

POLICING AT INDIAN BROOK, 1997 - 2000

AN EVALUATION OF ITS EFFECTIVENESS: RESEARCH DESIGN REPORT

PREPARED FOR THE ABORIGINAL POLICING DIRECTORATE,

NOVA SCOTIA JUSTICE, INDIAN BROOK FIRST NATION

AND THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

Throughout the 1990s these earlier developments were elaborated upon. In 1992 the Solicitor General Canada, which assumed federal responsibility for aboriginal policing from DIAND, inaugurated its First Nations Policing Policy (FNPP). There were some twelve principles that constituted the FNPP but its essential core focused on policing comparable to that provided in the non-native society, policing that would be responsive to the special circumstances, needs and cultural ways of native communities, and effective ownership and control over policing by the First Nations. There was an emphasis on negotiating tripartite agreements

(i.e., federal, provincial and first nation) whether spawning self-administered FN police services or agreements with the existing provincial police service (i.e., community tripartite agreements or CTAs). Related policies and guidelines concerning indigenization and governance were also developed. By 2000 almost three quarters of the eligible native population was being served under a tripartite policing agreement and the large proportion of police officers working in FN communities were themselves native persons. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), launched by the federal government in the early 1990s, emphasized further the need for - and FN right to - greater FN ownership and control over its policing and also the importance of 'placing' policing in the context of the core areas for aboriginal culture and identity (RCAP, 1996). Both RCAP and the FNPP identified the community-based policing philosophy, and later the restorative justice/conferencing approach, as being in harmony with a policing service rooted in aboriginal values and identity.

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

It is indeed an appropriate time to evaluate what has been put into place and assess future possibilities. There have been large Canada-wide studies of policing in First Nation communities (Murphy and Clairmont, 1996; Clairmont and Murphy, 2000) so contextual comparative information is readily available. Also assessment of policing at Indian Brook can be "placed" in community context well since a number of research reports are available on the community, dealing with a variety of justice issues, including policing (see bibliographical citations).

FRAMEWORK FOR THE EVALUATION

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

The central objective of this evaluation has been defined as "to conduct an assessment of the Shubenacadie / Indian Brook RCMP-FNCPS Agreement in order to provide the Shubenacadie First Nation, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Province of Nova Scotia and the Department of the Solicitor General of Canada with an evaluation of the effectiveness of the policing services provided to Indian Brook from 1997 to the present".

The assessment is expected not only or even primarily to be "looking backwards", gathering and assessing views and experiences as regards successes and problems, but also to consider priorities and suggestions for improvements in the police service. A third major objective is to incorporate as fully as possible the views of all parties, including chief and council, police advisory committee members, social service agencies, members of 'vulnerable' groupings, and of course the police officers and the service itself. A fourth major objective is to place these views, concerns, priorities and suggestions in context by gathering appropriate secondary and statistical data and by making salient historical and comparative analyses.

MAJOR EVALUATION THEMES

As specified in the contract, the main theme for this evaluation is to ascertain, from all the parties (e.g., chief and council, community, service agencies, police officers), "views on the past performance of the police service as well as on how things could be improved for the future". Other themes follow from the observations drawn above concerning major issues for effectiveness in First Nations policing and from the evaluation objectives. Certainly, an additional theme will be to assess the police service, in fact and in perception, according to the standard six police functions delineated above. Another theme will be to evaluate the police performance and future possibilities in terms of the principles laid out in the First Nations Policing Policy (Solicitor General Canada), essentially, comparability to police service in the larger society, First Nation ownership and partnership, and sensitivity to areas of cultural distinctiveness. The themes advanced by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, for effective policing in aboriginal communities, overlap much with FNPP principles but direct special attention to "compatibility with aboriginal cultural features and preferences" especially in core areas "where aboriginal cultural ways and identity are at stake". An evaluation theme emphasized in the White Paper (Nova Scotia Policing Services) is governance mechanisms.

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

EVALUATION STRATEGIES

There are several strategies which will be featured in this evaluation. First, a variety of specific evaluation methods will be employed including in-depth interviews with key informants, one-on-one interviewing of community residents via a standardized

questionnaire, the gathering of secondary (statistical) data, observation and ride-alongs with RCMP officers, and focus group discussions with special community subgroups. Secondly, there will be a placing of Indian Brook patterns in historical and comparative context. Here the evaluator will draw upon previous research on crime and policing issues in Indian Brook, and on a variety of sources (RCMP data, special studies) for contextual analyses. Thirdly, local area residents will be hired and trained to assist in the interviewing and in the organization of the focus groups.

SPECIFIC EVALUATION METHODS

THE COMMUNITY SURVEY

The views of the community at large will be obtained through a standardized questionnaire which will be administered in a one-on-one situation by local persons trained by the evaluator for this task. The questionnaire will be largely of a "fixed format type" where respondents will be asked to select responses which best suit their views; however, there will also be lots of opportunity for respondents to elaborate on their views and to suggest other issues and options. The questionnaire that will be employed has been, at its core, tried and successfully utilized by the evaluator in other First Nations research. It also is quite comparable to the instrument used in the 1991-92 assessment of policing in Indian Brook carried out by the evaluator for the Tripartite Forum so this evaluation can yield insights on more long-term trends.

The questionnaire will be employed with a large sample of Indian Brook adults (i.e., nineteen years of age or more). Approximately 130 adults will constitute the sample and every effort will be made to ensure that this large sample is representative of the adult Indian Brook population. The themes of evaluation examined through the questionnaire include perceptions of crime and safety in the community, perceptions of major community problems and how they are being dealt with, contact and experience with police, assessment of policing in terms of the conventional six police functions, and overall policing adequacies and inadequacies, perceptions of police-community relations, priorities and suggested improvements for the policing service, views concerning policing and new justice initiatives, and views regarding participating and volunteering in the policing effort. In addition, there will be certain socio-demographic data gathered (e.g., age, gender) in order better appreciate the views and needs of different community groupings.

SECONDARY DATA ANALYSES

This evaluation will collect data on calls for service, crime and other offences, clearance rates, quasi-criminal band bylaw enforcement, public complaints, and extent of other police programming such as community justice forums and crime prevention/public education activities. The data will be analysed in comparative and historical context wherever possible.

The evaluator has extensive historical data both on Indian Brook policing and on policing elsewhere in FN and other policing contexts. Similar data also will be gathered where possible on policing in the larger Shubenacadie area via the RCMP. Measures will be developed such as calls per member per month, files per member, major crime ratios and police-population ratio, and compared over time and in relation to other jurisdictions. It is anticipated that most of these data will be obtained via the RCMP but comparative data are available from the Centre for Justice Statistics and accessible special studies, including those previously carried out by the evaluator.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

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

In addition, specific areas will be probed with the different groupings. With respect to chief and council, areas of governance, resources, views concerning the types of police officers and types of policing emphases desired, and FN input in shaping the objectives and priorities of policing will be important; here, for example, it will be important to discuss specifics such as the reporting mechanisms in place, visions of policing and directional statements, and the policing of quasi-criminal band bylaws. With respect to the police advisory committee, issues of input, visions of policing, public complaints, knowledge of policing tasks, programs and resources, and actual participation in the policing effort will be discussed. With respect to community service agencies such as NADACA, MFS, Native Women, Indian Brook Fire Service, specific areas, supplementing the core areas, will include experiences and views concerning partnerships and interagency collaboration, and awareness and involvement in RCMP programs such as community-based policing programs and community justice forums.

In-depth interviews typically have a loose structure and it is expected that the evaluator will learn about other themes and issues in the course of this interaction that may be very important in assessment of policing.

FOCUS GROUPS

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

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

Interviews will be conducted with all detachment officers as well as a small number of officers at "H" division headquarters who are involved in support roles vis-a-vis RCMP aboriginal policing and the regional commander (i.e., at present, located in Antigonish). In addition to the core areas noted above, the themes for discussion will include (a) special policing opportunities and challenges at Indian Brook, (b) the appropriateness of the training and preparation received, (c) adequacy of police resources, (d) experiences in implementing community-based policing, and special RCMP programs such as community justice forums, (e) partnering and obtaining community input at all levels (i.e., chief and council, police advisory committee, interagency, residents' cooperation with and volunteering with the police service), (f) ideas about and suggestions for improvement in the policing effort at Indian Brook. In addition to the interviews there will be some ride-alongs with the officers to better appreciate the experience of policing in the community.

WORK PLAN TIMETABLE

In effecting this assessment or evaluation of the effectiveness of policing at Indian Brook, there will be several distinct stages, as follows:

1. Development and dissemination to the four stakeholder organizations of the evaluation research design by the end of March 2000

2. Obtaining feedback from the four major parties and pre-testing all evaluation instruments by the middle of April 2000.
3. Discussions with Chief Maloney and Band Manager Knockwood and with Sergeant McLoed (OIC, Indian Brook detachment) concerning specific local evaluation strategies and requirements (e.g., suggestions for contacting people and arranging focus groups, list of councillors and social service agency leaders, accessing RCMP statistical data, arranging for ride-alongs and so forth) by the 20th April 2000.
4. Interim progress report to the four stakeholder organizations by May 12, 2000.
5. First draft of the final evaluation report by to the four stakeholder organizations by June 9, 2000.
6. Final report, in both hard copy and 3.5 disk in Microsoft Word format, disseminated to the four stakeholder organizations by the end of June 2000.

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APPENDIX

INDIAN BROOK COMMUNITY SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

POLICING AT INDIAN BROOK: COMMUNITY NEEDS ASSESSMENT SURVEY

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

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

If One, Proceed To Interview

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

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

Basic Codes: Phone number

ID of respondent

Sex of respondent

Interviewer

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

1. How long have you lived in this community?
_____ years _____ months (if < 1 year)

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

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

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

The number? _____#

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

high
average
low
d.k.

Why do you say that?

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

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

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

increased
same
decreased
d.k.

Why do you say that?

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

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

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

not at all
some
much
very much
d.k.

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

Not at all	Very Much	Much	Some
-------------------	------------------	-------------	-------------

being attacked or molested

having your house or
 property broken into
 having your car or other
 property vandalized

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

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

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

Problem	D.K.	Big Problem	Somewhat	No
		Problem		
homes or other places		1	2	3
				4
being broken into				
wife battering		1	2	3
				4
child abuse			1	
				2
				3
				4

vandalism or
property destruction

1

2

3

4

Problem	D.K.	Big Problem	Somewhat	No
		Problem		

poor maintenance of
property, broken
windows, etc.

1

2

3

4

feuding among
different families or
groups

1

2

3

4

noisy parties, quarrels,
loud music

1

2

3

4

drug/alcohol abuse

1

2

3

4

anything else you would consider a big problem?

SPECIFY:

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

Yes _____ (Continue with 12B)
No _____ (Go to Question 13)

12B. Did you report it to the police?

Yes
No

If not, why not?

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

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

	Usually Not Reported	Usually is Reported	D.K. Reported
wife battering	_____		
child abuse	_____		_____

petty theft _____

vandalism _____

bootlegging _____

substance abuse _____

underage drinking _____

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

_____ **Often** _____ **Sometimes** _____ **Rarely**
D.K.

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

Very **Somewhat** **Not**
Important Important Important **D.K.**

a) there is a lot of community pressure not to report things to officials _____

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

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

17. Do you think the local police forces do: a good job, an average, or a poor job. **Mark One Response For Each.**

Good Job	Average Job	Poor Job	D.K.
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Of enforcing the law and
keeping order

Of responding to calls for
service

Of investigating and solving
crime

Of being approachable and easy
to talk to

Of providing information to the public on ways to prevent crime _____

Of working with other community groups and individuals to solve community problems _____

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

Yes

No _____ (Go To Question 19)

a) What were the circumstances of the most recent contact? **Do Not Read, Simply Record.**

traffic incident

traffic or parking violation

complaint to police

request for police assistance

a non-traffic investigation by the police _____

a social occasion

other

(specify)

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

c) Would you say you were treated:

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

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

excellent
good
fair
poor
d.k.

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

yes
no
not sure _____

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

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

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

better _____
same _____
poorer _____
d.k. _____

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

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

Issue	Low P	Medium P	High P
working with youth	_____	_____	_____

having school liaison by police officers

security for seniors

catching criminals

traffic issues

crime prevention programs (e.g., watch programs)

mediating disputes and peacekeeping

working with other community agencies to develop new justice alternatives such as sentencing circles or diversion

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

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

Much	Some	Not	at	all
				D.K.

more police presence in the
community _____

more strict enforcement of the
law _____

Much Some Not at all
D.K.

more community input into
policing _____

elders and other local leaders
advising police on how to
handle cases _____

more culturally sensitive police _____

more native female officers _____

greater band control over policing _____

27. I'm going to read you a few statements again. Could you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them.

Agree

Somewhat Disagree

D.K.

Agree

a) police are influenced too much by the richer and more powerful people _____

b) there is too much pressure on officers raised in the community to treat their relatives and friends better than others _____

c) police in my area are usually
willing to help out with almost
any problem _____

d) police are careful not to
arrest innocent persons _____

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

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

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

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

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

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

yes _____
no _____
d.k. _____

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

	Yes	No	D.K.
being on a local police advisory committee			

working with your police service on crime prevention _____

helping out at the local police station _____

being involved in a >citizen-on-patrol= program

joining a police auxiliary program _____

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

33. In what year were you born? 19 _____

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

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

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

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

If working, please describe your job.

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

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

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

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