In Northwestern

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Quebec the nine Algonquin FN communities have their separate police services (all with less than ten members each) but linkages have been established among them; for example, one Algonquin FN chief of police currently also serves as advisory supervisor for another nearby Algonquin police service. Elsewhere in Quebec, the Amerindian Police Service provides policing to more than a dozen FNs officially designated by the Aboriginal Policing Directorate as having self-administered policing; most of these bands are Montagnais but there are other cultural groupings involved such as Micmac, Abenakis and Attikameks. In Quebec, in addition to the above named services, there are a handful of 'micro' (less than six or seven members) police organizations officially designated as 'self-administered', though in practice exercising modest policing autonomy.

Ontario, where there are 126 bands¹ is the province with the largest number of FN communities. Some Ontario FNs are currently organized into fairly autonomous regional police services such as the Nishnawabe-Aski and the Anishinabek. The former, NAPS, is projected at well over one hundred officers serving 49 Cree and Ojibwa bands with a total population of 30,000 people spread over an area as large as France; currently there are 90 officers serving 44 communities. The latter, the APS, with recent expansion, polices some eighteen FNs with approximately fifty-eight officers. The UCCM agreement provides a regional service for twelve FNs in southwest central Ontario. There are also micro (e.g., Lac Seul, Wikwemikong) and modest-sized (e.g., Six Nations) self-administered services as well as a large number of FNs receiving 'enhanced' policing (typically the enhancement is provided by the addition of a band-selected local officer) under the direction of the provincial police. Ontario has several of the acknowledged best-managed, aboriginally-led, FN police services in Canada (e.g., Six Nations, Akwesasne, Anishinabek). In Ontario there is also a province-wide FN Police Commission.

In Western Canada there are three small, regional, self-administered FN police services namely the Stl'atl'imx in British Columbia (covering ten FNs or bands with less than ten officers apart from the chief of police), Manitoba's Dakota-Ojibwa Tribal Council Police Service (six FNs, about twenty officers), and Lesser Slave Lake Regional PS in Alberta which provides policing for eight FNs with less than ten officers. Apart from these three, the other designated

¹ There is some modest inconsistency between official government data and reports of police managers concerning the number of bands and the complement of officers in certain jurisdictions. Here the authors have cited the official APD records.

self-administered FN police services serve single bands, the largest of which is the Blood PS with about twenty members serving the largest reserve, geographically, in Canada, 50 miles in length and over 350,000 acres in total. Four bands in the Hobbema area of Alberta used to constitute a single band so it is not surprising that occasionally there is talk about a regional service there; at present there are three police services in the area, namely the RCMP, Louis Bull and Hobbema. There has also been some informal discussion of regionalization among the southern Alberta FN police services, namely the Blood, Siksika and Tsuu T'ina. Clearly though, in Western Canada there appears to be less movement towards regionalization among police services serving individual FNs, and, where regionalization exists, the police service is still of quite modest size. The RCMP, either through province-wide agreements or CTAs, provides policing services to all FNs in Saskatchewan and most FNs in British Columbia (and some in Manitoba as well). In British Columbia there are a few micro, self-administered FN policing services operating under a public safety mandate.

Given the small population size of most FNs and their dispersal over a wide area, regionalization itself, while important, can be no panacea for efficient, effective policing. For example, the Stl'atl'imx PS (STPS) connects ten bands at about sixteen locations spread out over a mountainous area which takes several hours to travel by car. Policing the less than 4000 residents with less than ten officers is a challenge, especially if the police service is committed, as the STPS formally is, to community-based policing. Community leaders are strong proponents of high police visibility and the story is often told how a security program set up by the Lillooet FN in 1986, focusing on crime prevention patrol in that area (and reporting actual or possible criminal activities to the RCMP), after one year achieved a whopping 95% reduction in crime-related activity. Most regional police services (e.g., Unama'ki, NAPS, Kativik, James Bay Cree, DOTC) are similar to the STPS, having to serve many small, widely-scattered communities where the community expectations for police visibility are very high; under these circumstances personnel are bound to be scarce, committed to responding to calls for a wide range of services, and on virtually constant patrol. It is a considerable challenge then to mount quality reactive or proactive policing for many regional police services.

There is little organization of FN police services at the provincial level. The most active provincial FN police body, apart from Saskatchewan where there are no self-administered police

services, is in Ontario which has a FN police commission. There has been some desire among the chiefs of police in some provinces to have such organization in order to facilitate hiring (i.e., creating a personnel registry) and to lobby for improvements in provincial training programs for FN police recruits. Certainly there are many issues for self-administered FN policing that have provincial implications, such as whether FN constables have the status of provincial officers (e.g., they do in Nova Scotia but they do not in Ontario), who formally appoints FN officers (the FN via chief and council / police board or the provincial authorities?), and what provincial statutes FN authorities encourage their police service to enforce or not to enforce. There are many aspects of the provincial government - FN government relationship that remain problematic since the Canadian constitution locates policing as a provincial responsibility while many FN leaders perceive FNs as having a 'nation to nation' relationship with the federal government. These different perspectives provide a problematic context for some aspects of FN self-administrative policing, and the problematic context has only been partly resolved through the tripartite agreements that have been the hall-mark of federal policy in Canada since 1991.

Since 1992 there has been a Canada-wide association of FN chiefs of police. The FNCPA grew rather rapidly from a handful of members to over twenty by 1996 when its first general annual meeting was held in Ottawa. Its core membership has been FN police chiefs from Ontario and Alberta but it has representation from Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia, and also associate members representing other FN policing authorities. It has formal recognition and some funding from the Aboriginal Policing Directorate, and representatives from FNCPA and APD form a co-ordinating committee which has met regularly in recent years to discuss and plan for improvements in FN policing (e.g., special training programs such as family violence).

Chart 1 depicts an abbreviated chronology of the main events in aboriginal policing in Canada, highlighting the emergence and development of FN self-administered policing. It can be seen that DIAND initiated the band constable system in 1968 where band constables carried no weapons and had arrest powers essentially similar to any citizen; they conveyed information to residents, focused on issues of community social order, and generally constituted a conduit for provincial police. Within seven years provincial police services (i.e., RCMP, OPP, SQ) had developed special constable programs for FN communities. The special constables typically did

not have the same level of training as regular members nor did they have the latter's authority (e.g., they rarely laid formal charges or acted as case officer in court proceedings); nevertheless, they often engaged in the full range of policing duties. Prior to 1991 there were several FNs that were exercising more control over policing in their community and making it clear that a relatively autonomous, self-administered service was their preference (e.g. Kahnawake, James Bay Cree, DOTC) but the first full-blown, self-administered police service occurred in 1987 among the Louis Bull FN in Alberta, fuelled by political desire and economic prosperity wrought by oil and gas revenue. The Louis Bull PS exercised policing powers equivalent to a municipal police department.

Within two years of the endorsement of a new FN Policing Policy (FNPP) by the federal cabinet, the Aboriginal Policing Directorate was established, the FNCPA was formed and the first FN police governance workshop was held. A major priority of the FNPP was to negotiate tripartite agreements among federal government, provincial governments and FNs, whether effecting a self-administered FN police service or a tripartite agreement calling for RCMP policing of specific FNs (i.e., C.T.A.). By the end of 1996 approximately half of the eligible FN population was policed under the FNPP. There were almost 170 FNs considered to have self-administered FN services; of these, more than 60% were in Ontario and 20% were in Quebec. Another approximately 80 FNs were policed under the FNPP through CTAs or, in the case of Saskatchewan, a province-wide agreement. Aside from two FNs policed under a municipal contract, the remaining 280 FNs were yet to be incorporated under the FNPP but continued to be policed by regular RCMP members in conjunction with either band constables or RCMP special constables. It is in these provinces - British Columbia, Manitoba and Alberta in particular but also New Brunswick - where more FN self-administered police services may be expected to emerge, in regional or single band format, in the near future².

² By the fall of 1998, 61% of the eligible (on-reserve) FN population - 311 bands with a population of 219,000 - was covered under the FNPP. Self-administered policing was considered, by APD criteria, to be extant for 194 or 69% of these 311 bands.

**CHART 1:
ABORIGINAL POLICING IN CANADA - A CHRONOLOGY**

1960: RCMP ANNOUNCES ITS WITHDRAW FROM POLICING FN COMMUNITIES IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

1968: DIAND INITIATES THE BAND CONSTABLE PROGRAM

1968: KAHNAWAKE PEACEKEEPERS PROGRAM STARTS

1973: DIAND TASK FORCE RECOMMENDS THREE CHOICES FOR POLICING IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

1973: RCMP 3-B POLICING PROGRAM BEGINS

1975: ONTARIO INDIAN SPECIAL CONSTABLE PROGRAM (OICP) BEGINS

1975: AMERINDIAN POLICE PROGRAM ESTABLISHED IN QUEBEC

1970s: DIAND UNDERTAKES EVALUATION OF BAND CONSTABLE PROGRAM

1978: DAKOTA OJIBWAY TRIBAL COUNCIL POLICING ESTABLISHED

1978: JAMES BAY AGREEMENT AUTHORIZES THE DEVELOPMENT OF AUTONOMOUS POLICE SERVICES FOR THE JAMES BAY CREE AND THE NASKAPIS

1982: 500 INDIAN OFFICERS ARE NOW EMPLOYED IN FN COMMUNITIES

(INCLU

- 1983: NATIONAL EVALUATION OVERVIEW OF INDIAN POLICING (focus on RCMP 3b, Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council Policing Program, Amerindian Police Program, and OICP) Social Policy Research Associates, DIAND
- 1987: LOUIS BULL RESERVE ACHIEVES THE FIRST SELF-ADMINISTERED FN POLICE SERVICE (with policing powers equivalent to a municipal police department)
- 1991: NEW FIRST NATIONS POLICING POLICY APPROVED BY FEDERAL CABINET (responsibility for FN policing transferred from DIAND to SOLGEN, and 116 million dollars approved, in incremental funding over five years, to implement the new on-reserve policy emphasizing tripartite agreements)
- 1992: ABORIGINAL POLICING DIRECTORATE ESTABLISHED UNDER SOLICITOR GENERAL, CANADA
- 1992: FIRST NATIONS CHIEFS OF POLICE ASSOCIATION (FNCPA) IS ESTABLISHED
- 1993: FIRST ANNUAL FIRST NATIONS POLICE GOVERNANCE WORKSHOP HELD
- 1994: A TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED ESTABLISHING THE NISHNAWBE ASKI POLICE SERVICE, PROJECTED TO BE BY 1998 THE LARGEST FN POLICE SERVICE IN CANADA, HAVING 150 OFFICERS, 49 CREE AND OJIBWA RESERVES AND A GEOGRAPHICAL AREA THE SIZE OF FRANCE.
- 1995: EVALUATION OF THE FIRST NATIONS POLICING POLICY AND PROGRAM (Jamieson and Associates) SOLICITOR GENERAL

1995: 46 TRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS SIGNED, MORE THAN 800 FN OFFICERS
NOW EMPLOYED POLICING IN FN COMMUNITIES

1995: NATIONAL SURVEY OF FRONT-LINE POLICE OFFICERS IN
ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES (Murphy and Clairmont) ABORIGINAL
POLICING DIRECTORATE

1996: FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HELD OF FNCPA HELD IN
OTTAWA

1998: 111 TRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS SIGNED, MORE THAN 850 FN OFFICERS
NOW EMPLOYED POLICING IN FN COMMUNITIES

METHODOLOGY

This overview of managerial and organizational issues for First Nations, self-administered policing draws upon a variety of informational sources (see table 1). First, there is an examination of responses by management-level officers to the 1995 national survey of front-line police officers in aboriginal communities across Canada (Murphy and Clairmont, 1996). This latter research included all five different organizational systems for aboriginal policing, namely FN 'self-administered' services, R.C.M.P. police services, O.P.P.-coached FN police services, S.Q.-coached aboriginal police services, and band constable police services. Secondly, all available recent audits or evaluations of FN 'self-administered' police services were examined. Thirdly, a national survey of all chiefs of police of FN police services across Canada was undertaken in 1998, Fourthly, nine short site visits were made to FN police services.

The 1998 survey sent to FN chiefs of police was prepared in the summer and fall of 1997. An initial letter was sent to all potential participants (see appendix) indicating the rationale for the survey, essentially characterizing it as a second phase to the national survey of officers serving aboriginal communities carried out two years earlier by the researchers. As noted in that letter, the management-level survey would focus more on the police organization and was occasioned in part by suggestions advanced by management-level respondents themselves in the 1995 survey. The letter pointed out the intended thrust of the new survey and requested input from the chiefs. In addition, the researchers discussed the survey's content and overall project strategy with both the staff of the Aboriginal Policing Directorate (APD) in Ottawa and the co-ordination committee of the FNCPA-APD in Halifax. Subsequently, a much-revised, mail-back survey questionnaire was sent to the chiefs of police of all 'self-administered' aboriginal police services, and follow-up letters were sent out where no response was obtained (see appendix). The survey questionnaire, while structured with many fixed choice responses, contained numerous open-ended questions intended to allow ample scope for the chiefs' own comments and concerns (see appendix). The survey questionnaire was available in either French or English.

Table 1
 Self-Administered Aboriginal Police Services 1997:
 Informational Sources

Region	1998 Management Survey	Site Visit	1995 Survey (Management Responses)	Recent Audits/Evaluations
ATLANTIC				
Unama'ki	T	T	T	T
Conne River*	T			
QUEBEC				
Kativik	T		T	
Naskapis	T		T	
Cree				T
Innu Uashat			T	T
Wolinak	T			
Lac Simon			T	
Kitigan Zibi	T	T	T	
Huron Wendake	T			
Betsiamites			T	
Kahnawake			T	
Gesgapegiac	T			

Listuguj			T	
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Region	1998 Management Survey	Site Visit	1995 Survey (Management Responses)	Recent Audits/ Evaluations
ONTARIO				
Six Nations	T	T	T	T
Anishinabek			T	T
Lac Seul	T			
Nishnawabe-Aski			T	T
Akwesasne	T	T	T	
WESTERN CANADA				
Dakota-Ojibwa			T	T
Blood		T	T	T
Tsuu T'ina	T	T		
Siksika	T	T	T	T
Louis Bull		T	T	T
Hobbema			T	T
Stoney Nation*			T	
Stl'atl'imx	T	T	T	T
Ditidaht*	T			

* These police services may be formally self-administered or stand-alone but they do not

exercise the autonomy of other services.

Thirty-eight aboriginal police services were targeted in the mail survey and full responses were obtained from fifteen. Table 1 indicates the response patterns across Canada. In Atlantic Canada responses were obtained from the two police services that best fit the 'self-administered' designation, namely the Unama'ki Tribal Police, the largest FN police service in Atlantic Canada serving four bands with about fifteen officers, and the Conne River band police (the latter not being substantially different from band constable services in authorized policing powers). Aside from the St. Mary's reserve which is policed by the municipal Fredericton Police Service, all other aboriginal policing in Atlantic Canada is provided by the R.C.M.P. (sometimes through tripartite agreements among bands, provincial and federal government authorities) and band constables. In Quebec 1998 survey responses were obtained from seven aboriginal services including Kativik Regional serving about fifteen Inuit communities, the Naskapis, Wolinak, Kitigan Zibi, Huron Wendake, Gesgapegiac and Akwesasne. Three major FN police services did not respond, namely the Cree Regional Police Service, Kahnawake and Kanasatake. In Ontario, in addition to the Akwesasne police service, responses were obtained from the Six Nations and Lac Seul. Major police services not responding included Nishnawabe-Aski, the largest FN police service in Canada in terms of number of officers, number of bands involved and geographical area covered, and Anishinabek, a service of some twenty members policing a handful of reserves in northwest central Ontario. In Western Canada four of the nine 'self-administered' FN police services responded to the mail survey. The major services not responding were the Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council Police in Manitoba and the Blood in Alberta; these services are of roughly equal size (i.e., about twenty members) but the DOTCPS serves seven FNs while the Blood serves a single FN band but one which has the largest reserve in Canada.

Site visits were made to nine reserves across Canada to discuss issues of management and aboriginal policing styles with the chief of police. These site visits were made to the Unama'ki (twice), Kitigan Zibi in Quebec (twice), Six Nations (1996) and Akwesasne in Ontario, Tsuu T'ina, Blood, Louis Bull, and Siksika in Alberta, and Stl'atl'imx in British Columbia. The site visits were short, essentially an interview of about two hours and a tour of the reserve, but in three instances there were also evening ride-alongs.

The return rate of the mail back survey was disappointing, especially in the light of the exceptional rate (about 60%) achieved two years earlier in the mail back survey of almost 800

front-line officers in Canada's aboriginal communities. However the information obtained from site visits, recent audits/evaluations, and re-examination of management responses in the 1995 survey provided a valuable complement to the survey results. Data from these diverse informational sources will be blended in the discussion of the chiefs' perspective on FN policing.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE POLICE CHIEFS

INTRODUCTION

The seventeen police chiefs who took part in the 1998 study, whether via survey responses or site visits, included nine of aboriginal ethnocultural identity and eight non-aboriginal persons. They ranged in age from 55 to 37 years old. All the non-aboriginal police chiefs were in their fifties while the average (i.e., modal) age for their aboriginal counterparts was forty years. All of these latter police chiefs indicated that they were raised by an aboriginal family in a mainly aboriginal community. On the basis of other available information (e.g., evaluations, the 1995 survey) it appears that this sample understates the proportion of young (i.e., early forties in age) aboriginal police chiefs in the population of all Canadian FN police chiefs. The data then reflect the increasing depth of indigenization of FN policing. The vast majority of constables policing in aboriginal communities, whether in FN self-administered service or R.C.M.P. service, have been of aboriginal identity since the mid-nineties (Murphy and Clairmont, 1996) and that is clearly also becoming the pattern for police managers in Canada's aboriginal communities.

All but four of the police chiefs (two aboriginal and two non-aboriginal) had had some university or college education though none had obtained a university degree. Of course all chiefs had significant experience in policing, the range here being twelve to thirty-one years. All non-aboriginal police chiefs had more than twenty years in policing while the modal number of years policing for the aboriginal chiefs was seventeen. The modal length of time as chief of a specific police service was two and a half years. The senior chief in this respect, with eleven years experience in the post, was the aboriginal chief of the Six Nations PS and the next longest serving chief, also native, was employed by the Kitigan Zibi PS. All but three native police chiefs in the sample reported having taken several management-oriented training courses, usually including the well-known, senior police administration course (i.e., SPAC) at the Canadian Police College. All police chiefs in the sample did consider that they brought some special skills to the job of chief of police. The most frequently cited special skill was experience in policing. Most of the non-aboriginal police chiefs also reported having many years of FN policing and / or

having other longstanding experience with aboriginal people. In addition to experience, the aboriginal chiefs also referred to their 'flexibility' (a favourite word used and one conveying an openness to different perspectives which would be very valuable given the diversity of views on policing and justice in contemporary FN communities), and ability to get along with and guide other officers. A few chiefs called attention to their cultural and community ties (e.g., understanding pertinent treaties and languages) but each also claimed their policing experience.

Apart from the police chiefs participating in the 1998 study, twenty-two other chiefs or senior police managers (i.e., division commanders, deputy chiefs, coordinators) gave relevant information, on the police issues discussed below, in their 1995 questionnaires. These data will be incorporated where appropriate. Twenty of these twenty-two respondents were aboriginal persons. The police services of affiliation were the Kativik, Uashat, Betsiamites, Listuguj, Akwesasne (former chief), Kahnawake and Amerindian in Quebec, the Anishinabek, Kettle Point and Nishnawabe-Aski in Ontario, and in Alberta, the Blood, Hobbema, Stoney Nation, and Louis Bull.

ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES FOR FN POLICING

The small size of most FN police services is clearly evidenced in the survey responses. The modal size was eight full-time officers and one-third of the police services had five or less officers. Moreover, most services did not have part-time officers, the exceptions all being in Quebec and especially the Kativik PS which served fourteen small isolated Inuit communities. Recently the Louis Bull PS has begun to utilize part-time and contract police and at the time of the 1998 site visit had two part-timers on staff and was considering the hiring of two more. Most of the survey respondents indicated that their service featured only one officer above the constable rank, namely the chief constable. The FN police services with about twenty officers and/or serving multiple communities had roughly twenty percent of their members holding NCO ranks. Not surprisingly, given the modest sizes, there were few officers in specialist, non-managerial roles such as identification, crime prevention or major crimes. Indeed less than a third of the respondents identified such positions in their service. The Akwesasne PS had developed a number of such specialist roles among its twenty-three member organization, and the Six Nations PS had an officer specializing in community affairs (i.e., schools, crime

prevention). Virtually all FN police services reportedly had both full-time and part-time civilian employees, the modal number being one in both categories. Among the larger services in the survey, Six Nations, Unama'ki and Akwesasne, there was a one-to-three ratio of civilian staff to police officer; the Unama'ki had a larger ratio but their numbers included part-timers who monitored the lock-up. While most FN police services had jurisdictions covering one geographic community where one tribal culture or language was traditional, there were a few instances where even small departments of less than ten members were serving multi-community, multi-tribal culture constituencies. For example the Huron Wendake PS in Quebec, with a total of six full-time and three part-time officers, apparently served four communities and four distinct cultural groups, while in British Columbia the Stl'atl'imx PS with nine officers served sixteen communities (constituting ten bands) spread out over a vast area.

The portrait of FN self-administered policing that is found in the survey results may be biased somewhat toward the smaller FN service but not profoundly so. A number of the twenty-plus member FN police services were not in the survey, namely Kahnawake and Kanasatake in Quebec, Nishnawabe-Aski and Anishinabek in Ontario, DOTC in Manitoba and the Blood in Alberta. It could be expected - and site visits and other data support this expectation - that the Blood, Kanasatake and Kahnawake police services would approximate the organizational pattern (i.e., civilian-officer ratio, limited specialist roles) identified above for Akwesasne, Six Nations and the Unama'ki, especially since, like them, they are committed to 'round-the-clock' policing. The DOTC and Anishinabek, and even the larger NAPS, have significant multiple band and community jurisdiction and that fact, along with their commitment to visible, 'close to twenty-four policing', would mean that personnel would be allocated to basic patrol and hence that there would be a similar ratio of officers above the constable rank and few if any specialist roles. It may be noted too that a number of small, 'micro' police services did not respond to the survey especially in Quebec; some of these latter services are policed by the Amerindian service through tripartite agreements. Overall, then, the organizational portrait seems reasonably valid and suggests that FN self-administered police services are of small size with very limited specializations, average civilian to officer ratios, and where the ratio of NCO positions is related to policing that is often decentralized (i.e., across multiple bands and communities) and / or strives to meet a twenty-four hour policing objective.

Table 2 provides information from the survey on other facets of the police service organization, namely organizational procedures and everyday operations. The table conveys a positive portrait of FN police services. Most of these small FN police services have written departmental manuals (i.e., standard operating procedures), job descriptions and annual performance

Table 2
Police Chiefs' Assessment
of Their Services' Organizational Features

	Yes	No
Written departmental manuals (SOPs)	12	2
Job descriptions for most police roles	11	4
Annual performance evaluation	12	3
Secure storage for evidence	14	1
A protocol with the provincial police	11	4
Resource agreements with other services (i.e., sharing and/or purchasing agreements)	7	7
Adequate lock-up facilities	8	6

evaluations. They typically have explicit protocols with the provincial police (three of the four chiefs asserting the absence of such a protocol were based in Quebec) and in half the services there is also some resource agreement, for sharing and / or purchasing items, with other services. Virtually all chiefs report having an adequate automotive fleet and a secure storage for evidence. The majority report having adequate interview facilities and more than half of the services also have adequate lockup facilities, a rather surprising fact given the small size of many of the FN police services. Indeed there is reason to hold that on these specific organizational considerations

the situation is even better than evidenced in the table since site visits revealed that new, more adequate facilities have recently become available or are imminent for services such as the Unama'ki, the Tsuu T'ina and the Akwesasne police services. It can be expected that the major Ontario FNs not in the sample, especially NAPS and Anishnawabe PS, and Manitoba's DOTC PS which is in the last phase of transitional management by the RCMP, would all be as organizationally sophisticated and resourced as most of the survey sample. This is borne out by the available evaluations / audits. The 1996 audit for the DOTC PS (KPMG, 1996) indicated that at each detachment the resources (equipment, buildings and manpower) were "equal to or better than at comparable RCMP detachments". Similar, though less positive, assessments were provided for the Blood (Otway and Associates, 1996), Anishnabek (George Langer Consulting, 1995), and Nishnawabe-Aski (Smith and Associates, 1996).

Table 3 provides data on some of the challenges that face the FN policing organizations. There is considerable agreement among the chiefs of police, across the country, that their organization faces high community expectations for service. Site visits have confirmed the survey results and audits / evaluations have reinforced that finding (e.g., LaPrairie et al, 1991 on policing among the James Bay Cree; George Langner Associates on the Anishinabek PS, 1995; KPMG Associates on the DOTC PS, 1996; Smith and Associates on FN policing services Ontario, 1997). One important aspect of the high community demand may be related to the high levels of poverty and unemployment that the chiefs indicate their services have to deal with. One chief noted that without employment to structure living patterns, people keep irregular hours and, accordingly, many problems develop and calls for service arise in the small communities in the 'after hours' (i.e., late evening and early morning); this in turn fuels the community demand for resource-expensive, 'round-the-clock policing'. The majority of the chiefs report that significant group feuding and high levels of social disorder present challenges for their police organization. A sizeable minority of the chiefs also perceive their organization having to cope with high levels of violent crime, great geographical distances and much officer turnover. The large majority of the chiefs of police perceive the protocols that their organization has with provincial police to be adequate, the exceptions being several Quebec-based chiefs of police. Overall, these findings are consistent with information obtained in the site visits and from the audits / evaluations and, therefore, can be considered representative of FN policing.

Survey respondents were asked whether their police service faced any especial problem or need. There was quite a diversity in their responses but several themes emerged. For police organizations serving a large geographical area such as the Stl'atl'imx in British Columbia (16 communities spread out over several hundred kilometers), the Blood in Alberta (at 350,000 acres, the largest reserve in Canada) and Unama'ki in Nova Scotia (four bands dispersed over 120 kilometers), the challenge was to strategically locate personnel given manpower resources and community demands. Several other chiefs identified their especial organizational challenge as having something to do with their police board or commission, whether it be developing appropriate working relations with the commission themselves, as in the case of some Alberta police services,

Table 3
Police Chiefs' Perspectives on Potential Challenges
for Their Service

	Yes	No
Great geographical distances	6	9
High levels of violent crime	6	9
High levels of social disorder	8	7
Group feuding	9	5
High poverty and underemployment	12	3
High community expectations for service	14	1
Difficulty in getting or keeping officers	7	8
Inadequate protocols with other police	3	12

or having the boards assist better in the police service's relationships with chief and council and the community at large. Other themes included the problem of finding and keeping good members which was particularly emphasized by police chiefs in Western Canada such as the Blood, Siksika, Tsuu T'ina and Stl'atl'imx, and the challenge of working more effectively with other social services in the community which was emphasized by police services such as Lac Seul and Akwesasne.

An organizational challenge that was identified only once in the survey but which was encountered frequently in site visits across Canada was that of reconciling issues of native rights and legal police rules. One police chief in Quebec indicated that frequently he had to educate the S.Q. officers that such and such a matter was more complicated than it appeared and less clearly illegal since native rights were involved. Another police chief in Alberta mentioned that as a non-aboriginal he has had to learn that some activities such as bootlegging may be seen quite differently from a native rights perspective. A good example of this kind of organizational challenge and how an excellent police chief has been dealing with it, would be the effort by the police chief in Akwesasne to work out a reasonable consensus on what the community should expect of the police, with respect to issues of 'smuggling and contraband', by discussing such matters in the community and also consulting with leaders and elders in the longhouse.

Police chiefs were also asked whether there was a particular feature of their service of which they were especially proud. Perhaps the most significant theme that emerged here, not merely from the survey but also from site visits and the chiefs' responses to the earlier 1995 survey, was the pride exhibited in bringing policy, direction and professionalism to the police service. While this was also emphasized by the non-aboriginal FN police chiefs who had internalized this model of policing over many years of police service, it was perhaps more emphatically stated by aboriginal chiefs who had personally experienced less effective policing in their communities. It was a matter of great pride that they had put policing on a solid footing. One chief, in the 1995 questionnaire, wrote on the last page, "I am making the change to a non-political police service". A not unrelated theme was the pride frequently expressed in adapting policing to the needs of the community. One Ontario police chief perhaps expressed best, and succinctly, this point with his response that "[I am proud of my service's] ability to produce initiatives which suit this community". Frequently, whether in personal comments to the

researchers or in audits or newspaper items there was reference to the FN service providing a more responsive policing than previously existed and being more a part of the community than was the case when the provincial police directed the policing activity. Of course there were other, though less commonly cited, matters of organizational pride referred to, such as building up an effective police board and bringing sound fiscal management to the policing organization.

MANAGEMENT ISSUES

The chiefs of police were asked in the survey whether any of a specified set of typical police management responsibilities posed significant challenge for them at that point in time. The results, from the survey returns alone, are given in table 4. It may be observed there that the responsibility deemed most challenging was 'meeting demands for service', a result that is consistent with information gleaned from site visits, audits and the responses of the earlier 1995 survey. Financial management issues and employee relations were deemed by the clear majority of chief constables to pose at least some management challenge. Management of personnel was especially emphasized by non-aboriginal chiefs who frequently referred to poor motivation on the part of some officers;

Table 4
Police Chiefs' Assessment of Management Challenges

	Much	Some	Little
Financial management	3	7	5
Employee relations	4	7	4
Dealing with local boards	3	4	7
Dealing with local leaders	1	7	6
Dealing with public complaints	1	7	7

Meeting demands for service	7	6	2
Dealing with the courts	3	3	8
Relations with local agencies	2	5	7
Relations with other police	1	2	12

for example, one such chief, in his 1995 questionnaire commented: "a great deal of time is spent making sure everyone shows up for work ... they are not interested in their jobs, however, hopefully we can change this by fall". Somewhat surprisingly, dealing with local leaders and handling public complaints were not reported to be especial management challenges. Considered least challenging were responsibilities related to dealing with other police services, and relations with other local agencies and with the courts. It should not be assumed however that these latter responses indicate a general satisfaction among the chiefs in their relations with other services, agencies or the justice system more generally; rather, other information leads the researchers to conclude that the police chiefs generally emphasized the need for improving those relations even while not finding them particularly problematic or stressful.

Table 5 depicts the survey responses to defined questions concerning personal management style. There is considerable agreement among the police chiefs in how they construct their management style. Virtually all survey respondents characterized their approach as encompassing

Table 5
Police Chiefs' Assessment of Their Own
Managerial Style

	Yes	No
Emphasize informal solutions	14	1

Emphasize professionalism	14	0
Emphasize a peacekeeping approach	15	0
Hold frequent departmental meetings	9	6
Work closely with local agencies	15	0
Participate much in field-level policing	8	6

professionalism, working closely with local agencies, and emphasizing peacekeeping and informal solutions. Although there would undoubtedly be differences in the extent of their effort and effectiveness in these regards, it is clear that the chiefs deem it desirable, if not imperative, to combine solid professional police management with a strong community-based policing philosophy. As will be noted below, when asked what particular management-related training they would want to receive, it was common for the chiefs to mention peacekeeping and dispute resolution training, a fact which perhaps underlines their sincerity in attempting to 'marry' professionalism and peacekeeping. Chiefs in most of the larger FN services (i.e., greater than five members) indicated that it is their practice to hold frequent departmental meetings. The majority of chiefs also indicated that they do participate much in field-level policing and a few of those who did not, such as the Stl'atl'imx, Unama'ki and Akwesasne chiefs, indicated that they only get involved in "major files". The involvement of chiefs in field-level policing is to be expected given the small size of these police services, the young average age of their officers, and the protocols with provincial police.

When asked whether management challenges in FN police services differ from those in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities, virtually all chiefs answered in the affirmative. The themes that were emphasized fell largely into four categories, namely political-economic differences, community characteristics, resources, and personnel. One Quebec-based aboriginal chief of police commented "yes, the political environment and social stability are different. There are issues of native rights that collide with justice. Socially, substance abuse is higher in the population percentage-wise than that of non-native communities". Several chiefs pointed to specific community characteristics as presenting greater management challenge; these features

included more drug use, unfamiliarity of community members and leaders with aspects of the justice system, closely related people and family politics, high community expectations for police service, and, as one aboriginal chief, wrote "oui, mentalite de la population est differentes". Several chiefs, especially non-aboriginal chiefs, cited special personnel problems, basically the turnover and instability of officers and "the limited [band] pool that we are expected to hire from". Several chiefs pointed to the lack of operational resources; the Six Nations' chief of police commented "yes, because FNs are always at the mercy of government funding; it's never enough and it's never on time ... management is not able to do proper planning".

When the chiefs of police were asked whether being an effective FN chief constable required special management skills they typically said yes and pointed to the need for good negotiation and communication skills, as well as understanding and appreciating the culture of the community. This response is consistent with other views they articulated concerning the special organizational and management features of FN policing. Other responses pointed to the need for the chief constable to have a "hands-on approach", "to be able to do it all" and "the impossibility of delegating responsibilities in these small native forces"; here of course it is not especially evident that chiefs in small non-native services would not require similar skills. Several respondents, all aboriginal, indicated that in their view the issue was not the requirement of different skills but more one of more management training where the content is native-based. One other theme that emerged during the site visits, and from the 1995 management responses, and which was cited by several chiefs in this survey, dealt with the special skill required for dealing with the strong family networks that often characterized FN communities; one Quebec chief constable commented: "oui, etre pres des gens et surtout etre capable de defendre ses membres face au conseil de bande et face a la population (clans)".

The survey asked the chiefs whether they had learned any particular lesson as a result of being chief in their organization and whether there was any particular 'best practice' that they were proud of having achieved. Several chiefs cited the need for sound financial management as their major lesson learned while a few others referred to patience; as the Six Nations chief of police wrote, "[we have] to be patient with ourselves as First Nations". A third commonly cited 'lesson learned' focused around appreciating good communications and involvement with the community; as one Ontario respondent wrote "do not underestimate the local concerns". In the

case of Akwesasne, for example, attention to that lesson has meant the chief becoming a catalyst for an emerging consensus on what activities should be policed and how. In terms of 'best practices' the most frequently cited theme was developing a well-managed police service with good morale, regular meetings, writing policy, good budget planning and getting input into departmental goals. This type of comment, coupled with references to "enforcing the law and staying neutral", perhaps underscores the professionalism and 'feet-on-the-ground' character of most FN self-administered policing today.

RESOURCE ISSUES FOR FN POLICING

Table 6 provides data from the survey on how the chiefs of police reported their service's resource situation. Generally they deemed their resource situation adequate for conventional policing tasks but less adequate for the kind of policing which, in a variety of contexts, they indicated to be their preference, namely community-based policing (see below). The chiefs were about evenly split on whether their facilities were adequate and their needs appreciated by local leaders or by the federal government, but a sizeable majority denied that their service was adequate with respect to personnel size. Case by case analyses indicated few systematic patterns that accounted for variation in the survey results and even the size of service was not a good predictor of responses; however there was one underlying pattern, namely a tendency for aboriginal FN chiefs of police to agree that their resources were adequate for conventional policing tasks and their needs appreciated by local leaders but to contend that resources were inadequate for all other matters asked about in the question. While site visits and other reports indicated that a major improvement was occurring with respect to FN police facilities across Canada, the personnel situation appears more problematic. Comparative data from audits (e.g., the DOTCPS audit by KPMG, 1996; the Jamieson et al, 1995 evaluation of FNPP in Canada), provincial comparisons based on historical provincial policing patterns and that extant in neighbouring non-aboriginal rural areas (e.g., British Columbia, Nova Scotia), as well as APD staff's claims, indicate that personnel size in aboriginal

Table 6

Police Chiefs' Assessment of Their Services'

Resource Situation

	Yes	No
Adequate for conventional policing tasks	11	4
Adequate for doing community policing	8	6
Adequate with respect to personnel size	4	10
Adequate in facilities	6	8
Needs are understood by local leaders	7	8
Needs are appreciated by the federal government	7	8

Table 7
Police Chiefs' Assessment of Factors Contributing to
Resource Needs

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Start-up problems and costs are greater	11	3	1
Community expectations are different	15	0	0
Needs for self-administration differ	12	2	1
The style of policing is different	15	1	0
Community conditions are different	14	1	0

communities could be considered quite adequate. Perhaps the reasons why most chiefs of police disagree with that assessment can be found in the response detailed in Table 7.

The survey asked the chief constables whether any of a specified set of conditions created a requirement for more resources in FN communities than would be the case in similar-sized, non-aboriginal police services. The results in Table 7 - results completely congruent with personal comments made in the site visits and other reports - show that there was considerable consensus that they do. It can be seen that all chiefs reported that community expectations are different and that the style of policing is different, factors that in their view create the need for more personnel (i.e., a higher police to population ratio than average for comparable services). And virtually all chiefs indicated that community conditions are different, usually referring here to high levels of poverty, unemployment and factionalism, all arguably the legacy of colonialism and neglect and requiring a more expansive police response. The majority of the chiefs also cited greater start-up and administrative costs for FN services, referring here to matters such as high officer turnover and high community demand. As noted earlier other factors directly related to core policing tasks, such as level of serious crime and large patrol districts, would also be relevant. It may be noted that a recent evaluation of the Ontario First Nations Policing Agreement (Smith and Associates, 1997) indicated that, while FN political leaders and FN police

managers disagreed profoundly on the adequacy of FN policing (whether on conventional criteria or in terms of cultural sensitivity), they were in full agreement that there was a need for more personnel and resources for FN policing.

There were a number of 'open-ended' questions in the survey which sought to elicit more spontaneous responses from the chiefs on their resource situation. When asked 'what are your most pressing resource needs', the most frequent answer, by far, was 'more trained personnel'. Several respondents noted that training costs are enormous for their geographically remote services while another few pointed to the need for resources in order to mount special crime prevention or community programs. Interestingly, only one chief, the Akwesasne chief, cited the need for resources to mount direct crime-fighting programs (e.g., drugs, fraud).

The chief constables were asked whether they had learned any special lessons with respect to resources and whether they were especially proud of some particular accomplishment in that area. The reported 'lessons learned' were of two sorts. On the one hand several aboriginal FN chiefs complained that they had learn to do more with less; one chief wrote "how to do more with less and this is with respect to comparisons with non-native communities and police services", while another respondent commented "the government thinks we can provide professional police service to the communities with less funds". On the other hand, and not unrelated to the first theme, several chiefs wrote that they had learned to be creative in accessing resources; for example, the Huron Wendake chief wrote of the need to effectively utilize community resources, "oui, plusiers resources disponibles ici-meme a l'interieur de notre reserve ... services sociaux". The Stl'atl'imx FN chief constable stated a lesson that other data indicate many chiefs would probably have agreed with, namely "it's important to provide incentives so experienced officers don't go to other departments". The accomplishments cited by the chiefs ranged from securing new facilities (buildings, vehicles and computer equipment) to seeing that their officers got needed upgrading despite limited training budgets. There was a pattern for the respondents to report accomplishments which were related to their cited 'lesson learned'; for example, the chief complaining about having limited funds to effect a professional force, proudly wrote of his success in doing so despite inadequate government funding, and the chief who worried about losing officers to better-paying departments cited his accomplishment as securing "revised pay scales and benefits for the officers".

Asked "what, if any, strategies can be pursued to improve your service's resource situation", the respondents spontaneously referred to several themes. The most commonly stated strategy was to convince governments of the need. There was some optimism that this straightforward, rational strategy could be successful. One aboriginal FN chief commented "provide the funding sources a detailed report showing the various needs". Other chiefs of police, such as the Kativik PS chief, suggested the pursuit of funds for special projects from "other special federal and provincial departments that deal with police-related issues"; a Quebec-based chief conveyed that message in his remark "avoir un comptoir unique pour tous les services ou il y a des personnes impliquees; ex: violence conjugale, violence envers les aines, problemes avec les jeunes". A few chiefs advanced the strategy of attempting to reduce the community demand on policing services. The chiefs were asked specifically about the feasibility of strategies such as more collaboration with other police services, regionalization or amalgamation, development of other local agencies, and reducing expectations / demands for service. The results - see Table 8 - indicate that few chiefs held regionalization or reducing community expectations to be feasible strategies. On the other hand there was a clear majority who agreed that potentially successful strategies could be more collaboration with other police services and more involvement with other local agencies.

Table 8

Police Chiefs' Assessments of Possible Resource Strategies

	Yes	No
More collaboration with other police	10	5
More amalgamation or regionalization	4	11
More development of other local agencies	11	4
Reducing expectations/demands for service	5	10

COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL ISSUES

The survey asked police chiefs to describe "the two most important policing problems your service has to deal with". The most frequent first response focused upon the high levels of violence and / or substance abuse, and within that category, abuse of drugs was cited more than abuse of alcohol. Clearly the police chiefs saw this problem as requiring a broader response than mere conventional 'enforcement and arrest' policing; as one Quebec aboriginal police chief commented: "[the key problem is] manque d'organisme d'hebergement pour autochtones des autres reserves qui sont en boisson ou sous l'effet des drogues". Another category of important problem cited in their first response concerned the operation of the police service in the local community. Here respondents referred to "interference by local politicians", and developing an effective local police board which could buffer police from excessive community demands and political interference and, in general, assist in improving the 'image' of FN policing. Lack of adequate funding was cited by just two chiefs. There was much diversity in the descriptions of the second 'important problem' but personal violence (e.g., feuding, domestic violence, sexual abuse) issues were most frequent. Several police chiefs referred to organizational problems such as officers' everyday policing skills (e.g., report writing), the need for more in-service upgrading, and availability of competent officers to hire. Others described a lack of support and commitment from federal and provincial governments, and from non-native police agencies (typically the provincial police organization).

The police chiefs were questioned on the "significant ways whereby community members or agencies are involved in your policing effort", and "what factors limit the usefulness of these possible community partnerships for your service". Essentially, most police chiefs indicated that, apart from whatever involvement community members or social agencies have with the police board, there was very limited involvement. Both aboriginal and non-aboriginal police chiefs referred to much community apathy and a community view that public security is the job of the police and the band council. At the same time it can be noted that several respondents indicated that some positive changes are happening, and a few more well-established FN police services such as the Six Nations PS reported significant police-community collaboration through "local police committees and other local service committees".

It is clear from Table 9 that all police chiefs believed that public apathy or lack of strong community civic culture has been a major impediment to greater police-community collaboration. All agreed that "too few people want to get involved". The large majority of respondents indicated that community factionalism inhibited police-community collaboration. The chiefs in general considered that the police service would have to take a significant leadership role (with all that that

Table 9
Police Chiefs' Assessment of Shortfalls in Community Partnerships

	Yes	No
Too few people want to get involved	15	0
Community agencies are limited	9	5
Police would have to take leadership	11	3
Too many divisions or factions exists	11	3
Community problems are too profound	8	6

implies for time and police resources) in effecting greater community partnership given the factionalism, the scope of community social problems, and the limited development thus far of community agencies. Data from other sources (i.e., site visits, evaluations, and the more elaborate 1995 questionnaire) indicate that some police chiefs point to colonialism and economic dependency - the Kitigan Zibi police chief referred to "dependency structures" - as underlying factors accounting for this situation. And some are hopeful that, as FN self-administered policing (and indeed a more autonomous FN system in general) develops, this situation will change. As already noted, it is especially in this area of policing (i.e., community policing and police-community partnerships) that many police chiefs indicated their resources were inadequate.

These patterns of police chiefs' views on community and political issues were quite consistent with the data from the twenty-two other police managers who responded to the 1995

survey. The majority of these respondents (i.e., 16 of 22) expressed strong commitment to community-based policing, holding that the community should set policing priorities and that enforcement and arrest rates would not be emphasized in their policing. Few FN police managers emphasized conventional, incident-driven, reactive law enforcement, and none did so to the exclusion of community-based policing. At the same time, and perhaps because of their policing philosophy, there was considerable frustration expressed concerning community apathy and / or dependency, and political interference in their policing efforts. There was a common perception, especially, but certainly not only, among non-aboriginal FN managers, that efforts to mobilize community collaboration have been thwarted by apathy and excessive service requests; one Manitoba respondent observed "[there is] not enough community input or cooperation with police and attempts to change have met with little success", while another manager with the same service wrote " a lot of time is spent dealing with people that should spend more time helping themselves". An aboriginal FN division commander in Ontario wrote "my community is not very active in assisting police ... we seem to be the only ones concerned about problems in the community". A significant minority of these police respondents referred to mistrust of police and lack of respect for police as being widespread in their community, something they usually attributed to historical experiences and / or community factionalism.

All but six of the twenty-two 1995 respondents specifically complained about political interference in their policing activity. Indeed political pressures on policing or local politics getting involved in policing was the most commonly cited, major 'job stressor' reported in this group. As one aboriginal FN police chief (who is no longer in that position) remarked: "policing in this community and other native communities is problematic in the sense that the people in power tend to practice a lot of patronage and nepotism. There is a lot of 'so, there, in your face attitude, revenge, I'll have you fired ... you can't arrest me".

The formal structure for linking policing style and practice to community interests and expectations is the local police board or commission. All police chiefs participating in the 1998 study indicated that their service did have such a local governing authority, although in several instances (e.g., Conne River, Huron Wendake) it appears that the board is in the process of being established. No clear pattern emerged from the police chiefs' responses to whether their service received much, some or little assistance from their police board. The typical response to items

such as 'help develop your policing priorities', 'negotiate resource issues', and 'provide frequent wise counsel' was 'some [assistance]'. There was evidence that police boards were functioning appropriately in keeping with the mandate of such boards in Canadian society, since most chiefs indicated that their board did provide some or much help in the developing the police service's priorities. No other particular possible facet of board assistance was deemed especially significant by the police chiefs. No difference could be found either between aboriginal and non-aboriginal chiefs on this issue of the police board's assistance.

Asked to specify in their own words the two major areas where the police board might develop further in order to be greater help to the police service, the police chiefs emphasized that board members should become better informed about police work. It was held that, via ride-alongs and more contact with police officers in their policing roles, board members might become "more police - oriented", "more informed on issues facing officers", and better able to "explain police issues to others". Clearly most police chiefs also considered that significant training was required in order for board members to perform their role better and so be able to "detect politics from legitimate complaints" and "not interfere inappropriately". A number of chiefs also mentioned the need for police board members to become more visible and active in the community; for example the police chief at Akwesasne referred to the "need to advertise their existence and purpose to the community".

THE UNIQUENESS OF ABORIGINAL POLICING

In the 1995 survey respondents, both police managers and constables, were asked whether the style of policing in FN communities differed from that in non-aboriginal communities of similar size. Most of the police managers responded that it was quite different. Among the sample of twenty-two that is being considered here, all but six of the police managers held this position. It was difficult to identify any behavioural base for this viewpoint but there appeared to be a tendency for the police managers to see FN policing as being more informal at the community level, more service-oriented, downplaying arrests and using strategies such as preventative detention (i.e., detention without laying a formal charge). This topic was examined in greater depth in the 1998 study.

Although a number of the above themes dealing with organizational, management and resource issues tap into the chiefs' social constructions of the special character of aboriginal policing, the survey instrument also quite explicitly raised issues of its possible uniqueness. The chiefs were asked whether aboriginal policing is different than policing in comparable, small, non-aboriginal communities with respect to being enmeshed in politics and diverse value conflicts. By roughly a two to one margin, they indicated that aboriginal policing was more so enmeshed. The police chiefs who disagreed made succinct arguments such as "small communities [always] struggle to separate issues ... [there is] strong personal contact"; "non, il y a continuellement de l'ingérence de la part des élus". More commonly, the police chiefs indicated that politics was a crucial factor in distinguishing the FN experience. The more articulate on this score were aboriginal police chiefs who connected political involvement to native rights issues and to aboriginal traditions. One such chief observed that "chief and council generally have more autonomy than do local municipal officials" while another, a national leader in FN policing, commented that "we are more involved due to large political issues that deal with 'native rights versus police intervention'".

The police chiefs were asked to describe how their policing service operated differently (if applicable) than similar-sized police services in non-aboriginal communities. In their social construction of aboriginal policing as distinctive, the police chiefs overwhelmingly emphasized that there is a more intimate contact with the community as reflected in the range of services the police provide and style of their policing. As one aboriginal FN police chief noted "we respond to all complaints - in some cases it is not a police matter but we try to help"; another noted that "policiers plus pres des gens; police communautaire; gros pourcentage de nos appels est de l'ordre 'civil'". This particular theme, responding to diverse requests for help, was reiterated often in the site visits where the police chiefs contrasted their organization with the provincial police; it was not uncommon for them to point to a call for service and comment that the RCMP (or OPP or SQ) would never respond to it but that they routinely do so. Evaluations, such as that carried out by LaPrairie and her associates (LaPrairie, 1991) among the James Bay Cree, have usually called attention to this expansive concept of police service. In terms of dealing with specific offenses or, perhaps better, disputes, the respondents also indicated often that they emphasized "local resolution", "less charges laid [since we] try to solve problems before going to court", and

more emphasis on peacekeeping than enforcement and compliance. Perhaps another, related aspect of the policing style that is common among self-administrative services, as reflected in the chiefs' answers and as observed in site visits and ride-alongs, is what one chief referred to as "a low-key approach to doing our work", basically a non-aggressive, friendly and open policing style. The police chiefs were not asked to elaborate on their picture of aboriginal policing nor identify underlying causal factors but important considerations undoubtedly include, as will be discussed below, community expectations, cultural factors, different political realities (e.g., the need to be responsive to band bylaws which embody the special jurisdictional base of FN policing), and perhaps the stage of development of current self-administered policing.

Tables 10 and 11 provide more data on the issue of distinctive aboriginal policing. Table 10 lays out the chiefs' responses to the survey question on whether there is distinctiveness (vis-a-vis similar-sized, non-aboriginal police services) on a variety of dimensions including stress and turnover, police mandate, diversity of public views, and emphasis on restorative justice. It can be observed that the large majority of chiefs considered that aboriginal policing differs on all four criteria. These survey results are quite congruent with data from site visits and reviews of

Table 10
Police Chiefs' Assessment of the Uniqueness of
Aboriginal Policing Demands

	Yes	No	Don't Know
More stress and turnover among officers	12	2	1
A wider police mandate held by the public	9	4	2
More emphasis on restorative justice	11	2	1
More diversity in public views of policing	12	1	0

Table 11
Police Chiefs' Assessment of the Uniqueness of Aboriginal Policing

	Yes	No
It is really just community-based policing	7	7
It is regular policing, but more of it	7	6
It operates on different principles	10	3
It's too early to grasp its unique features	5	6

evaluations and other literature. It is somewhat surprising that a sizeable minority of the respondents did not think that in FN communities the public held a wider police mandate; examination of these 'deviant' cases revealed that in two instances the chief had been recently appointed and did not want to make a judgment on the issue at that time, while in three of the other four cases the police chief had been in office for a year or less. It would appear then that the consensus might indeed be almost unanimous among those chiefs experienced in the position. Of course it must be noted that here we are referring to the social constructions of the chiefs regarding their policing service. Data are not available, for example, to assess the extent to which, in practice, FN self-administered police do more restorative justice than their non-aboriginal or provincial police counterparts. Evaluations and audit reports on the whole suggest only a limited development of any distinctive FN policing style, an assessment that is consistent with the views of FN political and community leaders (LaPrairie, 1991; George Langner Consulting, 1995; KPMG, 1996; Smith and Associates, 1997).

Table 11 presents data on how, in the most generalized sense, the police chiefs see the distinctiveness of FN policing. It can be noted that while most respondents agreed that this policing 'operates on different principles', there is little consensus whether or not it represents simply a kindred version of community-based policing, or even whether or not it is simply more, regular policing. Close examination of individual responses indicates the only police chiefs who did not hold the view that FN policing operates on different principles were all recently hired as chiefs and perhaps considered themselves too inexperienced in their role to render a judgment on the matter (i.e., they agreed that "it's too early to grasp its unique features"). The few respondents

who contended that FN policing is not only unique but also quite different from either community-based policing or enhanced regular policing were police chiefs of aboriginal background. Among the remaining police chiefs, whether aboriginal or non-aboriginal, the most common view was that FN policing operates on different principles but is also, basically, community-based policing. Information obtained from the nine site visits is most congruent with this latter position.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The survey asked the police chiefs to describe "any particular aboriginal police programs or approaches that you would want to develop if you could". While responses were quite varied and somewhat idiosyncratic, there were two broad themes. A handful of the chiefs desired changes in the organization of the policing service, such as developing a more complete and autonomous justice system, "adapting the Canadian justice system to the culture of the people we serve", effecting a restorative justice philosophy, and "more cultural aspects to reflect our uniqueness from non-native police agencies". Several other respondents referred to programs for youth such as "a youth worker working alongside police officers in situations where youth have been identified as being suspects or charges been laid". Other desired programs or approaches included "reviving the traditional watchman on the reserves", more police-community collaboration, and "better training programs that deal with the FN police manager's realities such as limited funding, social and political expectations etc".

Only one major theme emerged from the police chiefs' responses to the question, "are there any new strategic directions that you think would benefit aboriginal police services, in general, over the next few years", namely the more effective national-level organization of FN police services. This theme was expressed in a variety of way, as a call for "more stand-alone services", as working toward regional / provincial and eventually a complete FN policing structure for all FNs in Canada similar to the RCMP, as special federal training programs and nation-wide recognition for such training, and as "native police services must organize a common front to deal with issues of concern without breaching the integrity of each individual police service". Among the other strategic directions referred to by the police chiefs were more and better training, and doing "real" (*italics by the respondent*) community policing.

Given the frequent references made in the survey and during the site visits to the need for training and to management challenges, it is not surprising that the police chiefs, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, generally considered that conventional police management training falls short for aboriginal police managers. There was a widespread view that "the trainers do not know the culture and tradition of FNs" and consequently do not have the appropriate content nor deal with the appropriate social and political realities. As one respondent commented "[the training] fails to recognize the dynamics of the band or tribal ways of life and isn't sensitive to the attitudes or value system of aboriginal peoples". Apart from the issue of FN culture and everyday realities, there was criticism of conventional management training on the grounds that it "focuses mainly on administration [which] I believe should be secondary to other issues" and also that the training programs "are designed for large services". When asked later in the survey, "what formal management courses would you like to take", the most common response was "financial management", a response which indicated perhaps the fact that in these small FN police services the chief cannot rely on a sophisticated organizational infrastructure. Another common response basically was "any course to stay current with management knowledge", a response which underlined the chiefs' general commitment to professional development.

As the police chiefs faced the future, their experience as a police manager in FN policing thus far has left a mixed legacy. Virtually all chiefs with some experience in the position readily identified ways in which their "experience as chief of police here has not lived up to initial hopes and expectations". One veteran aboriginal leader wrote "to date it is disappointing because of lack of financial commitment, long-term, from governments; also [I am] disappointed in the political leaders - no sustaining support". Another aboriginal police chief felt frustrated that the major crime problem - the drug problem - has not declined and that "in-fighting between factions continually block advancement". Other chiefs, aboriginal and non-aboriginal, referred to specific issues such as the loss of freedom and vacations, the inadequate salary, "no recognition of work well done within the community nor the policing world", or the indifference and lack of enthusiasm on the part of the constables. Still there was a general sense that much has been accomplished in effecting 'stand-alone policing', that respect has been achieved, and that the job has not been boring but has led to much personal development. On the whole, while occasionally

expressing the concern that they might have been "set up to fail", the police chiefs were optimistic about the future of FN policing.

THE FUTURE OF ABORIGINAL POLICING: LEADERSHIP

While it is important to provide an overview of the viewpoints of the FN police chiefs, it is also useful to focus in on the key leaders who appear to represent the future of FN police leadership. Here there is a brief discussion of the perspectives of three young native police chiefs as gleaned from their survey responses and from short site visits. The three are the chiefs of the Six Nations PS, the Akwesasne PS, and the Kitigan Zibi PS. They have been selected because adequate information is available (i.e., they participated fully in the study) and because they have been in their position for at least several years. An additional reason for selecting them is that each chief is an articulate spokesperson and acknowledged leader for FN policing. By appreciating their viewpoints more fully one can learn more about where FN policing might be heading in its post-indigenization phase.

These three chiefs share many characteristics. All three were raised by an aboriginal family in an aboriginal community. They are young chiefs, aged 43, 42 and 37 respectively. Two are among the longest serving FN police chiefs - in the same service - in Canada, with eleven and seven years experience. The third, the Akwesasne chief of police, has already served longer as chief of this very challenging police service (i.e., three years) than his previous three predecessors. Two of the three chiefs have served as national president for the FNCPA and the third has been a major role player in the operation of a sophisticated international and multi-police service response to organized, major crime. All three young chiefs are articulate and well-trained. In addition to some university education and provincial or RCMP credentialization, each has taken significant in-service training, including the Canadian Police College's well-known course on senior police administration. And all three chiefs were desirous of further training, especially citing programs in financial management and administering small police services but, as one stated, "open to any management course which I could benefit from". In terms of their formal training, experience and personal characteristics they would compare well with chiefs of police anywhere in Canada (though perhaps younger and less experienced in administration than most big city police chiefs) and certainly stand out among small town chiefs and detachment commanders.

The three chiefs of police exercise jurisdiction in three quite different communities. The Kitigan Zibi chief has a small police force of eight members (at least one of whom is 'part-time' specializing in matters of natural resources) serving a community of approximately 1300 persons. This Algonquin FN occupies a large geographical area (some ten square miles) in northwestern Quebec, distant from the large metropolitan centres of Ottawa and Montreal. It is a well-laid out and attractive community though there is little local economic activity beyond modest natural resource work and some small retail businesses; consequently, the community features a high level of unemployment and welfare dependency. According to the police chief, this FN is relatively free of serious major crime and violence, and experiences little group feuding or factionalism. Its policing problems, according to the chief, have more to do with the malaise and social problems associated with underemployment, occasional hopelessness and socio-economic frustration. There is little turnover among the police officers. All in all the Kitigan Zibi police chief considered it to be "the perfect place to work".

Both other chiefs serve much larger FNs more closely connected to major metropolitan areas. Six Nations is a large reserve of almost 10,000 people occupying some 45,000 acres. While there are pockets of poverty, there are many newly constructed public buildings and attractive private homes on spacious lots. There is, however, little economic activity outside band administration and service agencies, small retail operations and a few very modest farms; consequently there is much poverty and unemployment. In addition to being large, the population is quite diversified in educational attainment, socio-economic status and orientation to traditional culture and political issues. Another FN is contiguous with the Six Nations reserve but policed by the provincial police service (i.e., O.P.P.). According to the chief of police, there are no high levels of violent crimes but there is much social disorder and group feuding among family groupings. Domestic violence has been a problem and there has been significant car theft where some reserve members have stolen autos from large malls in the nearby (i.e., thirty minutes away) metropolitan Hamilton centre, either for export or for 'chop-shops'. The reserve is in the midst of a well-built up, highly populated area, surrounded by metropolitan Hamilton, Halton regional municipality, small towns such as Hagersville, and small cities such as Brantford. The police service has approximately 20 members and is regarded as one of the best FN police organizations in Canada. In a recent national evaluation of FN policing (Jamieson,

1995), the police service's success was attributed to "the community orientation of the police service and strong council and community support". The police chief indicated that officer turnover has been significant, partly because of the stress associated with policing one own community, and partly because of the demand for qualified native police officers in the surrounding area.

The Akwesasne PS serves four communities spread out over a large area that straddles the international border between Canada and the United States, and the provincial border between Ontario and Quebec. There is ready access by both land and sea to major urban centres and the reserve is a natural transportation conduit. The police service exercises jurisdiction over some 12,000 people. Its population is very similar to that of the Six Nations in terms of diversity in educational attainment, socio-economic status, and cultural and political orientation. It is also similar in having high levels of poverty and unemployment, though a drive through the area reveals a considerable amount of retail businesses, personal and business services, and of course band services and agencies. Like Six Nations, the Akwesasne band council manages a sophisticated and complex administrative operation. The levels of violent crime and social disorder have been especially high according to the chief of police. The reserve for years has been caught up in the midst of considerable 'smuggling' activity which has generated much violence and criminal activity, partly because there has not been a sufficient consensus among community residents, and with surrounding authorities. over what is to be defined as a crime, what is to be defined as a native right, and what native rights perhaps should not be exercised for the benefit of the community itself. All that has made for a major policing headache. In recent years the smuggling of drugs, arms and even humans has accelerated the violence and the involvement of major organized crime including the mafia, bikers, Columbians and native gangs. In addition there has been much serious (and violent) group feuding and major ideological clashes among different interests in the Akwesasne community. Past actions by the police, according to one Akwesasne sergeant, have been interpreted by some factions as favoritism and have left a legacy of bitterness to this day. There is still considerable controversy concerning what is appropriate police activity and enforcement, and much consensus building remains to be accomplished, even while the FN struggles to achieve greater autonomy over all facets of everyday life, and experiences and assesses a considerable revitalization of Mohawk tradition.

As the chief of police, perhaps in an understatement, observed "we are in the centre of things, not hived off". The Akwesasne PS has 23 officers (including the chief) and, in what must be by implication an indication of the quality of the police service management given the policing challenge, has experienced no difficulty getting or keeping officers. There has been, particularly of late, considerable collaboration with other police services such as joint motorboat patrols with the RCMP, and the development of enforcement strategies with other American and Canadian police services.

All three chiefs appear to be quite competent police managers. Each service has job descriptions, annual job performance evaluations, and reportedly a participatory management style. This is perhaps most evident formally in the case of Akwesasne PS where there are regular staff meetings and a formal annual business plan (i.e., objectives, performance indicators, time lines etc). It is least evidenced in the Kitigan Zibi PS where the much smaller size lends itself to a more informal management style. In interviews with all three chiefs there was reference on their part to patience, acknowledging members' achievements and getting others' input; as one police chief noted in discussing his management style "[getting] everybody involved to develop a plan, a direction that the police force will work towards". The three chiefs recognized the importance of keeping the larger organizational picture in view and not dissipating their energy and time by getting involved in routine field-level policing. There was clearly a common pride in effecting a professional policing service. The chiefs also have all been aggressive in seeking out required resources to develop appropriate facilities for matters such as patrol, evidence storage, interviewing and lockup, and once the Akwesasne PS moves into its new quarters, presumably all three will have reached adequacy on the usual non-personnel requirements. At the same time all three chiefs pointed to specific resource needs, usual personnel requirements whether these be for crime prevention as in the case of the Six Nations or direct crime fighting specialization (e.g., drugs) as in the case of Akwesasne PS. All three chiefs contended that they have had to do more with less, indicating that from their perspective, to use the words of one of them, "I do not have the resources available to non-native communities".

All three chiefs indicated that a major challenge for their organization was coping with high community expectations for service and a general unwillingness on the part of community members to become involved with public security. As one chief expressed it, "[the challenge is]

meeting the needs of the community and leaders and adapting to changes in expectations of police which frequently change". Perhaps just as important as the level of expectations, if not more so, at least for the Six Nations and Akwesasne police services, has been dealing the conflict of values and factionalism in the community. There was some disappointment expressed by all three chiefs in the level of political support for policing in their jurisdictions, and some frustration at how a lack of community consensus has obstructed their policing objectives. Considerable effort reportedly has had to be expended by the police chiefs in forging more community consensus, either about specific matters such as shutting down 'after hours' clubs or more general issues such as enforcing provincial and/or criminal code laws about certain activities. A case in point has been the effort by Akwesasne police chief to communicate to community leaders and residents the dangerous byproducts of drug 'smuggling', byproducts that include considerable community disequilibrium and a significant growth in the use of hard drugs at the reserve level. In general the efforts of the police chiefs clearly have been made more difficult by the very modest development to date of systems of band bylaws among FNs. All three police chiefs indicated that, in their view, aboriginal policing is more enmeshed in politics and diverse value conflicts than is policing in similar sized non-aboriginal communities. At the same time they were able to offer succinct explanations for that pattern, contending that the 'traditional' political culture may encourage what would in the mainstream society be deemed political interference and, in the words of one, "we are more involved due to large political issues that deal with native rights vs police intervention".

The three young chiefs of police were in agreement that it is clear already that aboriginal policing is based on different principles. Two of the three held that it was quite different from either conventional or community-based policing, while the third held that aboriginal policing, while unique, is in principle similar to community-based policing. The essential basis for the uniqueness of aboriginal policing, in their social construction of it, lay in the contextualization, the connection of policing to a different culture and political organization. This context presumably leads to more politicization of policing, more emphasis (and community expectations) on peacekeeping and public security compared to crime-fighting and law enforcement, and a sensitivity to other values than those embedded in the criminal code; for

example, as one chief observed "our tradition emphasized the community over the individual but the Canadian government emphasizes individual rights so there's a conflict there".

There are two major implications that the police chiefs articulated concerning this social construction of aboriginal policing. On the one hand, the police chiefs have had to explore a broader sense of police professionalism and maintain that new professionalism, with the assistance of local police boards, in the face of pressures to slide into a conventional style of policing or into a political style that shifts priorities as a weather vane. On the other hand, the police chiefs have had to communicate and forge new understandings about the policing task and its responsibilities both to the reserve (especially chief and council) and to outside policing authorities. Two chiefs referred to their many meetings with different community factions to help clarify both what is wrongdoing and the appropriate police response to it; in one instance the chief 'went into the longhouse' several times in 'a give and take' discussion of these issues. The third chief emphasized how much effort he had had to put into increasing the appreciation of the Quebec provincial police (i.e., the S.Q.) with respect to native rights and associated political realities. All three chiefs indicated that, at least in the past, if not now, there have been problems in their collaboration with non-native police, especially getting appropriate support from the latter and effecting a new definition of the situation where the established larger police service comes to appreciate that policing is not simply a matter of 'their way or no way'. And these challenges are in addition to predictable problems associated with being the new kid on the block as far as policing is concerned, or even issues of prejudice and discrimination. As one of the chiefs commented "[improving our policing requires us] to stay away from non-aboriginal concepts of policing and the limitations caused by such concepts".

All three chiefs had visions about the future of FN policing and more generally about aboriginal justice. There was much reference to building alliances at the regional, provincial and even national levels. One chief talked about ultimately having in place an RCMP-type national organization of FN police services. The others, while encouraging national-level initiatives to assess "where we are and where we're going" and to facilitate other matters such as the development of training programs appropriate to FN culture and political-economic realities, focused more on regional alliances, whether among the Algonquin FNs in northwestern Quebec or among the three large Mohawk reserves (about an hour apart by car) in Quebec's southwestern

corner. There was some ambivalence about the nature of these extra-community alliances - one chief noted that such an alliance "takes away from community" - but there appeared to be an acknowledgment that the feasibility of significant autonomy and self-government hinged on such developments.

All three chiefs appeared to be comfortable with FN policing developing in the context of more autonomous aboriginal justice systems. While FN police managers in the 1995 survey were quite evenly divided on whether a more 'separate' aboriginal justice system would represent a positive step forward, these three police chiefs appeared to welcome the prospect. They also seemed confident that FN policing had a secure base in their jurisdiction, something for which each police chief could undoubtedly take considerable credit.

NON-ABORIGINAL CHIEFS OF POLICE

There were eight non-aboriginal chiefs of police who participated in this survey of FN police management. None of these chiefs, who typically were in the fifties age-wise, had less than twenty years of police experience. Most of them had obtained some formal university education (none had completed a degree) and taken special in-service, management-level upgrading, usually through the Canadian Police College. They typically had spent years, if not an entire career, in either provincial or urban policing, attaining lower and sometimes middle-level management status there. It would seem appropriate to characterize them overall as persons of working class background who were seasoned veterans experienced in doing and supervising everyday, 'street-level' policing. All eight chiefs had joined the FN service in that capacity and half had been chief for less than two years. Six chiefs of police served a single band and community while two led a multi-band service.

Perhaps the four most common themes that emerged across this small group of chiefs, residing in four provinces, were the following:

- (a) problems of recruitment and turnover
- (b) significant resource needs of FN police services
- (c) perception of inadequate community civic culture
- (d) the different style of policing characteristic to FNs

All non-aboriginal chiefs of police emphasized that there were considerable problems securing good aboriginal officers and, just as importantly, keeping them. At the time of the survey or site visit virtually all these police services were trying to recruit officers. A major constraint, for most of these chiefs, was the imperative to hire from within the community or band membership; as one chief observed: "by insisting on hiring from their own reserve we restrict ourselves in quality hiring ... [there is a] limited population". The limited pool was seen to affect the general quality of the service by most chiefs of police. In half these small police services officers had either recently been dismissed or were in the process of being dismissed for inadequate fulfillment of their duties. Some other officers were seen to be, at best, only adequate in the role. Several chiefs made comments similar to one who noted, when discussing how his

experience as chief there had fallen short of his expectations, that "constables don't seem as enthusiastic about their duties as I expected". Another chief, facing serious recruitment problems and being well under complement, observed of his local labour pool "they are poorly educated, inexperienced in life, don't understand policing, quickly become disillusioned and don't want to follow up on files ... it's futile". A common view was that chief and council must appreciate that "policing is not a make-work project". Still among the chiefs there was ready recognition of the considerable local unemployment and the desirability of having officers who understood local customs and languages.

The chiefs also indicated that apart from the limited population pools to recruit from, additional factors caused recruitment and turnover problems. Capable, experienced aboriginal officers were becoming much sought after, especially in Western Canada, and, accordingly, some of these small services were losing their best officers to larger, better-paying police services including the RCMP. One chief noted: "it's hard to keep or attract experienced officers as they are usually on a career path with another department and it's important to provide incentives so experienced officers don't go to other departments". Several chiefs mentioned that, in their area, the "most-sought-after person is the good, experienced, qualified aboriginal officer". Another major factor affecting recruitment and retention was seen to be the stress associated with policing in one's own small community since so much conflict and social disorder involve close relatives and one can scarcely enjoy privacy from the police role. Virtually all the chiefs indicated that, in their view, policing in aboriginal communities differs from that in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities in having "more stress and turnover among officers". One chief identified as the most pressing problem facing his organization to be "better training and better support for native officers ... [there needs to be] more understanding of officers' problems in dealing with members of their community and this [requires] changing the perceptions of the population on the role of the police department". This viewpoint would undoubtedly resonate well among the other chiefs of FN services. In fact it would be well appreciated by chiefs of small independent police services throughout Canada and United States, as the problems of lack of privacy, and the better career paths in larger police services -as well as having to give employment priority to local persons- have commonly resulted in high turnover among officers in these police services (Whipple et al, 1991; Weisheit et al, 1995). It would

seem that the situation would be more severe in FN communities given the existence of more dense kinship networks, the smaller base populations, the recency of the self-administered status, and, from colonialism, the legacy of estrangement. It may be noted that these kinds of personnel issues have led some chiefs of police and their local boards to become more receptive to outsiders, whether aboriginal or non-aboriginal, and to advance ideas such as provincial registries of qualified aboriginal officers, but, as one chief observed, they have to deal with rumours, if not the continued reality, that non-local officers, even aboriginal ones, would not be welcomed in the community.

There was complete consensus among these veteran police officers that aboriginal self-administered services require more resources than similar-sized, non-aboriginal police services. All the chiefs of police agreed that community conditions and expectations, the needs for self-administration, and the appropriate style of policing are different; all but two chiefs also agreed that start-up problems and costs are greater for aboriginal services. The chiefs generally indicated that their police service had to deal with high levels of violent crime and/or social disorder, serious underlying social problems (e.g., widespread poverty), group feuding, and high community expectations for service. While two informants declared their resource situation to be inadequate in almost all respects, surprisingly, most chiefs considered their present or 'soon-to-be' resource situation to be adequate save for personnel size, and they pointed to some special accomplishment they had effected (e.g., vehicle procurement, p.c.technology, training for their staff). There was much diversity in the chiefs' responses to questions concerning what realistic resource strategies were available to improve their service's current resource situation, but the most common response focused on the development of other local agencies with which the police service could collaborate.

The non-aboriginal police chiefs generally perceived a major need for strengthening the civic culture in the communities they policed. Typically, they considered that the community suffered from factionalism and profound social problems but that local social agencies were limited and few people "want to get involved with police in dealing with crime and related issues". Accordingly, there was a perception that without extensive police leadership - something they felt was difficult given the supply of officers and the demands of the residents - police-community partnerships were very limited. Several chiefs remarked that because of poverty and

perhaps the legacy of colonialism ("the hand-out syndrome" as one described it), "people don't volunteer much but want to be paid", while another chief contended that programs such as neighbourhood watch, block parents or victim assistance have been impossible to mount because of apathy and a lack of volunteers. Most chiefs of police did indicate that the local police boards were generally quite supportive and have become increasingly effective in recent years but they considered that more training and appreciation of the police role and the proper role of the board had to be instilled. The chiefs clearly held to the conventional model where the board provides general direction but does not interfere in operational policing, and where it acts as a buffer between police management and the elected bodies. On both these fronts there was a common view that there was still much to be accomplished in their communities.

The non-aboriginal police leaders typically held the that a different style of policing was required and appropriate in FN communities. With but one exception, they agreed that 'aboriginal policing' was something different than either conventional or community-based policing though incorporating these latter, especially the community-based policing style. Identifying precisely how 'aboriginal policing' differs was more problematic and there was a sense that its features are still evolving. The chiefs of police were quite divided on whether aboriginal policing is more enmeshed in politics and diverse value conflicts than policing in smaller communities in general. The view among those doubting any difference in those regards was succinctly expressed by one person: "no, small communities struggle to separate issues ... there is strong personal contact". Those contending there was a significant difference pointed to a greater 'interference' by chief and council in the affairs of local board, though often acknowledging that the police board is a new institution in native communities and only in the last few years have its members received training. Another way in which the police-politics mix is different was deemed to be in the direct action by chief and council in dealing with offenders; one police chief observed: "some bands will occasionally bring offenders before chief and council to impose sanctions on them". Perhaps the most frequently cited area of a different, if not more enmeshed, police-politics relationship involves jurisdiction. On the one hand, there is the issue of band by-laws where chief and council might demand police action but confusion exists over the legal status of the band by-laws, even to the point of their existence being problematic. On the other hand, several FN band councils have advanced an ambiguous policing mandate

concerning provincial statutes, encouraging the enforcement of some and discouraging the enforcement of others. The non-aboriginal chiefs of police sometimes seemed bewildered at this state of affairs (e.g., what is the position concerning the enforcement of laws against bootlegging). Even while being aware of the larger political issues and the underlying nation-to-nation aboriginal viewpoint, many, if not all, chiefs of police find this situation difficult, holding the view that "provinces do have responsibilities for police administration and have to be worked with". It would seem that to the extent that aboriginal policing involves more 'politics' than in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities, the difference lies more in these areas of jurisdiction and direct band council action than in local leaders interfering with or 'calling the shots' on policing, since the latter is often characteristic of small town and rural policing (Bass, 1995).

Clearly, the chiefs of police agreed that the distinctive 'aboriginal policing' approach does have profound implications for management style. Several emphasized that the greatest management need is to communicate well and to have patience since, as one chief put it, "you have to consult about everything with everyone". Another chief referred to the need for the effective police manager in FN communities to be very sensitive to cultural and family issues and have a "low-key approach". Another chief commented that "policing skills at time become secondary to management of social issues". Communication and social skills as well as cultural awareness and sensitivity might well be areas where these well-trained veterans would have had the least formal preparation so perhaps their emphasis here is not surprising. Still the situation in their view is quite different from that in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities. Another special area of management emphasized by the chiefs focused upon the need to coach and teach their typically young officers (e.g., in one department the average age of the officers was just over 21 years), and, in the light of the high turnover and the high rate of serious offences, to exercise a "hands-on" approach to investigations. Again this management requirement might well characterize the chief's role in most small town and rural police services but the newness of the FN service along with cultural and jurisdictional issues may make it especially significant in these FN communities.

Overall, the non-aboriginal chiefs of police were well-trained veterans of policing who typically conveyed a conventional view of the police role, the police board, and jurisdictional issues. To a large extent, with varying degrees of explicitness, they were implementing the

quality policing system in which they were trained (e.g., writing reports, follow-ups, contacting victims, fast response to calls for service). At the same time they exhibited flexibility and openness to cultural and community differences and espoused a policing philosophy, community-based policing, that, as Depew has noted elsewhere (Depew, 1993), is neutral on constitutional and jurisdictional issues. Their main policy thrusts called for more training for officers, boards and themselves, and for the federal government to assume more of a leadership role in shaping the evolving aboriginal policing style. As one chief of police commented: "let's put the brakes on, see where we've come, where to go".

ANALYSES AND DISCUSSION

MAJOR THEMES IN THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Five major themes appear to be central to the social construction of FN policing as conveyed by FN police managers and could be readily discerned in the data gathered for this project. In each case the theme is captured in a succinct expression used by one or more FN police managers. These themes are as follows:

1. "SETTING US UP FOR FAILURE"
2. "POLICING ISN'T A MAKE-WORK PROJECT"
3. "WE SEEM TO BE THE ONLY ONES CONCERNED ABOUT PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY"
4. "ABORIGINAL POLICING IS DIFFERENT FROM SMALL TOWN POLICING"
5. "ABORIGINAL POLICING AND POLITICS ARE INSEPARABLE"

'SET-UP' AND VULNERABILITY

The view that the FN police service has been 'set up to fail' was articulated, with varying degrees of conviction, by a significant number of chiefs, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal. From this perspective FN police services have been established with lofty objectives and high community expectations but with such inadequate resources that community disillusionment and the service's failure to achieve well even conventional policing objectives are likely, thereby leading to the resumption of policing by the provincial police organizations. Essentially the argument related to the allegedly inadequate funding provided by the federal and provincial governments, and secondarily to the terms and conditions of the funding (e.g., what was eligible for funding, length of funding contract) imposed by these bodies. As noted in the above pages, the police managers virtually unanimously contended that their situation was different from that of non-aboriginal police services in terms of community social conditions generating problems for police, community expectations about policing, levels of crime and calls for service, start-up

costs and other considerations. Accordingly, while sometimes acknowledging that most FN police services had better 'police to population' ratios than non-FN counterparts, the claim was that the funding formula utilized by governments did not "factor in" all the relevant considerations and certainly did not yield sufficient officer complements to allow for much crime prevention and problem-solving activity, let alone a distinctive aboriginal policing style.

Associated with the above view there was frequently found an air of vulnerability with respect to either or both the police service or the tenure of the police chief. Whether in site visits, survey data or other sources such as conference reports, the research uncovered often a sense of vulnerability in that the FN policing situation was reportedly far from settled and some services were considered susceptible to 'take-over' by the provincial police. In a few instances police managers talked of candidates running for council in FN bands, with platforms calling for having the RCMP police the community. There have been several instances in recent years where FN communities have backed out of self-administered FN policing arrangements and restored RCMP policing. Moreover, the tripartite agreements that established the self-administered policing service usually have been restricted to a three or five year period, lending a sense of 'project status' and uncertainty to the police service itself. Vulnerability was frequently seen, too, with respect to the position of chief of police. In several instances the police chief has been reprimanded (and in at least one case 'suspended without pay') for collaborating with provincial police in making certain politically controversial raids or arrests. It is not clear whether FN police managers have the protection of "dismissal only with just cause" enjoyed by their peers in the larger Canadian society, but a number of chiefs indicated that they were on short-term contracts and could be, and might be, easily dismissed.

It is unclear what to make of this perspective of suspicion and vulnerability. The federal government's FNPP and emphasis on tripartite agreements clearly allow for FN policing by provincial police services and do not require the establishment of self-administered police services. At the same time the latter is very consistent with the official government policy of encouraging FN self-government, and it has been argued by some officials that native-directed policing is the easiest way for government to facilitate native self-government in the field of justice. Moreover, the Aboriginal Policing Directorate works closely with and funds the First Nations Chiefs of Police Association, the umbrella organization for self-administered police

services. Still, the perspective directs attention to the degree to which the federal government is adequately funding the self-administered services in terms of the three principles of FNPP, namely comparability to non-FN services, FN-control, and facilitating FN-distinctive policing styles. At the level of provincial governments, there appears to be significant variation in how supportive the governments are of the self-administered FN service but such services do exist in most provinces and only two provinces (New Brunswick and Newfoundland/Labrador) have been notably adamant in demanding that FN policing be effected through provincial police organizations. And, of course, for a variety of reasons, some FN communities have preferred to remain with the provincial police service (usually the RCMP). As for vulnerability of the chief of police role, there is little doubt, as indicated in survey and site-visit data, that FN police chiefs have to engage in much socialization activity, relating the imperatives of modern policing and so forth, to community leaders and, conversely, relating aboriginal rights and realities to external police and justice officials. In some police services there has indeed been much turnover in the chief's role but it was also found in this research that a significant number of chiefs (see the chapter on leadership above) have been quite secure in their position and also confident about their service's future.

Clearly the FN chiefs of police can make a convincing case for their services having a significant resource-shortfall. Public expectations, increasingly stringent provincial standards, and the complex objectives of aboriginal policing as an idealized system, all compound the challenge of these small police services even providing basic, quality, conventional, reactive policing. Dealing with the suspicion and the vulnerability seems to require some resolution of this resource issue. One solution could be more regionalization and collaboration as is occurring in most police jurisdictions in Canada. This research revealed some trends in this regard among the self-administered police services but it was also noted that few FN police managers saw regionalization as the solution to their resource problems. Regionalization was not considered a panacea since it was seen as bringing its own special problems, such as dispersed geographical coverage and collaboration among FN chiefs and councils, without achieving a complement large enough to sustain specialized police services. The police managers were also skeptical that community demands for, and expectations of, policing could be reduced in the near future. Clearly, too, they have been unable to persuade funding authorities that major short-term

investment in problem-solving and crime prevention would yield long-term reductions in community demand. On the supply-side, the communities have usually not been effectively brought into the policing partnership thereby generating additional resources and impacting on demand and expectations simultaneously. Perhaps, as FN communities unload the yoke of colonialism and increasingly exercise control in the justice field, there will be more of a sense of ownership with respect to policing, and thus the greater sense that policing is a community responsibility. The FN police managers themselves looked more to collaboration with other police services and to working with local social agencies as possibly useful resource strategies. It appears that, whatever strategies are adopted to deal with the inadequacy of resources, the FN police service has to consider carefully what kind of policing model it can realistically implement. Resources will probably never be adequate for FN police services - with very few if any exceptions- to effect a reasonably autonomous and adequate conventional policing, and any quest to do so would probably soak up resources that might better be directed to developing a more distinctive aboriginal style of peacekeeping and proactive community involvement. The preferred policing model might well be one where the FN police service provides basically a quality 'first response' policing (leaving subsequent investigation and specialized services to provincial police services) in combination with a significant peacekeeping thrust. Having a clear conception of an appropriate and satisfying FN model of policing could facilitate a solution to the resource issue.

“POLICING ISN'T A MAKE-WORK PROJECT”

In articulating this theme the FN police managers called attention to the problem of hiring, and keeping on staff, quality FN officers. It was claimed that failure to recruit appropriately has led to high stress levels among officers, much officer turnover, and significant community criticism of the police performance. It also presumably has required more hands-on management by the police managers who have to spend a disproportionate time and energy on personnel matters. Moreover, it was claimed that poor recruitment sets a low departmental standard which in turn contributes to the departure of quality FN officers to larger, more respected police services. This theme was especially highlighted in the views of non-aboriginal FN chiefs of police but it was not limited to them. The personnel problem has been occasioned,

in this view, largely by the insistence of FN political leaders (and sometimes, though less frequently so, by local police board members) in recruiting officers from the band membership which typically has a limited pool of appropriate candidates. All the police managers recognized the legitimacy of this band objective, given the scarce employment opportunities locally available and the desire of the band to have a community-rooted policing which can relate well to local customs and languages. Nevertheless, the insistence for local hiring apparently has often forced the police managers to deal with recruits and officers whose motivation and talent for policing were questionable. From this perspective the basic challenges of FN policing are considerable and when one adds to that challenge, policing among one's own relatives and friends, a high level of motivation and professionalism is clearly required. The recruitment problem is aggravated, according to many FN police managers, by the inadequate training the recruits receive in provincial policing academies, a training which presumably does not take into account the realities of reserve social conditions, and expectations and controversies about policing.

As noted above, there has been a very rapid growth in the number of fully credentialized FN police officers in Canada. In less than eight years more than five hundred FN officers have been qualified as full-fledged constables. Current federal government policy (i.e., FNPP and RCMP policy) has specified rules that 50% of the officers in FN self-administered services must be aboriginal and that 100% of the field-level officers must be aboriginal where the FN service is not self-administered (e.g., RCMP). The pace of change and the large numbers involved (in relation to the FN population) could well be expected to tax the pool of appropriate candidates and create a tight labour market for FN constables. The RCMP has been struggling to approximate the 100% criterion and while most self-administered FN services appear to have reached the 50% criterion, the pressure they have experienced to hire locally has clearly often led to the personnel problems discussed above. The qualified, effective native police officer is at a premium in many jurisdictions. A related problem has been that the in-service training required to make up for deficiencies in recruit training and to 'professionalize' young, local FN officers is difficult to provide in these small and often geographically remote and dispersed FN police services. The special costs associated with such needed upgrading should be taken in account when all parties to the tripartite policing agreements properly celebrate their success in so

quickly and thoroughly implementing the indigenization of FN policing. Other strategies to deal with these personnel issues might well include regionalization and collaboration (e.g., exchanges of personnel), and the establishment of provincial and perhaps even national FN employment registries.

"WE SEEM TO BE THE ONLY ONES CONCERNED ABOUT PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY"

This quote was provided by an aboriginal FN police manager but it represented a sentiment common among police chiefs in this sample. The perspective held that there is much apathy and lack of civic culture in the FN communities: too few people want to be involved with the policing effort and police have to respond to social disorder situations that informal community norms should constrain. The result is that police cannot find enough volunteers for crime prevention programs (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch) and police managers have to expend much effort in mobilizing community support and in socializing residents (and sometimes their own constables) as to the impartiality and family-neutral requirements of police activity. The situation was deemed to be especially problematic and frustrating in that improving community social and economic conditions was seen as pivotal to dealing satisfactorily with the problems of crime and social disorder with which police have to contend. The FN police managers typically appreciated that the kind of policing style appropriate to these community realities was not conventional reactive policing but rather one which depended upon community development and a high sense of ownership of the policing by the residents. There was considerable consensus among the FN chiefs with respect to this theme and its dimensions; however, non-aboriginal police chiefs were more likely to stress apathy while aboriginal police chiefs were somewhat more likely to stress feuding and factionalism.

FN police managers typically considered that apathy and limited civic culture were the products of colonialism and dependency; specifically it was contended that a hand-out syndrome and a legacy of estrangement from authority were associated with family solidarity on the one hand, and, on the other hand, apathy at the community level. Such an explanation would suggest that as FNs develop more autonomy and control over their socio-economic conditions there may be a revitalization of civic culture and more responsiveness to viewing policing as a community

responsibility. For the immediate future, however, from this perspective, the police service has to exercise considerable leadership at the community level and the police managers have to be effective in mobilizing community opinion and in communicating an FN-appropriate professionalism. It may be noted, as discussed earlier, that some FN police managers are already doing just that, namely facilitating community conversations about policing and organizing volunteers in crime prevention. Some police managers suggested that this is an area where local police boards could also make substantial contributions to the policing effort. Site visits and other materials indicate that part of the challenge here may be in providing opportunities for residents to participate in policing their community. It is not clear how imaginative and inviting the FN police services have been. In a few instances where the researchers conducted modest ethnographic work there did appear to be an untapped willingness to become involved on the part of at least some residents.

“ABORIGINAL POLICING IS DIFFERENT THAN SMALL TOWN POLICING”

This theme goes to the heart of what FN policing is or may be, as a style of policing. Virtually all FN police chiefs contended that there is something distinctive about FN policing and that it differs sharply from the policing provided in comparable, small town / village, non-aboriginal communities. As noted earlier, the FN police chiefs discussed such claims of uniqueness in terms of FNs' political-economic differences, community characteristics (including expectations and demands on policing), policing resource needs, and personnel issues. The policing itself was deemed to be featuring a more 'low key approach' with less dependence on formal criminal justice processing such as arresting and formally charging, responding to all types of calls for service, negotiating the law and contending with a wide diversity of public views of policing, and being driven by a different set of values and traditions. It was not uncommon for FN police services to have mission statements that suggested a distinctive style of policing (e.g., "to provide policing appropriate to the culture and traditions of our communities").

On the surface there would seem to be much similarity between FN policing and that which is carried on in small towns and villages in the larger society where there is an independent police service. The similarities would presumably include a wide service mandate, close and intimate knowledge by officers of the community, emphasis on informal resolutions of

incidents, recruitment preference for local persons, high levels of officer turnover, limited opportunities for in-service upgrading, high levels of local 'political interference', and vulnerability of the police service and the chief of police role, The differences would presumably lie more in the political realm, namely the greater diversity of public views of the laws and policing in FNs, and the greater contested jurisdictional terrain there, among FNs and the two senior levels of government. The fiscal arrangements are quite different given that small non-aboriginal towns pay for police services directly from their taxes, a fact which could have profound implications for community involvement and civic culture. Even here though, if the trend towards a single budget envelope for FNs continues to gather momentum, these implications could be quite minor as far as differentiating FN and small town policing is concerned since similar choices and prioritization decision-making would have to be considered in both settings. It is unclear how significantly differences in cultural values and traditions would impact on the policing service. In practice such differences might be of quite limited impact given the constraints imposed on FN policing by the pervasive dominance of the conventional policing models, the requirement to focus on 'core policing competence' in the transition from provincial policing, and the considerable demand for reactive policing necessitated by high levels of serious crime in many FN communities. Moreover, the general commitment in many FN police services to 'round-the-clock' policing is resource-expensive and limits the flexibility of these services to develop alternative policing styles. Of course, too, there is the question of how profound are the differences in cultural values and relevant traditions between contemporary FNs and the larger society.

There was much divergence among the FN police managers with respect to whether aboriginal policing was more than simply enhanced conventional policing or different than prevailing styles of 'community-based policing'. In general there was a widespread view that aboriginal policing, at least in an idealized sense, was essentially community-based policing in a distinct political and, perhaps distinct cultural, context. In practice, and again for the same reasons as discussed above, there is little evidence in FN policing of much community-based policing. Both police managers, and more emphatically FN political leaders, have typically emphasized that current FN policing falls short of the style of aboriginal policing desired, and have called for more of a community-based policing approach, as well as for a more culturally

sensitive policing. It is difficult to find among FN police services the kinds of external (e.g., storefronts, newsletters, volunteer programs) and internal (e.g., civilian management, quality circles) police service characteristics that are usually associated with community-based policing. Certainly, specialized formal programs for school liaison, victim assistance, problem solving related to community issues (such as mental health crisis intervention), and even regular participation by community advisory committees do not appear to be commonplace. There is usually not the range of formal community-based policing or restorative justice programming that one finds among the RCMP detachments, though there may be significant activity done along those lines on an informal basis. Nor is there much equivalence to the Japanese style of a front-line response policing which emphasizes mediation and peacekeeping and avoidance of the formal justice process; the Japanese system even at the front-end is quite formalized and all parties understand that 'in the wings' is a quite stringent, punitive, case processing system.

Clearly many FN self-administered police services are engaging in community activities such as pow wows and sweats, consulting with elders, visiting schools, holding bike rodeos and utilizing some common police programs (e.g., police cards). Moreover, the development of restorative justice programs is significant in FN communities and will increasingly provide opportunities for collaboration with local social agencies and challenges for problem solving. Clearly, too, most FN police chiefs and political leaders think that there should be a distinctive aboriginal police style (or styles). Advocating and realizing distinctive policing styles has political value as well, reinforcing the argument, rooted in treaty rights, that FN communities need to have their own systems of policing and justice. In the latter sense, the idea of a distinctive FN policing may be seen as an important mobilizing myth. Just as clearly, though, realizing a distinctive style of policing in any substantial fashion would appear to require the development of a new professionalism (see below), special officer training, more resources, and, not least, some hard thinking and decision-making about the kinds of policing services that can and should be given priority.

“ABORIGINAL POLICING AND POLITICS ARE INSEPARABLE”

There is little doubt that FN policing is quite wrapped up in political symbolization. Policing and justice, it has been argued, are the jewels in the crown of self-government. National

FN political leaders have stressed that policing issues have to be seen in the context of self-government issues, and even government officials have linked policing and politics, commenting that policing is the easiest way to facilitate native self-government in the justice field. There is a major political agenda in FN policing which is readily manifested in the contested terrain of jurisdiction, the uncertainty as to whether the criminal code should apply without qualification to FNs, and, more commonly, in the ambivalence in FNs concerning the relevance and legitimacy of provincial statutes. This political agenda certainly makes FN policing different in principle than policing in other Canadian communities. It may be noted too that the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Policing (1996) has contended that not only should FN policing reflect cultural differences but also that the linkage between politics and policing might well be different, less hands-off and arms-length and less buffered by an independent police board, than is the norm in non-aboriginal communities.

Perhaps the major difference this research uncovered between aboriginal and non-aboriginal chiefs of police focused around the issue of policing and politics. The non-aboriginal FN chiefs of police often seemed perplexed by this 'inseparability' of policing and politics, and appeared to simply want to wish it away (e.g., "we have to deal with the province so let's get on with it") or discounted it as simply local-level political interference. The FN chiefs of police, in particular the leaders in this grouping, were more inclined to link policing concerns to the big picture of FN treaty rights and self-government. They appeared more aware too of the divergence and conflict at the community level concerning politics and policing. Many FN communities, as was quite evident in the on-site visits and where the researchers had more sustained contact, are very active political; frequently there are many candidates for few council positions, and unraveling the nuances of politics-police perspectives among traditionalists, 'mainstream' band leaders, warriors and others can be quite challenging. While aboriginal FN chiefs may be more sensitive to these symbolism and positions, they seemed ambivalent about their implications. Even the leaders among these FN chiefs of police proudly emphasized their achievement in effecting a non-political, professional policing and both they, and the larger group of aboriginal police managers interviewed in 1995/96, reported that a major job stressor for them has been the local politics. It is a major task to develop a new professionalism which can incorporate different values and political models of policing. In the United States the

experience in "Indian Policing" has been for the aboriginal police there to be appreciative of different values and traditions but not view them as dimensions or facets to be incorporated in their rather conventional professional policing orientations. Exerting professionalism is perhaps a basic occupational interest of officers and clearly enables them to avoid the extremes of politically-sensitive police response; it is unclear how open professionalism is to non-mainstream definitions of policing issues.

FNPS: LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

CURRENT STATUS OF FN POLICING

It is clear that there has been a major change in FN policing since the announcement of the First Nations Policing Policy (FNPP) in 1991. Extensive indigenization has occurred; police services have increasingly become formally self-administered in the FN communities, and policing services, on the whole, whether self-administered or otherwise, have become much more responsive and accountable to their FN communities. There are five criteria one might utilize to evaluate these developments. Is the policing in FN communities more efficient, effective and equitable because of these changes? Is the policing more profoundly directed by FN people, and does it reflect the cultural diversity and social needs of the specific communities served? This report cannot provide an adequate answer to these evaluative questions but a few observations can be made.

FN policing has clearly entailed more resources than policing generally requires in Canada and significantly more than elsewhere in Canada for comparably small towns and rural areas. Given its relatively high per capita cost, low population per officer ratio and modest level of criminal code incidents per officer, the 'average' FN police service would appear less efficient (see, for example, *Crime and Police Resources in Canadian Municipalities*, 1998). At the same time, as noted above in the views of FN police managers, efficiency measures should be sensitive to the comparably high levels of person offences in FN communities, to the legacy of colonialism reflected in community feuding and extensive dependence on the police for social order (see, for example, the comparably high levels of public mischief and related social order problems in FN communities), and the perhaps inevitable start-up problems in newly established police services staffed by young inexperienced officers, where there is great pressure to hire locally if possible. It should also be noted that there is significant diversity among the FN police services even on conventional efficiency measures; for example, the more established Six Nations police service compares well on all such measures with police services in other small urban and rural areas, a good omen for those FN services that have followed in its pioneering wake. Effectiveness, in conventional terms, would focus on issues such as response time and

clearance rates. Little information is available on actual response times. In a few specific cases known to the researchers, there has been considerable community criticism of response time, but the criticism seems to have been based more on expectations that FN community residents have established about the FN service, than on comparison with the response times provided by the previous policing service. Reports from the Centre for Justice Statistics indicate that clearance rates vary substantially among FN police services and that the well-recognized services such as Six Nations, Akwesasne and Kitigan Zibi have comparably high clearance rates.

In light of the high level of local recruiting by FN police services and the historical tendency, under close and extensive external direction by Indian Affairs, for kinship ties to dominate community life, it could be expected that issues of equity would loom large. One notable trouble spot or flashpoint for equity (and effectiveness) concerns interpersonal violence and family violence. Perhaps, partly because they may have been more likely to have married into the community and partly because they may be more likely to envisage non-retaliatory solutions to problems, women appear to highlight problems of feuding in the community and inadequate police response to their victimization. Little systematic and comprehensive data are available on equity issues but one might expect that as the First Nation exercises more and more autonomy, community 'civic' culture would be rejuvenated and 'familism' discounted. Increasing professionalism among officers and public education about policing provided by the local police boards, could also effect greater equity, both in actuality and in the eyes of community members.

There have been some criticisms of FN policing raised in FN communities concerning effectiveness in conventional policing tasks (enforcement, investigation), and about family biases in carrying out police tasks. Still, community members, though not reluctant to criticize, largely appear to appreciate that the service has become more responsive to the community, and that, blemishes and all, it is their own. The major complaint from FN community leaders and residents, as seen in audits and other materials, has been that it has fallen short in providing community-based, problem-solving policing which is culturally sensitive. Indeed, a case can be made that even conventional crime prevention programming (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch, school liaison, youth bike rodeos) is often not provided by FN policing services. Certainly there is little evidence of any distinctive FN policing style, though there are hints of an emerging style featuring highly informal, interactionally-intense, community-oriented policing (i.e., less formal

than the Japanese koban system of policing but more involved in everyday community interaction than the typical Canadian policing).

To a significant extent, the FN chiefs of police appear to acknowledge these shortfalls, especially the general claim that a policing style has yet to be effected which reflects the cultural diversity of FN communities and attends well to their particular social needs. The police managers have contended that personnel and other resources under present policing arrangements are simply inadequate for this objective. This viewpoint, highlighting inadequate resources, appears to be commonplace, too, among FN political leaders and community residents. Connected to this broad theme is the issue of autonomy and direction. While there is little question that FN communities are exercising greater control over the policing function, there is significant pressure on the FN self-administered police services to be more autonomous and provide the full range of conventional policing tasks, as well as exhibiting the above style and distinctiveness. Neither autonomy nor distinctiveness has been clearly operationalized and both are quite problematic in terms of implementation. The trend in Canada and elsewhere is for increasingly stringent governmental guidelines defining what an autonomous police service must be capable of, guidelines which in effect are making smaller police services unacceptable and obsolete. Moreover, the evidence is strong (e.g., Barker's, *Policing in Indian Country, USA*, 1998) that conventional, professional police training, in combination with routine collaboration among police services, sharply limits the possibility of pluralism in policing style.

It may be possible to achieve more FN direction over policing, and a policing service more attuned to FN realities and wishes, without profound change in existing arrangements. Indeed, there is some evidence that non-self-administered policing (e.g., the R.C.M.P. via community tripartite agreements or CTAs) are increasingly providing, on paper at least, a challenging alternative by involving advisory groups, and elders, and introducing restorative justice practices. How can the self-administered police services, which many FNs want to have, meet that challenge? Certainly, more appropriate training for constables and for police managers serving FN communities, especially at the post-cadet level, may be one way to deal with the perceived shortfalls. Officers have had little training in anything other than conventional policing approaches. Police managers could improve their involvement of community through the use of volunteers and the establishment of advisory groups (both of which seem uncommon in FN

communities). Clearly, too, there is significant variation across Canada in the resources, training and community and cultural programming available to FN self-administered police services, an indication of the possibilities of change. Regionalization has often been advanced as a strategy for effecting a more autonomous, self-administered FN policing service. There are considerable problems of generating effective regionalized policing services under current political conditions where bands have FN status (see Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996); interestingly, as noted above, few FN police managers considered regionalization to be a solution to their current shortfalls. Other strategies have been suggested throughout the report, including networking and collaboration with other police services, and changing expectations of community residents. It does appear, however, that there is a fundamental conundrum of vision and resources that requires a reconsideration of the kind of policing that FN stand-alone services should be striving to provide their communities.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR FN POLICING

It is not uncommon for researchers and policy makers to suggest that FN policing should follow a "two path" approach, providing a combination of conventional law enforcement and community justice peacekeeping. Many reasons are advanced for this position. It can be argued for example that the conventional approach emphasizes arrests and punishment which may be considered unsuitable and/or ineffective in relation to the problems that occur in FN communities and with which police must contend. Claims have also been advanced that FN residents want a different kind of policing, one more consistent with their cultural traditions (whether extant or to be revitalized) and social characteristics (e.g., homogeneity, communitarianism). Few claim-makers or advocates of this dualistic position would throw out the conventional law enforcement dimension since it is clearly seen that crime control and professionalism are also emphasized by residents and that officers appreciate the mandate and authority associated with conventional professionalism. The major question consequently becomes how can this dualism be implemented, with appropriate autonomy and control, in small communities where the resources available for policing already are, arguably, relatively generous. It could be argued that one solution would be to curtail expectations about FN police services' exercising full-service conventional policing capacity, and to invest additional resources

(i.e., officers, officers' time and training) in the peacekeeping dimension. In this model, self-administered FN police services would provide quality, first-response conventional policing, leaving serious investigations, specialized services and the like to the provincial services. Collaboration and liaison would ensure local policing input in these activities and the local police could concentrate on forging a more community and culturally-oriented peacekeeping. Such a model has been common in the United States and has some parallels in small towns in North America. It is not second-rate policing but rather it is policing that self-consciously uses its resources to best advantage in light of its multiple objectives.

The federal government, through the Aboriginal Policing Directorate (APD), has given priority to getting the infrastructure for FN policing in place and securing tripartite policing agreements for FN communities. As noted earlier, in these regards there has been much success. Other facets of the FNPP emphasized effecting policing services that were significantly directed by FNs and responded to the cultural differences and special needs of the FN communities. It is in these latter regards that APD may have to re-examine the FNPP and recast its policies in order to achieve the more elusive objectives. Such reconsideration would have to take into account matters such as what resources are required for enabling FN self-administered services to achieve possible diversity and distinctiveness, as well as what "comparable levels of service" means in an era where provincial guidelines for adequate policing have become so demanding.

But such policy deliberations cannot be carried out in a vacuum. FN communities and political leaders may have to reconsider the resource implications of trying to achieve a round-the-clock, highly visible, conventional policing which is also proactive, culturally sensitive and community-based. Under existing funding arrangements, where the police budget is separately provided through tripartite negotiations, FNs do not have to balance off policing against other competing services but, quite rationally, can focus on seeing policing issues in terms of demanding more resources. It would appear that there has to be, in other words, on the part of government and FNs, much more collaboration in setting forth a more focused, directed policing model or models that can be reasonably implemented with committed resources that are not profoundly inconsistent with general Canadian patterns. Perhaps the time is now ripe for the concerned parties to discuss, reach some consensus on, and plan for the vision(s) they have of FN policing. We have suggested for discussion a two path model where FN police services

would provide basic first-response, conventional policing and focus their special attention on the development of peacekeeping services. Clearly there may be a variety of models that could be developed since the FNs exhibit considerable diversity. It would seem appropriate now that the infrastructure has been put in place, and as a new millennium is dawning, for a major national conference to be convened to focus on these issues.

There are several important research issues that this study has suggested. From a policy perspective, important research topics would deal with personnel issues (e.g., recruitment, officer stress and turnover), regionalization and networking, special training needs for constables and managers, information and monitoring requirements for the small FN police services, and examination of how the FN police services deal with jurisdictional conflicts and ambiguities among FNs and levels of the larger Canadian government. There is clearly, too, a need for some in-depth case studies of FN self-administered police services; fortunately, as noted in this report, there are a number of police services which could be selected for their significance in the informing the future direction of FN self-administered policing. From an academic perspective there are some very interesting research topics that merit attention. These would focus on the role of the FN police chiefs as socialization agents and jurisdictional negotiators with respect to community and external authorities, the many facets and strategic implications of professionalism in FN policing, the diversity of social constructions of aboriginal policing as an idealized system of policing, the significance of tradition and diverse cultural values for professional FN policing, and the factors facilitating and constraining the development of pluralism in policing styles among FNs in Canada.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Letters to the Chiefs of Police

Appendix B - First Nations' Police Services: Managers' Survey

APPENDIX A
LETTERS TO THE CHIEFS OF POLICE

Dear Chief of Police,

This letter is to bring you up-to-date with respect to the research on aboriginal policing that we have conducting since 1994 with funding from the Aboriginal Policing Directorate. The research has had the support not only of the Directorate but also of all organizations involved in policing in Canada's aboriginal communities, whether self-administered, RCMP, OPP, SQ or band constables. In particular we have strove to maintain good communications with the FNCPA, and to that end we consulted extensively with its members on the design of the first phase and presented its results at the 1996 FNCPA annual meeting in Ottawa. The first phase research was an extensive survey of front-line officers policing in Canada's aboriginal communities. Overall some 430 officers, about 60% of all those persons who were eligible and available, completed the survey. The results were written up in monograph, First Nations Police Officers Survey, published last year. While this document, we understood, was sent by the Directorate to all policing services we are sending one to you in a separate enclosure in order to be sure that you have a copy.

The second phase of the research is under way. It involves exploring issues of management and governance and we will be contacting chiefs of police and, perhaps later, some members of the pertinent police boards. The emphasis will be on the perspectives of the chiefs of police. In this second phase the focus is on the self-administered or stand-alone native policing service. Among the issues to be dealt with are: the special resource needs of self-administered services, special opportunities and problems for aboriginal policing, relations with collaborating policing services, management styles and priorities, the community and nation context for policing, and conventional concerns such as deployment, caseload management, training and so forth. As in the first phase we do not intend to proceed with any interviews or surveys until we have made sure that this work will be meaningful for the participants; accordingly we are contacting persons such as yourself to get input on what is important to look at and how it should be explored. Our tentative plan is to conduct a brief pre-test with a few police services and then to carry out a national survey of self-administered police services, and to supplement the survey with some in-depth field interviews.

Once again then we ask for your support and collaboration. We will be sending you a copy of the survey and subsequently phoning you to elaborate upon the survey material and to get your suggestions and general feedback. Of course, as before, we guarantee the anonymity

and confidentiality of all the information. No one, including the government, will have access to the individual information. No specific individual or specific police service will be cited in any report (if for any reason this becomes impractical we would seek explicit written permission and if that is not forthcoming then we would simply drop that aspect of the report). We would also appreciate receiving any fact sheets or evaluations / audits that might be available for your policing service, to supplement the material we have obtained from the Aboriginal Policing Directorate. While we will definitely be contacting you, should you wish to contact us, our phone number is 902-494-6593 and our fax is 902-494-2897. The self-administered aboriginal policing service is the future and it seems necessary to move ahead in sustaining and enhancing what has been accomplished to date, something that may well require a major new initiative in training and programming. We are delighted to be participating in this small way in that development.

In sum then we ask you to contact us by mail, phone or fax if there are specific concerns you think should be dealt with in this national survey of self-administered police services. Secondly we hope you can forward to us any available fact sheets or reports on your police service. Thirdly, we will definitely be getting in touch with you by mail and/or phone once the initial consultations have been completed, Finally, as before, any information will be treated with respect; reports will be sent to you and we would welcome any opportunity to discuss with you the research findings and recommendations prior to and after the final draft is available.

Thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Don Clairmont
Director, Atlantic Institute of Criminology
Dalhousie University, Halifax Nova Scotia

Dear Chief

Enclosed you will find the 'Aboriginal Police Services: Managers' Survey' to which I referred in a letter sent to you in late October 1997. In that letter I indicated that Professor Chris Murphy and myself were engaged in a follow-up study to the one we conducted in 1994/95 on front-line policing in Canada's aboriginal communities. The focus in this second phase is on the perspectives of the police managers, that is the chiefs of police in Canada's aboriginal communities. The main themes we are exploring include organizational issues, management issues, resource issues, and community issues. We are particularly interested in trying to get an understanding of the special characteristics and concerns of aboriginal policing as well as 'lessons learned' and 'best practices' among the self-administered (stand-alone) services.

This research is funded by the Aboriginal Policing Directorate, Solicitor General Canada. Discussions have taken place with them and with the First Nations' Chiefs of Police Association and a few other chiefs of police. We have profited from these discussions and I hope you will find the enclosed survey interesting and to-the-point. As in our first survey, Professor Murphy and I assure you of complete confidentiality and anonymity. Our track record over twenty-five years of policing research in Canada underlines that guarantee. As before we will ensure that you will see the results of this work and have an opportunity to comment on our analyses. It is our hope that the research will contribute to the discussions and the agenda-setting that you, your colleagues and other stakeholders will engage in.

It is our hope that we could receive responses to this survey within a few weeks and so have a draft report available in mid-winter. In addition to the survey we would welcome any fact sheets or other reports available on your service. It is our hope too that we might be able to carry-out some site visits where the police service is willing. Should you wish to contact either Professor Murphy or myself our phone number is 902-494-6593 and our fax is 902-494-2897; our e-mail address is clair@is.dal.ca.

Thanks for your consideration. Since it is now December 29, let me take this opportunity to wish you and yours a happy and rewarding 1998.

Sincerely,

Don Clairmont
Director, Atlantic Institute of Criminology
Dalhousie University, Halifax Nova Scotia

Dear Chief of Police

I hope that you have received the survey package that I sent you two weeks ago. So far the responses have been coming in and Chris Murphy and I hope that those outstanding will soon follow. The number of self-administered First Nation police services is small so we are eager to obtain as complete a return as possible. I appreciate that time is scarce but I hope you can find the time to complete the survey. If you have not received the survey package or if it is lost or if you have any questions, please contact either Professor Murphy or myself. Our phone number is 902-494-6593, our fax is 902-494-2897 and our e-mail address is clair@is.dal.ca

Sorry to be such a pest but I hope that the study in the end will be useful for you and will bear positive results for all FN police services.

Sincerely,

Don Clairmont

APPENDIX B

FIRST NATIONS' POLICE SERVICES: MANAGERS' SURVEY

PREPARED BY

THE ATLANTIC INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

PROFESSORS DON CLAIRMONT AND CHRIS MURPHY

DECEMBER 1997

THE POLICE MANAGERS' SURVEY

INTRODUCTION: In addition to this survey we would appreciate your sending us any available background information on your police service (e.g., organizational chart, special programs).

ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES

1. Please describe your organization by filling in the blanks below:

- a) how many officers? ___ full time ___ part time
- b) how many officers above the constable rank? ___
- c) # officers in specialist, non-managerial roles? ___
(i.e. identification, crime prevention, major crimes, training)
- d) how many civilian staff? ___ full time ___ part time
- e) how many different native language groups or different tribal cultures are served by your organization? ___
- f) how many different geographical communities are served by your organization? ___

2. Which of the following describes your police service: **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) written departmental manual (SOPs)? ___ yes ___ no
- b) job descriptions for most police roles? ___ yes ___ no
- c) annual performance evaluations? ___ yes ___ no
- d) secure storage for evidence? ___ yes ___ no
- e) a protocol with the provincial police? ___ yes ___ no
- f) resource agreements with other services? ___ yes ___ no
(i.e., sharing and/or purchasing agreements)
- g) adequate lockup facilities? ___ yes ___ no
- h) adequate interview facilities? ___ yes ___ no
- i) adequate automotive fleet? ___ yes ___ no

3. Does your police service have to cope with: **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) great geographical distances? ___ yes ___ no
- b) high levels of violent crime? ___ yes ___ no
- c) high levels of social disorder? ___ yes ___ no
- d) group feuding? ___ yes ___ no
- e) high poverty and underemployment? ___ yes ___ no
- f) high community expectations for service? ___ yes ___ no
- g) difficulty getting or keeping officers? ___ yes ___ no
- h) inadequate protocols with other police? ___ yes ___ no

4. Is there a special organizational problem/ need that is most challenging for the service?

5. Is there a particular organizational feature of your service that you are especially proud of?

PLEASE DESCRIBE

MANAGEMENT ISSUES

1. To what extent do the following areas of management responsibility pose significant challenge for you at this time? **PLEASE CHECK AS APPROPRIATE, EACH OPTION**

- a) financial management? much some little
- b) employee relations? much some little
- c) dealing with local boards? much some little
- d) dealing with local leaders? much some little
- e) dealing with public complaints? much some little
- f) meeting demands for service? much some little
- g) dealing with the courts? much some little
- h) relations with local agencies? much some little
- I) relations with other police? much some little

OTHER?:

2. How would you describe your management style? **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) emphasize informal solutions? yes no
- b) emphasize professionalism? yes no
- c) emphasize a peacekeeping approach? yes no
- d) hold frequent departmental meetings? yes no
- e) work closely with local agencies? yes no
- f) participate much in field-level policing? yes no

OTHER?:

3. Do managers of First Nations' police services have different management challenges than those in similar-sized non-aboriginal communities? **PLEASE ELABORATE**

4. Are special management skills and styles required to be an effective police chief in First Nation communities? **PLEASE ELABORATE**

5. Is there a particular management lesson you have learned as a result of being the chief of police in your organization?

6. Is there a particular 'best practice' or significant accomplishment that you are proud of doing while chief?

RESOURCE ISSUES

1. Would you describe your service's resource situation as: **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) adequate for conventional policing tasks? yes no
- b) adequate for doing community policing? yes no
- c) adequate with respect to personnel size? yes no
- d) adequate in facilities? yes no
- e) needs are understood by local leaders? yes no
- f) needs are appreciated by the federal gov't? yes no

OTHER?:

2. Do you think that aboriginal self-administered services require more resources than similar-sized, non-aboriginal police services for any of the following reasons? **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) start-up problems and costs are greater? yes no don't know
- b) community expectations are different? yes no don't know
- c) needs for self-administration differ? yes no don't know
- d) the style of policing is different? yes no don't know
- e) community conditions are different? yes no don't know

OTHER?:

3. Briefly, what are your most pressing resource needs? **PLEASE DESCRIBE**

4. Has there been any special lesson learned with respect to resources since you have been chief of police? **PLEASE DESCRIBE**

5. Has your service had any special accomplishment with respect to resources that you are especially proud of?

6. What, if any, strategies can be pursued in order to improve your service's resource situation?

PLEASE DESCRIBE

6B. Are the following, realistic resource strategies for your service?

- a) more collaboration with other police? yes no

- b) more amalgamation or regionalization? yes no
- c) more development of other local agencies? yes no
- d) reducing expectations/demands for service? yes no

COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL ISSUES

1. What do you consider to be the two most important policing problems your service has to deal with? **PLEASE DESCRIBE**

a) _____

b) _____

2. In what significant ways are community members or agencies currently involved in your policing effort?

—

3. What factors, if any, limit the usefulness of these possible community partnerships for your service? **PLEASE DESCRIBE**

4. Are any of the following, reasons for less community partnership than you would want?

PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION

- a) too few people want to get involved? yes no
- b) community agencies are limited? yes no
- c) police would have to take leadership? yes no
- d) too many divisions or factions exists? yes no
- e) community problems are too profound? yes no

5. To what extent does your police board assist the service in any of the following ways?

PLEASE CHECK AS APPROPRIATE EACH OPTION

- a) help develop your priorities? much some little
- b) assist in personnel problems? much some little
- c) provide frequent wise counsel? much some little
- d) buffer the service from politics? much some little

- e) explain police issues to others? ___ much ___ some ___ little
f) negotiate well resource issues? ___ much ___ some ___ little

OTHER?:

6. What are the two major areas where the police board might change or develop further in order to be of greater help to the police service?

a) _____

b) _____

7. Policing is always enmeshed in politics and diverse value conflicts, especially perhaps in smaller communities. In your view is aboriginal policing any different? **PLEASE ELABORATE**

ISSUES IN FIRST NATIONS' POLICING

1. In what ways, if any, does your police service operate differently than those in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities? **PLEASE ELABORATE**

—

—

2. Are there any particular aboriginal police programs or approaches that you would want to develop if you could?

—

—

3. Do you think that policing in aboriginal communities differs from policing in similar-sized, non-aboriginal communities in any of the following ways? **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) more stress and turnover among officers? yes no don't know
- b) a wider police mandate held by the public? yes no don't know
- c) more emphasis on restorative justice? yes no don't know
- d) more diversity in public views of policing? yes no don't know

OTHER?:

4. What do you think are the two main ways in which conventional police management training falls short for aboriginal police managers?

a) _____

b) _____

5. Would you agree with any of the following characterizations of First Nation policing in general? **PLEASE CHECK EACH OPTION**

- a) it is really just community-based policing? yes no
- b) it is regular policing, but more of it? yes no
- c) it operates on different principles? yes no
- d) it's too early to grasp its unique features? yes no

OTHER?:

6. Are there any new strategic directions that you think would benefit aboriginal police services, in general, over the next few years? **PLEASE ELABORATE**

—

—

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

1. Year of Birth _____

2. Ethnocultural Identity (**PLEASE CHECK**)

Aboriginal _____ Non-aboriginal _____

3. Level of Formal Education (**PLEASE CHECK**)

Less than high school diploma _____
High school diploma or equivalency _____
Some university or community college _____
University degree _____

4. Upbringing (**PLEASE CHECK APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES**)

a) raised by an aboriginal family? _____yes ___no
b) raised in a mainly aboriginal community? ___yes ___no

5. # of years in police work? _____

6. # of years as chief in this service? _____

7. In your view what special skills do you bring to the job of chief of police?

PLEASE ELABORATE

—

8. What formal management-oriented training have you taken?

—

9. What formal management courses would you like to take?

—

10. In which two main ways has your experience as chief of police here lived up to or exceeded your initial hopes and expectations?

—

—

11. In which two main ways has your experience as chief of police here not lived up to your initial hopes and expectations?

—

—

**WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO TALK WITH US FURTHER ABOUT
SOME OF THE ISSUES RAISED IN THIS BRIEF SURVEY?**

YES **NO**

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