

FIRST NATIONS' SELF-ADMINISTERED POLICING IN CANADA:
LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR A NATION-WIDE CASE STUDIES APPROACH

A REPORT PRESENTED TO
THE ABORIGINAL POLICING DIRECTORATE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report, *First Nations' Self-Administered Policing in Canada: Laying the Groundwork for a Nation-Wide Case Studies Approach*, builds upon previous research conducted by the author on policing in Canada's First Nations. It focuses on six different self-administered FN police services located in Ontario, Alberta and Quebec. Modest fieldwork was carried out in each of the FNs, via observations, interviews and discussions with members of the police service (officers and board members) and other key stakeholders in each community. The fieldwork yielded a descriptive community profile, a brief history of the police service and views and assessments of the current policing as well as of its probable future developments. Secondary data on crime statistics and police activities were obtained where feasible.

The six police services visited are the Tsuu T'ina, the Six Nations, the Akwesasne Mohawk, the Huron Wendake, the Timiskaming and the Whapmagoostui Cree. Although these police services differ profoundly in size and proximity to metropolitan centre, they all have earned a reputation for providing good quality policing at the local level. Furthermore, despite political and economic differences, all emphasize a professional crime control style of policing. They were selected for the fieldwork because they have been successful on their terms, thus providing positive examples of FN policing, and because it was hoped they would be willing to participate in a subsequent, more in-depth national case study which could highlight the achievements and challenges of the first decade of Canada's First Nations Policing Policy (FNPP). There is a clear lack of detailed knowledge of FN police services as effective, efficient and sustainable organizations in relation to the FNPP. The

purpose of the six modest case studies here was, through a best practices strategy, to identify the major themes to be examined, the data requirements and their sources, major methodologies to be employed and strategies of research to adopt in the national case study.

The report identifies and discusses the major guideposts that would be used in a case studies approach to FN policing. These include assessing the police services in terms of the six conventional police functions, the ten FNPP principles, the key themes advanced by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the perspective of community-based policing, and possible culturally-specific criteria for effectiveness and efficiency. In addition the significance of social movements impacting on policing services throughout modern society are noted; these include the victims movement, the restorative justice movement and conceptions of good organizational practices. It is important to recognize, for case study purposes, that police boards/committees/commissions are also significant players in the determination of effective, efficient and sustainable police services, and this report highlights issues of police governance that should be considered in any national case study project. Of course, apart from perspectives noted above, a case study would also be expected to yield operational level descriptions of the participating police services (e.g., calls for service, crime patterns, collaboration with other police services etc).

A common format characterizes the six case studies reported upon here, namely a brief "placing" of the FN community being policed, a description of the police service, patterns of crime and police activities, assessments of police service members and local stakeholders, and concluding assessment of the challenges

and possible future options facing the police service. The fieldwork was limited and, accordingly, the case studies are of modest depth but they do suggest the value of the more in-depth national case studies project being advanced. Each police service clearly has its own interesting, distinctive features and each is staffed by members who work as a team providing competent, committed policing services to their community. The larger police services in the sample - Six Nations and Akwesasne - provide an example of modest size, relatively autonomous, self-administered policing which not only achieves FNPP objectives but could also be a fine model for small town policing in mainstream society. The other four police services have much smaller complements of officers and serve much smaller communities in terms of population. Clearly, their experience illustrates issues concerning how a small FN police service could be effective and sustainable either as micro police service closely networked with surrounding, senior police services or as part of an emerging regional FN police service.

Through the six case studies, this report advances the argument for an in-depth national case studies approach that would be conducted in full collaboration with the participating FN police services. Clearly, such a project would require representation of FN policing services across Canada and some sampling of the regionally-based FN police services which serve multiple and geographically distant FN communities.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past six years this researcher has carried out several major projects on FN self-administered policing. Two studies dealt with nation-wide surveys. The first focused on the characteristics, attitudes, orientations and concerns of field-level police officers in FN communities throughout Canada. The second dealt solely with FN self-administered police services and provided information on organizational characteristics and needs, and the perceptions and concerns of the police managers. The third, most recent study, examined issues of effectiveness, performance and governance among self-administered police services. Here there was a discussion of the evolution of FN policing, the major policies that have propelled the changes, effectiveness and other issues facing policing in general and how these also impact on FN policing, and issues specific to FN policing (see appendices A,B,C for skeletal outlines of these themes). This assessment was based largely on analyses of existing literature including academic studies, evaluation reports, policy documents and so forth, with some supplementation through personal contacts and meetings. Issues, as well as actual FN policing experiences, were examined. Ideas were advanced for how to effect a more in-depth examination - i.e., what to focus on, the research instruments (e.g., questionnaires, interview outlines) to utilize, the strategies for carrying out case studies, and possible sites for selection.

It was deemed appropriate to move on and take the analyses

and "templates" developed in the third project into the field in order to get input from police managers, governance authorities and other community stakeholders. This was necessary in order to elaborate and hone the proposed templates, to secure the collaboration of the FN communities, and to ensure that legitimate concerns about insensitive evaluation that skewers rather than advances policy formation are dealt with. The basics of the FNPP have been put into place over the past ten years. The challenges for effectiveness, governance and sustainability in FN policing are considerable but the salient available information remains at too abstract and general a level of comprehension. There have been no in-depth studies in either Canada or the United States of specific FN police services. It is difficult not only to inform the discussions on effectiveness and so forth, but also to address issues such as the "value-added" of creating FN services, the extent to which they reproduce the extant styles of mainstream policing, the impact that they have had for the classic under-reporting of crime on reserve or for the disproportionate representation of native people as offenders and victims in the criminal justice system. Certainly, after ten years of the FNPP, it would be valuable to have such information in order to determine future directions for government policy as well. It is important therefore to move now from general surveys and reviews of literature to in-depth, policy-oriented research which can assist in meeting these challenges and information shortfalls and do so in a way that is collaborative and formative with the FN leaders and the police services. This project sought to accomplish that task and pave the way for a more intensive, nation-wide set of case studies of

self-administered FN police services.

OBJECTIVES

The central thrust of this project has been then to go into select FN policing environments and, after interviews, discussions and modest data gathering, to emerge with a collaborative research framework for a nation-wide, selective case study. Emphasis was placed on obtaining, at the local level, input for frameworks and approaches developed from the previous extensive analyses of reports and other materials. A major objective has been to forge an approach which combines rigorous research with community participation and co-direction. A second objective has been to provide descriptive profiles and baseline assessments of issues of effectiveness, performance and governance for each of the selected FN police services.

METHODOLOGY

This project focused upon a set of FN police services including representation from different regions of Canada, namely Tsuu T'ina (Alberta), Six Nations of the Grand River (Ontario), Akwesasne (Ontario and Quebec), Huron Wendake (Quebec), Timiskaming (Quebec), and the Cree at Whapmagoostui, Quebec. All the police services basically operate in a single FN political / administrative unit (i.e., band). All have a good reputation for providing effective everyday policing. These police services had been contacted and their police managers had indicated a possible interest in becoming involved in a more in-depth research project exploring a future case study format.

Initially, it was hoped that a regional FN police service could be included, either Stl'atl'imx in British Columbia or the Unama'ki in Nova Scotia, both of which had previously collaborated closely with the researcher. Unfortunately, timing factors prevented fieldwork with the former and the latter ceased to exist.

The work plan called for the researcher to contact police managers and make arrangements to spend a week or so in each area, discussing the case study issues identified above with the police, the police governance officials and other community officials (political and agency officials). The focus as noted would to secure input on the case studies, flesh out currently developed templates and approaches, and establish collaborative frameworks regarding a future case study agenda and processes. The specific framework that would be vetted is included in the appendix to this brief report. It was not planned to undertake community surveys at this time but rather to discuss research issues and overall case study strategies with the key stakeholders identified above. Subsequently, the strategies and instruments could be altered to accommodate the needs, concerns, and suggestions of the FN leaders. In addition, the field work can be expected to yield brief profiles of the selected FN police services, and reports on the assessments of key stakeholders in each area with respect to the major facets or themes for FN policing identified in the appendix C (i.e., the six conventional police functions, FNPP principles, RCAP criteria, community-based policing standards, 'policing for people' measures, police governance standards, and the impact of specific social movements such as alternative justice).

The fieldwork was carried out over a longer period than anticipated, namely from June to December 2001. The police services contacted were interested and open to the researchers. In all cases, interviews were carried out with the police managers and key members of the police boards or commissions. Fieldwork schedules were adapted to the availability of these pivotal role players. However the short time spent in the community (one week) often precluded interviews with other leaders, especially political leaders but sometimes officials in service agencies, simply because they were not available during that time period. Overall, then, the fieldwork was successful, the police services were cooperative, and the project objectives were realized. The shortfalls were two-fold, namely the limited time available provided little room for flexibility concerning the availability of key local leaders or officials, and no regional police service was included in the sample. Both these shortfalls could be readily dealt with in a larger future national case study.

DESCRIPTIVE PROFILES: ISSUES AND MODELS

Profiles were constructed for each of the participating FN police services (see below). The format of the description in all cases is as follows: context, special milieu considerations that affect policing in the First Nation, description of the police service and board/commission, views and assessments of the police service, crime statistics and policing activity, and conclusion. Some profiles are more in-depth than others. Where the research was carried out directly by the principal researcher and where key community leaders and secondary data on

crime and police activity were available, the profiles are more substantial. The police services studied differ profoundly in complement size, proximity to other FN communities and to metropolitan centres, and the type of policing challenges posed by their milieu. In their own way and on their own terms, each participating police service merits their reputation for providing good quality policing. The managers and the officers are indeed competent and committed, and the forward-looking character of the police service is indicated in the interest the leaders and members expressed in being part of a national case study where the information and focus, because the case study would be done in collaboration with them, could feedback on and improve the quality of the policing they provide.

All the police services could be characterized as emphasizing a professional, crime control style of policing - fast response, regular enforcement and crime solving. There is some vision of a more expansive policing style, at least along the lines of community-based policing, if not peacekeeping, but there is also some ambivalence about how far it is both feasible and desirable to become more involved in problem-solving, alternative justice programs, and in enforcement of special band laws. The issue is much more than a resource issue and goes directly to the matter of community consensus, as well as to questions of liability, prosecution and so forth. Interestingly, a pervasive view among THE police participants is that their police complement is just about at its appropriate and reasonable size - all the police services express a wish for one more officer! Overall, there are three models that emerge from this small sample of police services, namely the solid, modest

size, relatively autonomous "town" police (Six Nations and Akwesasne), the small niche police service (Huron Wendake and possibly the Tsuu T'ina), and the micro police service ambiguously positioned as either a niche service or a potential candidate for absorption ultimately in a regional police service (Timiskaming and Whapmagoostui).

OUTCOMES

The discussions and other fieldwork did suggest some interesting modifications of, and additions to, the initially formulated "Research Framework for National Case Studies" which immediately follows this section of the report. Both police and non-police informants clearly are interested in what the community wants and expects and how similar and different that is from the views of community leaders and the police service personnel (including board or commission members). There is much enthusiasm for a professionally carried out survey which would be collaborative in preparation, include local persons in the data collection, and where the results could be effectively digested through focus groups and the like. It is seen as very helpful to identify priorities for and visions of the police service, especially as the issue of a distinctive FN style of policing looms large now that these services have established credibility in terms of conventional policing criteria. Moreover, each police service has particular issues that are more or less distinctive to it because of its unique political/economic/geographical context, and reasonably enough, would want to input into the issues and questions raised in the

research. It is clear, too, that being part of an in-depth case study along the lines being advanced below, could be an opportunity for each police service, perhaps with the assistance of the research team, to engage in useful strategic planning for its future evolution and in response to the survey and other information obtained.

In sum, the fieldwork did identify patterns and issues for a national case study and yielded an amended research framework for carrying it out. All the police services profiled in this report seem eager to participate further. Clearly a range of police services should be sampled, representing the regions of Canada and inclusive of the three models of police service identified above plus a successful FN regional service.

THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK FOR CASE STUDIES: CONSIDERATIONS AND PROPOSALS

OBJECTIVES

A central objective is to develop a framework for carrying-out a nation-wide set of in-depth case studies of First Nation police services. As noted above, there is adequate information on FN police officers and police management at a general level (Murphy and Clairmont, 1996; Six Nations Geo Systems, 1999; Clairmont and Murphy, 2000) but a lack of in-depth knowledge about the police services as effective and efficient organizations in relation to the FNPP. The framework would identify the major facets or themes to be examined in all case studies, the strategies to adopt, the data requirements and their sources, the major methodologies to be employed, and the

workplan timetable. In addition to core themes explored in all case studies, specific police services have specific features which require special themes and research strategies; for example, the regional police services have to deal with multiple bands or "First Nations" and that fact alone makes more complex the effectiveness issues (e.g., governance, coverage, band bylaws).

The focus of the research framework is of course on the issues of effectiveness and sustainability. This substantive thrust provides the major, though not sole, basis for selection of the police services (i.e., which services best inform as to the current positive possibilities and future opportunities for self-administered FN policing). Clearly, effectiveness involves the different levels of the service, namely boards/commissions, police management, and staff. Assessing effectiveness requires taking into account a variety of dimensions, especially, perhaps, conventional 'reactive' technical competence, cultural responsiveness, and crime prevention in a broad sense. It also requires examining what strategies and measures are currently utilized by the police services and their possible development in order to meet new challenges as well as to respond more effectively to current ones.

Additional objectives for the research framework would include establishing the criteria for selection of the case studies and assessing the feasibility of the collaborative process. The latter consideration involves, in turn, specifying the potential benefits for all parties to the assessment and ascertaining the willingness to participate on the part of the selected First Nation police services. An important objective is

to advance an implementation plan which optimizes with respect to the integrity of the research, the benefits to the participating First Nations, and to the continuing evolution and specification of First Nations Policing Policy.

MAJOR FACETS OR THEMES TO BE EXAMINED

The major facets or themes that would be examined in the case studies are drawn from the discussions above concerning the evolution of FN policing, and effectiveness in policing in general and among First Nations in particular. These themes are identified here without elaboration:

(1) The conventional six police functions, namely response, enforcement, crime solving, prevention, referrals, public consultation and education. As noted above, these functions may be specified somewhat differently in a FN context and the priority attached to them might well vary within FN services as a group as well as between FN services and mainstream policing.

(2) The ten principles for policing First Nations as featured in the FNPP, especially the three principal themes of policing comparable to that in similar non-FN communities, policing that is responsive to the special circumstances, needs and cultural ways of native communities, and effective ownership and direction of policing by First Nation communities.

(3) The themes emphasized in the agenda advanced by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Policing, namely the need - 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. These RCAP themes overlap closely with the FNPP principles but especially direct attention to measuring effectiveness in terms of how the vision and practice of policing either reinforces core concerns of culture and identity or, at the least, is neutral with respect to them.

(4) The themes associated with the philosophy and practice of community-based policing. Usually CBP is measured in terms of problem-solving, inter-agency collaboration, and equal emphasis on both reactive and proactive policing. All FN chiefs of police have identified CBP as their policing philosophy and both political leaders and FN community residents - as well as virtually all cited commissions and inquiries including RCAP - have called for its implementation and judged their police service on CBP criteria (Six Nations Geo Systems, 1999; Clairmont, 1999).

(5) Some themes or facets in the assessment of policing effectiveness are drawn from social forces and movements that have impacted society in general. These would include sensitivity and concern with victims, participation in alternative justice initiatives (e.g., restorative justice), and conceptions of good organizational practices. The latter would include business plans, regular audits of annual and long-term objectives, measuring "client" needs and satisfactions, and attention to the motivation and input of staff. It may be noted that CBP as a social movement or philosophy in policing was considered by many advocates to be as much directed at the transformation of

the para-military police organization as it was to greater involvement in community problem-solving and development (Clairmont, 1991); accordingly, in many policing circles espousing CBP, much emphasis has been placed on employee participation in decision-making and policy development.

(6) A common complaint by FN chiefs of police, and sometimes by FN political leadership, has been that the measures of policing effectiveness used in mainstream society do not capture the special character of FN policing, namely its high level of informal, personal contact which is not in response to specific calls or complaints and does not get recorded on offence sheets; sometimes this issue has been conceptualized as "inattention to community-based statistics" (Six Nations Geo Systems, 1999). This theme can be examined in the context of measures developed to assess "policing for people" (see above) in the delivery of policing services (Mastrofski, 1999).

(7) Consistent with both FNPP and RCAP emphases, and increasingly specified in provincial police acts and guidelines and requirements for police governance, accountability and transparent stewardship represent an important facet or theme in the examination of policing effectiveness. This theme directs attention to measures such as the role of the board/commissions and the extent to which they carry out well their primary responsibilities (organizational governance, program governance, personnel, financial and advocacy governance), protocols or guidelines between the boards and the police management, the

involvement of chief and council, and reporting arrangements and information exchange among police management, boards / commissions and the community at large.

On a more concrete and operational level, themes guiding this research would include description of the police service (e.g., organization chart, job descriptions, deployment etc), description and analyses of calls for service, crime and other offences, description of the collaboration with other police services, and, overall, assessment of the service delivery in terms of the evaluative criteria of efficiency, effectiveness and equity.

EVALUATION STRATEGIES

There are several strategies that should be adopted in carrying out these case studies. First a variety of specific methodologies should be employed, including in-depth interviews with key informants (chief and council, board / commission members, other police and justice system officials), one-on-one interviewing of community residents via a standardized questionnaire, the gathering of secondary statistical data locally and via provincial and federal bodies (such as Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics), observations and ride-alongs with the officers, and focus group discussions with special community subgroups (e.g., women, elders, youth). Secondly, given the depth and diversity of information sought, it is expected that for each case study there would be at least two one-week field trips; two trips would be required to ensure

appropriate data collection. Thirdly, local area residents would be hired and trained to assist in the interviewing and in the holding of focus groups. Fourthly, each case study would be described and analysed in historical and comparative context, using appropriate benchmarking (e.g., their own previous experience, other FN police services, similar types of communities). Fifthly, a small number (i.e., seven or eight) of police services would be selected for the case studies and the major, but not sole, selection criteria would be their potential for yielding 'best practices' and important policy insights for the future of FN policing. Six, the assessment would have the character of a "formative" evaluation, that is, it would be characterized by consultation with the police service (police management and police board / commission) concerning every phase of the assessment and the researcher would make both verbal and written reports to these bodies.

POLICING IN TIMISKAMING: WHITHER THE MICRO-POLICE SERVICE? TIMISKAMING FIRST NATION

The Timiskaming First Nation is located in the northwestern portion of Quebec (i.e., the Abitibi-Temiscamingue area), in a semi-rural area near the Quebec-Ontario border. It abuts the small town of Notre Dame du Nord. Studies indicate that there may have been as many as 5000 Algonquin people in the area of Ontario and Quebec at the time of Champlain's founding of Quebec in 1642. The population numbers declined to 1500 by the mid-nineteenth century but since then they have rebounded and the Algonquin population is now estimated to be about 8000 in Quebec, on and off reserve. There are nine Algonquin communities in Quebec and three in Ontario (these latter have a combined population of roughly 1000). The nine Algonquin communities in Quebec are Timiskaming, Lac Simon, Pikogan, Kitigan Zibi, Long Point, Rapid Lake, Wolf Lake, Kipawa (Eagle Village), and Grand Lake. The Algonquins in Champlain's time were patrilineal, semi-nomadic foragers and referred to themselves as Anishinabeg (i.e., the people). In recent times many males worked in the woods or on the river with wood or in the hydro operations (e.g., power plants) in the area.

A number of methods were employed in this brief study of the contemporary Timiskaming First Nation (TFN) and its police service. During the week-long field work at Timiskaming, all but one of the six available Timiskaming police officers were interviewed, usually several times, and police statistics and related materials were gathered. Others interviewed included the

council representative who had the liaison role with the police service (i.e., the public security portfolio), another councillor, the local court worker (who also contributed valuable statistics on court cases), a social services employee, the director of NADAP (i.e., alcohol and drug prevention), the director general for the Timiskaming FN, and the SQ commander at Ville Marie. There were many informal brief discussions with a number of community residents.

Timiskaming is a small reserve of about 475 people plus several hundred living off-reserve in the surrounding area. The band membership list has roughly 1500 people. The reserve has been moved at least three times over the last hundred years, going from the Ontario side or boundary to the site of Notre Dame du Nord and finally to the present location, an area of roughly eighteen (six by three) square kilometres. Even in its present, sparse site, the Timiskaming Algonquins have been persuaded to cede land to the non-native community for purposes such as a cemetery (one section of the cemetery serves the Algonquin and the other serves Notre Dame du Nord and other Quebec residents). The reserve land is poor and basically non-arable scrubland, though some World War Two Algonquin veterans apparently did some small farming there for a short time after the war. While the reserve abuts the water at several points, the lake lies at the bottom of steep, forested cliffs and is not readily accessible, unlike the waterfront properties of their French neighbours in Notre Dame du Nord (population 1200) which surround Lake Timiskaming (the Algonquin word for "deep lake"). A two-lane provincial highway bisects the community, taking one some thirty kilometres south to the small, 2500 people, town of

Ville Marie where the court house and the local SQ are located, and north one hundred and twenty kilometres to Rouyn-Noranda, regional headquarters for crown attorneys, SQ and the RCMP. The reserve's modest wooden bungalows (there are several more elaborate homes as well), concentrated along both sides of the highway, appear well-kept, as is the community as a whole. There are several new and attractive facilities for elementary school children, seniors, health services and band administration. There is also a small, local radio station, operated under band authority, in the community. The larger Algonquin Tribal Council has a presence on the reserve with its own administrative building.

There is little economic activity on the reserve and much unemployment and under-employment. Informants typically described the reserve as an economically depressed community in an economically depressed region. Reserve businesses include an eatery, a craft store, greenhouse sales, and several small businesses (trucking, construction, gas bar, firewood for sale) on the road to New Liskeard, Ontario ("the Ontario Road"), most owned by the reserve's major entrepreneur. There are on-going land claims negotiations involving all the Algonquin bands but most Timiskaming informants were not optimistic that these talks would yield a significant resource-base or a rich monetary settlement (most informants reported there had been an informal overall offer from Quebec of \$30,000. per head for all the Algonquin bands). There are few jobs to be had in the surrounding area nowadays. Notre Dame du Nord has but a few small business and small farms. Several informants noted that their most ambitious offspring had left the area for higher

education and/or to seek employment in the large metropolitan centres such as Toronto. Band leaders emphasized the employment strategy of securing governmental commitment to have reserve members hired in forestry projects, nearby Hydro Quebec operations, and the like, either on an affirmative action basis or at least where the economic activity directly impinges on Algonquin territory.

The Timiskaming community is not isolated in social and institutional terms. For secondary schooling, students are either bused twenty-five kilometres into New Liskeard where the instruction is in English or go to the Notre dame du Nord's French-language school. The majority of secondary students go to New Liskeard as English is the language of home, though apparently a good number of reserve residents speak French as well. The indigenous language is typically not spoken but efforts are being made to have early instruction in that language. Many reserve residents attend church in Notre dame du Nord and go there for entertainment and other services. The reserve itself is "dry" and has no video gambling machines. Notre Dame du Nord, on the other hand, has three bars, strip dancing and video machines. There is much interaction between natives and non-natives in these and other establishments and from all accounts (and limited personal observation) the relationships appear to be friendly and free of violence, a marked improvement over the situation of the recent past according to reserve informants. The reserve and the town have collaborated on a number of matters, including joint sponsorship of a recurring "Guardian Angels" project wherein youths have been hired for the summer period to assist in the maintenance of

social order in the area. Interestingly, band members have been increasingly buying houses and moving into Notre Dame du Nord, where the aging population and lack of economic opportunity have created good buying opportunities. One informant, half-jokingly, commented that it was an Algonquin "revanche des berceaux", wherein band members were re-acquiring ceded lands by out-populating the others. A few informants, native and non-native, reported that there has been much ethnic inter-marriage in recent years.

POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The Timiskaming FN is directed by a small band council consisting of a chief, deputy and five councillors, one of whom has special responsibility for public security. In addition, there is an impressive bureaucracy which includes a non-native director-general who oversees the work of various departments and programs, and recommends to, and evaluates policy directions on behalf of, the band council. Other departments such as education and policing are outside the line of authority to the director general but their budgets and some other matters are managed by that band office structure. The annual band budget is roughly seven million dollars and the band's current debt-load is 1.3 million, near the INAC "take-over point" according to politico-administrative informants. There are a few band bylaws for elections and housing but others "on the books" are unclear and not well-known and in general TFN documents report that the rules for enactment and amendment of band bylaws are arcane. The band council has recently funded and received a major consultancy assessment of accountability and management.

Family groupings, according to informants, are significant players at the community level; frequent reference was made to the TFN being constituted of five quasi-clans. The over-riding social policy concern identified by virtually all informants was the lack of employment. A myriad of social problems were related to this factor, including widespread depression and boredom which fuels substance abuse (especially alcohol and soft drugs) and seems to particularly affect young adult males and interfere with their raising stable families and having positive self-images. Informants also identified the apparently rapid growth of single parent, female-headed, families as a major problem for the TFN. Political-administrative informants reported that such households account for roughly a third of all reserve households.

THE TIMISKAMING POLICE SERVICE

The Timiskaming Police Service (TPS) was established in 1978 with one constable, under the umbrella of the Amerindian Police Service. It remained part of that larger police organization until 1999 when it became an independent FN police service under a tripartite agreement among the Timiskaming First Nation, the Solicitor General of Canada and the Public Security Ministry of Quebec. The TPS is headed by a chief constable with almost thirty years of policing experience who had been on the directing administrative council (i.e., the executive) for the Amerindian Police Service. He has continually upgraded his policing skills and management expertise through participation in programs at the police training centres in Ottawa and Nicolet. In addition to the chief constable, there are three

full-time officers and three auxiliaries. All of the former are fully credentialized officers who have upgraded their skills in special areas (investigation, sexual assault, firearm training) and the senior of them is a well-regarded investigator with more than a dozen years of police experience. Two of the auxiliaries are also fully credentialized police officers having had cadet training at Nicolet and who are authorized to carry weapons. The auxiliaries' involvement in the TPS is as temporary replacement for permanent members and/or is contingent on TPS securing various project funding on a year to year basis. The commitment to round-the-clock policing necessitates extensive use of the auxiliaries and consequently a major task of the chief constable is to be aware of and respond to opportunities for short-term special funding. The annual police budget is roughly \$350 thousand, up significantly from the Amerindian era when Timiskaming had three officers and an annual budget of about \$200 thousand. Approximately 10% of the budget goes to the band coffers for handling TPS finances and related matters. Full-time permanent officers' salaries are in the mid-twenty thousand dollar range while the chief constable earns about \$10,000 more and the auxiliaries earn under \$20,000. Three of the six constables are female.

TPS officers work an odd, and reportedly stressful, shift schedule inherited from the Amerindian policing era, namely "seven days on and seven days off" with twenty-four hour responsibility when on duty. On duty officers work roughly eight hours from the TPS office and then take the patrol car home and are on duty from there. Calls for service are transferred automatically to the officer's home. Some strategies and

practices have been developed in the small TPS to enhance the quality of the police service and the job satisfaction of its members. The permanent members have developed special niches within TPS (e.g., expertise in family violence and sexual assault, investigative practices, firearms); officers follow a practice of not attending family violence (primarily spousal or partner violence) calls for service without a backup; investigations in sexual assault usually involve both a male and a female officer and the practice is to minimize favouritism by having the member least connected by family or friendship ties assume the lead in the investigation. There is a small amount of proactive policing - crime prevention, problem-solving and community-based policing - being conducted by TPS which includes bike rodeos, school liaison visits and collaboration in various crime prevention events. More ambitious plans, in terms of community policing style, have been developed but remain unimplemented and may not be feasible given the small police numbers and the commitment to 24/7 policing.

The TPS has an excellent working relationship with the local SQ policing out of Ville Marie. Their collaboration is a two way street. The TPS polices the provincial highway and provides on-the-spot availability in Notre Dame du Nord, securing the scene (usually traffic incidents) while waiting for the SQ to arrive. The SQ provides lock-up facilities, identification and special investigative services, and sometimes training opportunities for upgrading police skills and information, all generally free of charge. The TPS itself has no written protocol with neighbouring police services, but the heads of both local services, the TPS and the SQ, are long-time

friends with a proven record of collaboration and trust. Despite advertisements on the radio and via pamphlets, the TPS has been apparently unable to find enough competent, interested people to constitute a public security committee, but establishing one remains a stated priority of the chief constable.

The TPS officers work out of a small cramped wooden bungalow. The chief's office contains a walk-in safe for securing evidence and there is a basement office (used by the investigator and a possible interview room) but most officers, visitors and the TPS secretary interact in a small open space where there are three desks. There are two small holding cells but one is packed with other materials and the other is only infrequently utilized. Anyone jailed for the weekend or more than one day is usually transferred to the SQ facilities at Ville Marie, partly for economic reasons and partly to avoid the incessant pressures from the accused family supporters to visit or to have the prisoner released. A new police facility, on a lot adjacent to the current police building, has been on the drawing boards for several years but an agreed upon funding package has yet to be negotiated with senior levels of government.

POLICE ACTIVITY AND CRIME STATISTICS

Non-police informants reported that there was little crime in the area but that alcohol and drug abuse remained significant and these in turn led to dangerous and illegal driving practices and a small but steady stream of assaults. Several informants suggested that there was more unreported interpersonal violence and substance abuse. The drug problem was depicted by all as a

"soft drug" problem, Use of hard drugs (heroin, cocaine/crack), prescription drugs and gas sniffing was generally considered to be rare but two non-police informants thought some "coke" was sold in town. A number of informants indicated that while there were still problems with substance abuse, the situation had improved dramatically over the year; some evidence for that position is that there have been no TFN members in "detox" for "some time" according to knowledgeable informants. VLT gambling has become a problem in recent years, with some multiplier effects on family violence and thievery. Generally, respondents indicated that the crime problem has been especially a problem of a small number of young adult male repeat offenders. Overall, non-police informants suggested that the TPS officers were being kept reasonably busy but were not overwhelmed by crime and related police services. They generally considered that police could do more in community-based policing (e.g., riding bikes, walking, visible crime prevention).

TPS members also considered crime levels to be modest and identified the same issues of alcohol abuse, soft drug use, common assaults, and driving offenses. They reported that there were no gangs or quasi-gangs but that a small number of "repeaters" accounted for a significant amount of the crime ("5% of the offenders account for 33% of all the crime"). The members indicated that there were no clear, agreed-upon band bylaws to enforce so enforcement for traffic issues was based on provincial statutes and the fines went into provincial coffers. Moreover, as found in many other FN communities, band bylaws had been difficult to enforce as many community members openly challenged their legitimacy, and the prosecutorial pursuit of

such infractions in court, requiring special arrangements, was far too expensive to justify. The SQ commander for the area acknowledged a limited SQ presence or visibility in Notre Dame du Nord - "we drive through every day" - but observed that there was very little crime either there or on the reserve, and that the strip bars generated few problems.

The general consensus, then, among police officers and other influential and knowledgeable informants was that there were only modest crime and social order problems in Timiskaming and the surrounding area. The statistics bear out that consensus. The biggest challenge for the TPS, in evolving beyond its present style of service, is not the high levels of crime nor the formal requests for service from reserve residents but rather the commitment to meet demands for 24/7 service and perhaps the informal and unrecorded pressures that the officers experience. As noted, there appears to be little proactive, preventative policing though plans have been developed to do more in this area.

Cumulative criminal statistics and TPS police activity reports were available for the four year period, 1997 to 2000. No homicides, attempted homicides or robberies occurred in that four year period. On average there have been, per year, 11 assaults (the victims were almost equally male and female), 4 sexual assaults (girls outnumbering women among the victims), 4 burglaries, 10 theft under \$5000. and 9 incidents of mischief. There have only been a handful of impaired driving offenses since 1997 when there were a dozen. The year 2000 saw a major increase in the number of actual crimes but this largely involved the minor crimes of theft under \$5000 and mischief. The

offenders identified in the police statistics have been mostly young male adults. Male adults accounted for roughly 70% of offenders in all police recorded crime statistics over the four year period, while female adults accounted for 9% and youths accounted for roughly 20% of the incidents. Police officers identified alcohol as a major contributing factor in roughly 60% of the assault cases. Clearly, then, the crime occurring on the reserve is basically minor property crime and common assault where alcohol has been abused. The more serious and police resource-demanding offenses have been the few sexual assaults which, as TPS police statistics show, require much more investigation (most of these crimes were still under investigation at the end of the calendar year in which they occurred). It appears that the TPS has had a good record of crime solving over the years 1997 to 1999 since more offenses were reported to have been cleared by charge, cleared otherwise (e.g., the offender may have confessed to crimes other than those for which he is charged) or still under investigation than the number of reported offenses considered founded in each of those years. The year 2000 data were more ambiguous on these designations.

The police statistics for the four year period indicate that the TPS dealt with no band bylaw infractions at all. In each of the years 1997, 1999 and 2000 TPS officers issued about one hundred traffic tickets using provincial laws; these matters were settled at the court house in Ville Marie. On average, over the four years, the TPS officers assisted other organizations thirty times a year, provided public assistance on at least fifty occasions yearly, and had about the same amount of

"intervention reports" (i.e., being called out for preventative measures to help a person in distress). The reported calls for service were also modest but steady in number; somewhat surprisingly these calls for service were most frequent in the time period, 10am to 5pm, but even here there were usually only one or two calls for service in any specific hourly period over the entire year. The activity sheets provided no information on crime prevention and related police projects and it appears reasonable to assume that such activities consumed little police resources over the four years 1997 to 2000.

Court docket data, available through the Timiskaming court worker, also underline the portrait of offenses conveyed by the respondents. The data, available for the year 1999-2000, included a few other small Algonquin communities, and there was significant missing data, but the overall patterns are clear. Among males, repeat offenders dominated the statistics, accounting for 106 of the 123 adult offenders and 6 of the 8 young offenders. In the case of females, first time offenders out-numbered repeat offenders among both adults (53 vs 25) and youth (3 vs 1). There were few young offenders, just 12 across several communities, a pattern that perhaps attests to the diversion system noted by social service personnel. The two most frequent offenses were assault and impaired driving/refusing breathalyzer, each accounting for about 25 docket cases. The formal caseload for the court worker was modest (i.e., about four court interventions per week but there were about five times as many out-of-court interventions (e.g., phone calls, face-to-face meetings). Overall, then, these data depict a crime problem that is of modest dimensions where the problem basically

concerns young male adult repeat offenders engaged in assaults and driving offenses occasioned by alcohol, and to a lesser extent other substances, abuse.

ASSESSMENTS OF THE POLICE SERVICE

Non-police informants generally praised the TPS and considered that the police service provided was basic and adequate. The officers were considered friendly, competent and cognizant of when it was necessary to seek outside police assistance on more serious crimes. The chief constable was considered to be an excellent manager who exercised effective budget control and related well to all community interests. One informant, professionally involved in several sexual assault cases, observed that the TPS investigators devoted more time and effort on such cases than outsider investigators tended to do. Another informant commented that in recent years the TPS has become representative of all family groups in the community and less vulnerable to accusations of favouritism. As in many other FN communities, the informants did contend that the TPS should do more in terms of community-based / preventative policing, and walk and bicycle more instead of just doing car patrol. There appeared to be an implicit demand for more peacekeeping to supplement professional crime control since otherwise it is difficult to understand complaints about police visibility and "knowing the community" where the community is so small and the officers so thoroughly integrated in terms of residence and kinship ties. It may be noted, too, that the non-TPS, police informants spoke highly of the service, especially of the chief constable and the senior investigator; and one such officer

reported that a Quebec audit carried out several years earlier had found the TPS to be of the better small departments in Quebec.

The TPS officers, on the whole, considered that the TPS provided solid policing to the community but fell short in yielding high job satisfaction. The workload was not in itself considered overly difficult to deal with. Several officers in fact suggested that the modest crime levels allowed the TPS to devote more time in doing quality investigations. Officers not involved in the few serious investigations were, however, likely to report significant boredom, a pattern reflective perhaps of their general orientation to professional crime control policing. There is little doubt that driving a 3 by 6 kilometre patrol in the TFN could be quite frustrating given that approach to policing. The small TPS was seen by several police informants as not being able to provide alternative, desirable career paths, something which added to their ennui. A number of officers also reported that the shift schedule was very stressful because of the requirement of 24/7 availability. The chief constable and the officers were quite aware of their vulnerability. The former noted that he had little job security in that council could dismiss him "just like that". The other officers expressed concern about the future of the police service and the absence of any obvious successor to the effective current chief constable. Several officers reported that while the formal workload was reasonable, the community was hard to police since "so many people act like lawyers (e.g., we know our rights etc)"; on the plus side, the officers indicated that the residents cooperated with investigations and also did

not hold grudges. There was much discussion about the possibilities of a regional Algonquin police service as a way of reducing vulnerability, facilitating career paths and relieving the boredom. The large geographical distances between the reserves and the difficulty of securing collaboration among the bands were seen as major roadblocks.

CONCLUSION

The TPS appears to be at the crossroads. As noted above, it is a micro police service which is well-managed and staffed by dedicated, competent officers. Its chief and officers have earned the respect of community residents and neighbouring police services, and formal audits have attested to its adequate level of performance. At the same time, it suffers from all the disadvantages of being a micro service, namely much perceived vulnerability on the part of the members, potential succession problems in management, difficulties in accommodating to the special policing skills and preferred career trajectories of all the members, and having to stretch resources to the utmost in order to satisfy community expectations and demands while delivering an adequate professional policing which residents, the larger society, and the members' own standards also demand. It is not likely that the police resources for such a small community (with such modest levels of crime) could be much greater than they are at present. Nor is there an evident, feasible strategy for growth through securing contracts to police in the surrounding areas such as Notre Dame du Nord. The TPS, until recently, was part of a larger police organization (i.e., the now-defunct Amerindian Police Service) and more

recently provided temporary police service to another nearby Algonquin community. One wonders whether its future might be more secure as part of a regional Algonquin service. The relationships among the Algonquin First Nations appear to be much more determinant of this possibility than the factor of geography since these FNs are more closely clustered than the Cree communities to their north which appears to be gravitating toward a regional police organization.

Informants, as noted, were all interested in improving their police service and in having more information on which to evaluate future directions and engage in strategic planning. They appreciated the possible value of being part of a large national case study wherein community surveys, in-depth interviews, data analyses, and focus group discussion could assist in that process. Some work has already been done by the TPS to gauge community views and preferences. Moreover, all informants, including the police officers, agreed that there is a need to develop an active and informed public security committee.

THE TSUU T'INA: AN EVOLVING MICRO POLICE SERVICE?

In preparing this brief exploratory account of the Tsuu T'ina Police Service (TTPS) a modest amount of field work was undertaken. There were two site visits totalling six days, and one-on-one interviews were carried out with three police officers (the chief and sergeant of the TTPS and the sergeant in command of the RCMP detachment there), two police commission members (one of whom was the chair), two provincial and federal government officials responsible for reserve policing, the co-ordinator of Peacemaker Justice System for the TTFN, and the co-ordinator of the TT Corrections Society, In addition, the researcher attended a meeting of the TTPS Implementation Committee, gathered available pertinent materials and secondary data, and toured the reserve several times.

THE GENERAL CONTEXT FOR POLICING AT TSUU T'INA

The Blackfoot were probably the first of the historic Plains people to arrive there and probably came from the Eastern Woodlands. The Sarcee, (the former post-colonial name of the Tsuu T'ina), were Blackfoot who spoke Athapaskan. Different from other Plains Amerindians who spoke either Algonquin or Sioux, they had broken away from the northern Beaver Amerindian grouping shortly before the arrival of the Europeans. The classic bison hunting Plains cultural style developed between 1600 and 1750 and more towards the latter date. It was based on the horse reintroduced into the Americas by the Spaniards in the mid-sixteenth century. There were well-known buffalo "jumps" in the area and the last known use of this hunting technique by the

Blackfoot occurred in 1873. As Dickason (p.202) has observed, "the combination of the horse and the fur trade fostered the florescence of the Plains cultures whose "golden years" were 1750 to 1880".

In Alberta now, there are forty-two First Nations (FN) with a population of roughly 35,000. The Tsuu T'ina are part of the Treaty 7 group which include the Blood, the Stoney and the Peigan. The TTFN occupies a large reserve of 108 (6 by 18) square miles, the equivalent of four townships. The reserve population until the settlement at Black Bear Crossing in 1998 (see below) was about 1000 to 1200 people; the latter development, usually referred to locally as the BBC, added another roughly 800 people to the reserve and with it, informants say that now 95% of the band members live on reserve. The reserve abuts metropolitan Calgary and is contiguous with several Calgary neighbourhoods. Indeed, on three sides, it is surrounded by the sprawling metropolis (Calgary is one of the fastest growing regions in Canada, in terms of both population and economic development). A corner of the reserve features an up-scale, non-native housing complex on land leased from the TTFN on a long-term basis and which is currently outside the jurisdiction of the TT police service (TTPS). One informant observed, "we are increasingly surrounded by development".

Having such a small population and being so intertwined with metropolitan Calgary, it is not surprising that cultural retention has been problematic. Although there is a school on the reserve, it reportedly attracts only a minority of eligible students as most parents have their children bused into the Calgary schools. The TTFN is officially "dry" and has a limited

range of social and other services so peoples regularly get special health services, shop, eat and amuse themselves in Calgary. There is little retention of the traditional language; several informants contended that no more than thirty or so persons speak the language fluently. Several reserve leaders expressed concern that traditional communitarianism has been lost or greatly diminished and that people have become more materialistic and individual-oriented (as one active person surprisingly said, "I mind my own business and am not too involved"). Interestingly, a significant part, if not most, of the lease payments is received by individual band members rather than the band council. Still, virtually all informants talked of the reserve as comprising four major family groupings who tend to live in different geographical areas of the reserve and have to be taken into account in any community activity. Several large billboards in the administrative centre of the reserve specifically emphasize the importance of community, kinship and ancestors.

In recent years, in particular, the reserve has experienced dynamic development. Lands have been leased for farming as well as housing, gas has been discovered (and there is continuing gas and oil exploration), a gravel operation has flowered, a golf range has been opened, and other projects are being planned including a toll highway through the reserve, and a casino (there already are five casinos in the Calgary area). The involvement in the metropolitan complex can thus be seen as both an opportunity and an engulfment. Numerous public buildings (e.g., school, health services) also have sprung up on the reserve in recent years, and perhaps representative of the new

TTFN dynamism is the band administration building. The huge, beautifully-designed building is shaped in the form of giant beaver dam, a major traditional symbol for the TTFN, and its facilities include meetings rooms, administrative offices, INAC-rented offices, and the council chamber in the " beaver lodge" area.

SPECIFIC CONTEXTUAL FACTORS FOR POLICING

There are four contextual developments that have special implications for policing, namely the Jacobs Inquiry, the BBC development, the establishment of the Peacemaker Court, and recent developments in FN policing in the rest of Alberta. In March 1998, a young mother and her son were killed on reserve in a confrontation with police called in to provide assistance to a social services official who, in turn, was responding to complaints about possible child neglect. The shotgun-armed woman fired at and then was shot by an RCMP officer backing up an TTPS constable. The young boy, standing beside his mother, was also killed by the shot. An inquiry was conducted into the incident in 1999-2000 and a report with recommendations was released in May 2000. The recommendations dealt with a range of issues, namely policing, child and welfare services, treatment of women and children, alcohol dependence, and tripartite agreements (i.e., federal, provincial and TTFN). The policing recommendations, well-received by the community leaders and the TTPS, noted that at the time "the Tsuu T'ina Nation was in the process of setting up a police service which would work along with the RCMP ...", and its recommendations centred on the requirements (e.g., holding facilities, types of personnel,

equipment) that should be met before a stand-alone FN police service could become the primary police service on the reserve. There were other policing recommendations including more training in domestic violence, duty roster considerations (e.g., minimum of three officers, 24/7 availability), protocols concerning emergency response teams and so forth.

The Black Bear Crossing (BBC) development occurred in the summer of 1998. The Department of National Defence (DND) had had a small base with a residential complex for service personnel and their families (the Harvey Barracks) on leased reserve land and at that time it turned the entire property back to the TTFN. The latter refused to accept responsibility for the property until certain conditions were met by DND (e.g., ensuring the property was environmentally safe). The vacant dwellings were quickly occupied on a pell-mell basis by band members, returning band members and even non-natives from the Calgary area. The sole DND security official (an MPP) on site could not control the situation and withdrew under DND orders while the reserve police were not called upon by the band council to take any responsibility because council stressed that dealing with squatters was the lessee's problem. In a few short months about 800 people were living in the abandoned housing complexes which, all told, had 204 units (basically row housing). The situation was chaotic and much crime and social disorder ensued and have continued to the present. The properties have deteriorated; at least ten units have been boarded up but still are heated since the heat cannot be disconnected without turning off heat for all units. The band is paying for utilities but getting no rental income. Little maintenance appears to be provided by the band

so, not surprisingly, the BBC complex exhibits garbage strewn around, broken windows and hanging eaves. Even the boarded up units have been reopened by squatters. It is unclear whether there has been a backup strategy or policy developed by the TTFN to deal with the situation. Apparently there was no response to a TTPS proposal to have it oversee an orderly settlement plan there and there have been much ambivalence and ambiguity concerning expectations and policies for policing the area. It appears that most BBC residents are band members who seized this opportunity to return to the reserve which has had a problem of adequate housing supply, but informants were divided in their assessments of the number of non-band members and non-natives who became squatters there (e.g., some informants said that only 30% of the residents were band members but most others suggested a much high ratio). There was also little consensus about how the BBC was evolving. Police informants suggested conditions there were deteriorating and becoming increasingly criminogenic while some other informants cited events suggesting the seeds of community were being gradually planted.

The Tsuu T'ina Peacemaker Justice System (TTPJS), cost-shared by the governments of Alberta and Canada, was launched in the fall of 2000. Its two, inter-related components are the TT Provincial Court and the Office of the Peacemaker. There is an explicit attempt to combine contemporary justice standards and the special values of the TTFN. In addition to being administered largely by native people, there is a significant involvement of community elders in both TTPJS components where their role is to provide advice, comfort and support. The provincial court sits twice a month and, reportedly, usually has

a large docket to attend to. The Peacemaker Office provides an alternative measures intervention for referrals coming to it from the police and the crown prosecutors. Thus far, crown prosecutors have provided the bulk of the referrals while police have referred less than one case a month and, then, involving only very minor offenses. The peacemaker program can provide sentencing circles as well as diversion, but there has been only one sentencing circle since the program began. Its two formal criteria for accepting a criminal justice system (CJS) referral are, that the accused takes responsibility for the incident and that the complainant or victim agrees to participate. The CJS referrals are primarily first-time offenders committing minor crimes but, as a spokesperson contended, "we can get repeat offenders referred by the crown if a case can be made for it". In the diversion activity the TTPJS follows the usual procedures and polices of restorative justice programs elsewhere. It also is available to deal with a wide-range of community disputes and inter-personal issues. The peacemaker facilitators are all local band members (the key court roles are held by natives who are not band members) who have been trained by outside experts in mediation and by the internal, program resource people in sentencing circles. There is no court house on the reserve and both activities take place in band administration complex but the diversion sessions may take place at different sites throughout the reserve.

It is not clear whether the TTPJS is a direct result of the Jacobs Inquiry; non-police informants suggested that it was while the police informants suggested that "it had been in the works" before the Inquiry. The TTPJS is gradually establishing

itself. Its modest diversion program appears to have been successful. Most diverted offenders complete their agreements and if not, the program co-ordinator sends the case back to court if the incomplete disposition cannot be otherwise handled. Being firm is seen by the program directors as important to the credibility of the initiative within the community. Recidivism by diverted offenders reportedly has been less than 10%. The program leaders are hoping for an increase in police referrals in the future.

Throughout the 1990s there has been a significant growth of FN self-administered policing services in Alberta. In general there are three levels of credentialism that a new service has to pass through, namely A level which focuses on basic cadet-level training of the personnel, B level which includes upgrading and performance and where successful attainment indicates that an officer can function at the typical RCMP level, and C level where the police service itself is deemed to be "fully exempted" and authorized as the stand-alone, primary police service for a First Nation. Thus far, in Alberta, only two FNPSs have attained the latter status, namely the Louis Bull PS and the Blood PS. As noted below, the TTPS is at the B level. The milieu for FNPSs in Alberta, especially the sense of an orderly progression through the requisite stages to "stand alone" status, has been somewhat shaken by the many problems that these services have encountered. Of the ten such services in 2001, three had regressed to being managed on a day-to-day basis by the RCMP, and several of the others were considered by government and police informants to be quite unstable. Several informants indicated that a certain "gallows humour" has become

prevalent among FNPS officers, to wit, "who is going to fall next?". Such a context puts much pressure on an FNPS and its officers, generating poor morale and turnover and causing the police service itself to be vulnerable as it deals with a variety of tough community issues and the pressures of becoming institutionalized. It is a reality that the TTPS has always to contend with.

TSUU T'INA POLICING: HISTORY AND CURRENT SCENE

In 1997 the TTPS was formally established with a police commission and an implementation committee to guide and monitor its evolution into a self-administered, stand-alone status. In 1996/97 three native persons, two of whom were local band members, were sent to the Alberta Justice Staff College for basic cadet training to be followed by field training and co-policing with the RCMP. Prior to this dawning of a new FN police service, the TTFN had experience with band constables - referred to by some residents as tribal policing - operating with a limited jurisdictional mandate under the general umbrella of RCMP policing. In the earlier 1990s, there were two band constables, operating under a bilateral agreement where the government of Canada provided all the funding (approximately \$40,000). The RCMP policed the reserve from their detachment at Okotoks forty kilometres away and did not have an on-site base. In 1998, the year of the Jacobs incident and the BBC development, the TTPS consisted of a chief and four constables, one of whom was female (actually at the time of the Jacobs incident in March 1998 there were two female officers). The TTPS chief was an experienced veteran officer, formerly an inspector

with the Calgary Police Service. The primary police of record for the reserve was the RCMP but there was clearly a co-policing model of operation.

The objectives of TTPS have remained the same as they were in 1997, namely

- (a) "to create a Tsuu T'ina police service with the goal of being a stand alone police service within a reasonable time frame, and until that time working in conjunction with the RCMP to achieve that goal;
- (b) to ensure that the Tsuu T'ina police service functions in a professional manner in meeting the needs of the community;
- (c) to put in place crime prevention programs, working with and consulting the elders and the youth of the Nation in addressing the social problems within the Nation".

The Implementation Committee, consisting of federal and provincial policing representatives, the TTPS police commissioners, and the RCMP and TTPS police leaders, has met regularly over the years to monitor if the TTPS is proceeding appropriately in terms of the above objectives, and of course to facilitate that development however it can. The committee presumably makes a determination of the TTPS's readiness to be "fully exempted" and thus become the primary police of record. All the police commissioners, one of whom is a councillor and one of whom was formerly a band constable, have remained in their posts since their initial appointment. The commission meets regularly with the two police commanders and keeps minutes of its sessions. The police commission's responsibilities include selecting the chief of police with the approval of chief

and council. Constables are hired by the police chief in collaboration with the police commissioners. The police commission has some delegated budgetary responsibilities too; the chief of police can sign expenditures up to a certain amount but, beyond that level, the chair of the commission must co-sign.

The highlight events for the TTPS since its launching could be indicated as follows:

1996/97: the police commission is established and first recruitment occurs;

1997/98: the chief of police for TTPS is hired and the Jacobs incident occurs;

1998/99: the new TTPS police building is erected, the BBC squatters move into the Harvey Barracks, the RCMP set up a separate Tsuu T'ina detachment (a corporal and four constables) and brings in portable holding cells; the TTPS secure temporary funding from Alberta and Canada to hire two additional full-time constables; the TTFN passes a traffic band bylaw which is enforced by police, and the Jacobs inquiry begins;

1999/2000: the Jacobs inquiry continues; a TTPS community sub-office, shared with TT Corrections, is operational at the BBC site;

2000/2001: the Jacobs inquiry recommendations are announced, and the TT Peacemaker Justice System becomes operational;

2001/2002: the RCMP closes down its holding cells for health and safety reasons; the RCMP reduces its complement at Tsuu T'ina; the TTPS secures funding to

maintain its enhanced complement of officers, and the chief of police submits his resignation.

As noted earlier, the Jacobs Inquiry's recommendations had significance for policing at Tsuu T'ina. One immediate implication of the Jacobs incident, according to police informants, was that the TTPS chief of police had a freer hand in running the police service since the incident underscored the need for competent professional policing. The Inquiry's recommendations were welcomed by police and community leaders but a year and a half later there was some scepticism that the recommendations, apart from sending TTPS officers for training to RCMP depot at Regina, would be fully implemented. The implications of the BBC situation have been much more evident. The challenges for policing have been considerable and have increased over the years. As TTPS spokesperson commented, "the BBC absorbs 80% of our policing resources". The community policing office set up by TTPS at the BBC site has been largely abandoned. The ambivalence of the band council concerning the BBC situation and the pressures of crime control forestalled any effective problem-solving policing there. Indeed, the declining RCMP presence, the RCMP closing of the holding cells which had been a great convenience for the TTPS (e.g., saving long trips away from the reserve etc), and the increasing problems of crime and social disorder related to the BBC squatting, have created a very demanding and stressful situation for the TTPS.

Clearly, though, significant progress has been made in terms of the basic objectives for the TTPS set out in 1997. On the first objective, moving towards stand-alone status, it can be noted that the TTPS has grown in size, has developed an

appropriate organizational structure (i.e., chief, sergeant and constables), and the TTPS officers are all "passed" at the B level in terms of the exempted status continuum. The second objective, professionally competent policing, also appears to have been accomplished, from both an audit perspective (e.g., response time, clearance rates etc) and the assessments of the informants. In the case of the crime prevention objective, it is difficult to assess whether achievement has been significant. The TTPS has school liaison and special crime prevention programs such as DARE, and does occasionally refer offenders to the Peacemaker alternative justice program, but its major thrust, given the demands for 24/7 policing and high levels of crime and social order problems, has been to provide professional crime control policing. The TTPS would seem to be on the brink of "fully exempted" status.

In the fall of 2001 the TTPS complement stood at seven members, a chief, sergeant and five constables (three of whom were band members). In addition, the TTPS hires, as necessary, auxiliaries who have to have spent one week training at the RCMP depot prior to taking any employment. The RCMP complement officially consisted of a sergeant and four constables but only two constables were available for active duty. The RCMP sergeant has supervisory responsibility for the incident files which are well-distributed between the police services (i.e., the RCMP members over the past year dealt with 41% of the files and TTPS members with 59%). It was noted that both services handle calls and cases essentially on a "roll of the dice", "who is here and free" basis. There appears to be consensus among police and other informants that there is no difference in quality or

competence between the TTPS and the RCMP constables at Tsuu T'ina. For the latter reason and given the increased number of TTPS officers and declining number of RCMP counterparts, virtually all informants suggested that the RCMP at Tsuu T'ina would soon be phased out.

VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS ON POLICING AT TSUU T'INA

For several informants, crime and social problems at Tsuu T'ina had been rather modest until the squatters took over at the BBC complex. Certainly most informants referred to the current crime and problem levels as serious. Police, and those directly involved in policing, reported that violent crimes have increased and that the situation is getting worse because the BBC situation is deteriorating. Generally, all informants considered that there were many assaults on reserve, though some qualified that observation by suggesting the level was "average for reserves". Some informants suggested that much family violence and related offenses go unreported, something facilitated by the geographical distances among clusters of homes. In that regard, it was also noted that the density of population at the BBC site probably means that fewer offenses there are either unnoticed or unreported.

Most informants cited problems or shortfalls with respect to personnel, facilities and other resources. The RCMP closure of their holding cells on reserve was particularly emphasized as impacting negatively on the police service. The TTPS officers expressed disappointment that the recommendations of the Jacobs Inquiry were not implemented for the most part, and some police and commission members echoed a common sentiment found among

other FNPSs, namely that the self-administered FN service was so inadequately resourced that it was in effect "set up for failure". It was generally held that the tripartite contract which called for a total TTPS complement of five members was inadequate, but that with the additional two officers hired through temporary, supplemental funding, the police service could provide 24/7 policing at Tsuu T'ina. Indeed, an RCMP officer drew attention to the current police per population ratio and suggested the community might be over-policed. Funding levels and the requirement of short-term renewability of funding commitments were deemed by the informants to create poor morale (e.g., low salaries, job insecurity) and interfere with long-range planning.

Informants connected directly with the policing effort agreed that TT residents had high expectations about the quality of the service. One informant commented that Tsuu T'ina was like an urban community in that people expected 24/7 policing and fast response to calls for service. From the policing perspective, there was concern about the commitment of community leaders to "professional policing" and a sense that the autonomy of police operations was not yet institutionalized. There was reference, too, to the difficulty of getting reserve residents to volunteer for committees and crime prevention initiatives. The police commanders appeared to have had little formal interaction with chief and council. One police leader in musing about his tenure at Tsuu T'ina, remarked that it certainly did not turn out to be a peaceful hideaway as some had suggested to him, but it was interesting and challenging, adding "how good the police service could be if all the ducks had lined up

properly".

Generally, the small number of non-police informants were agreed that the TTPS provided a good and culturally sensitive policing service but their enthusiasm was muted. As in most other FN communities, there was a desire for more community-based policing, and more inter-agency collaboration. It was not a matter of blaming the police service for these shortfalls as much as it was simply stating their preferred style for policing.

CRIME STATISTICS AND POLICE ACTIVITY

There is very limited secondary data available to delineate police activity at TTPS over the past four years. Annual reports provide some details. The reports state the goals and objectives of TTPS which have been noted above and which have remained the same since the TTPS became operational in 1997. The reports give the number and names of the different police role players (i.e., chief, officers, support staff and commission members), the number and types of vehicles, information about the communications system in place, the police building, training, citizen complaints, and crime prevention programs. It can be noted that the five person police commission has remained intact since it was established in August 1997. There has been some modest turnover among the officers, averaging one resignation a year from an TTPS which grew from three to six members (in addition to the chief constable) between 1997 and 2001. The police building, erected in 1998, and estimated to satisfactorily house the police service for at least a decade, was overcrowded within a year of construction, primarily

because, subsequent to the Jacobs incident, the RCMP created a stand-alone detachment (a corporal and four constables) which also has operated out of the TTPS building. Crime prevention activity over the four years has centred around school liaison (including a DARE program in 2000/2001) and a community police office established in the BBC complex since 1998/1999. The annual reports also call attention to an interesting pattern wherein, despite no formal citizen complaints being lodged against members or the service itself, "there continue to be a number of informal or third party complaints alleging excessive use of force particularly".

RCMP "detailed mayor's reports" for the period 1997 to 2001 provide crime statistics which highlight the significant impact of the BBC situation. In the year 1997/98, prior to the development of the BBC complex, the TTFN had a crime problem centred around common assaults and social order infractions both usually connected to alcohol abuse, There were fifty-three assaults, mostly common assaults but seventeen were sexual offenses. "Other criminal code" offenses, mostly disturbing the peace and vandalism, accounted for seventy-one cases. Provincial infractions, primarily liquor act violations, accounted for forty-four charges. Property crime was modest, only forty-four instances and the large majority of these were theft under \$5000 incidents. The pattern of crime was generally typical of that found on many FN sites, and by those standards, occurred at modest levels with the exception of the sexual assaults.

The crime picture changed dramatically with the BBC development. All offence categories saw huge increases. In 1998/99 common assaults doubled to sixty-five cases and, more

strikingly, there were thirteen serious level 2 assaults compared to zero in the previous year. Property crime almost doubled from forty-four to seventy-eight cases, with break and enter particularly increasing. Disturbing the peace and vandalism (property damage) increased significantly, the former tripling in frequency. Provincial infractions, again primarily liquor violations, also increased though less dramatically by only some 30%.

The startling change in crime occurrences in 1998/99 apparently led to the practice of reporting crime statistics separately for the BBC complex and the rest of the TTFN community in the years 1999/2000 and 2000/2001. The split yielded interesting analyses. The crime statistics for these two years reflected the large and growing crime control problem at the BBC complex while, for the most part, the level of the various offenses in the rest of Tsuu T'ina (the "old" TTFN settlement) declined. In 1999/2000 the amount of actual offenses against persons was roughly the same (i.e., forty-eight cases) in the traditional TTFN residential zone and in the BBC zone, though the latter had certainly no more than 60% of the former's population and so a higher rate of offenses. The 2000/2001 data show that the BBC level of person offenses had increased by 20% i.e., fifty-seven cases), while, in the old TTFN zone, there was a 10% decline (i.e., forty-four cases). The same pattern occurred for property crimes with the BBC numbers increasing by 30% over the two years while for the traditional TTFN zone, the numbers declined by 10%. For social order type offenses such as vandalism, disturbing the peace and breaches of probation or undertakings, the BBC data showed a 35% increase while for "old"

TTFN settlement the 1999/2000 numbers remained the same (i.e., 92 cases) in 2000/2001. Overall, in the BBC, total offenses increased by 35% between the two years while total offenses declined by 15% in the traditional settlement area.

These RCMP reports also indicate that the clearance rates for the various offenses over the four year period were typical for small communities. Moreover, there were no discernible differences in clearance rates between the BBC and the traditional TTFN settlement area. TT policing has apparently responded well, from a crime control perspective, to the BBC development but there is little doubt that the workload increased considerably. And given that, it is easy to appreciate the TTPS leaders' concern about the diminution of RCMP availability, the uncertainty of their obtaining supplemental funds to deal with the unforeseen BBC development, and their frustration over not having lock-up facilities on the reserve, which necessitates round trips of eighty kilometres to the RCMP holding cells at Okotoks. While some persons moved from the old settlement areas on reserve to the BBC, informants reported that most residents there were either band members returning to the reserve or non-band members taking advantage of the "free housing" opportunity.

CONCLUSION

The co-policing arrangement at Tsuu T'ina, initially considered by some observers to be a potential model for FN policing, was not celebrated by either the TTPS or RCMP police officers or by the few other respondents interviewed. The police leaders expressed the view that co-policing created too much

confusion and divided loyalties and that there was "need for a clear chain of command". There was much discussion about a provincial FN policing structure which would direct and support the small and vulnerable FNPSs. This model found favour among most police officers but other informants were sceptical. One informant, for example, commented that FN communities in Alberta are too different socially, culturally and historically, and that there is so much political difference among the Treaty 7 grouping that one could expect little agreement on policing issues. While the options for the TTPS were quite open, there was the sense that the small police service could survive as a stand-alone, that it was close to being one, and that what was required was a vision of the policing it would provide, and a protocol with senior police services for support services. Perhaps because of timing considerations, especially the stage of development of TTPS, the passage of time after the Jacobs Inquiry, and the BBC challenge, there was support among all informants for participating in a more intensive case study. There are policy issues to be sorted out, community conversations to be carried on regarding on policing, and the need for strategic planning by the TTPS. A case study, planned and carried out in collaboration with the police service and community stakeholders, could yield meaningful information and processes for the attainment of these objectives.

THE HURON-WENDAKE: EFFECTIVE NICHE POLICING?

THE CONTEXT FOR POLICING

The Huron people have always identified the area along the north shore of the St. Lawrence as their "ancient territories" and the Huron Confederacy was a major partner of the French in the colonial period. The Huron village at Wendake is an urban enclave situated in the heart of what became on January 1, 2002 the newly amalgamated City of Quebec. It is the site of the Huron-Wendat Nation, relatively autonomous while totally surrounded, a situation that has led many residents to describe it with the metaphor "the hole in the donut". The FN community covers a quite modest geographical area of several square kilometres and has approximately 1,239 band residents. Another 1,645 band members live outside the reserve. The demographic profile of the community indicates that 75% of the on-reserve band members are over eighteen years of age and only slightly more than 20% are aged sixteen or less. The off-reserve membership is significantly older in its demographics with almost 60% of its population over forty years of age (compared to 45% of the on-reserve population). Clearly, this FN has modest population growth and is unlikely to experience the population explosion that is in the immediate future of most FN communities.

The Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation is made up of a grand chief and eight tribal chiefs, one of whom carries the responsibility (portfolio) for public safety and facilitates liaison between the police organization and the Council. The Council presides over an economically prosperous community.

There are many small businesses there, including several modest-size manufacturing operations (e.g., furniture manufacturing) and a food processing plant. There are also two long-standing financial institutions in the community, namely the Bank of Montreal and the Caisse Populaire, both of which do the majority of their business with the native residents while also catering to many non-natives. There is virtually full employment and in fact a need to recruit employees from the surrounding populations. The living standards, according to experts, are equal to, if not higher than, those in the surrounding non-native communities. The community also offers the full range of services including a private medical practice and an administration overseeing health and social affairs, a primary-level school (and secondary and post-secondary educational institutions in the region abutting the community), a Youth Centre and an Elders' residence (for persons who have "lost autonomy" or need short-term lodging) and a senior citizen club.

The Huron at Wendake community is well-known in Quebec, among natives and non-natives, for also being a major centre of development and training for Quebec native people. Its Centre de developpement de la formation et de la main d'oeuvre (CDFM) offers full time (138 full-time students in fiscal 2000/01) and part time training programs for French speaking native students. Students attending these courses may also obtain individualized quasi-professional preparation as well as employment counselling. Businesses are recruited to identify opportunities and match up with student employment choices. The CDFM Huron-Wendat in August 2000 became the first adult native academic institution in Quebec to be completely independent from the

Ministry of Education while nevertheless recognized by them. It is now recognized as the French point of entry by the Quebec Commission of First Nations Human Resources Development. There is also a trades school section. Overall, through such programs the Huron at Wendake maintain high levels of employment, and provide human resource development and training for band members as well as many other native persons (especially Montagnais people). One implication of this activity is that many young adult natives and some displaced youth (there are some courses devoted to this population as well) from other bands are involved in community life, whether for work or training, and this generates significant demand for policing services. Wendake is a urban community with, for its size, an unusually large, fluctuating population of older youths and young adults.

THE HURON WENDAKE POLICE SERVICE

Even though public security had certainly existed in earlier times, it was in 1971 that a formal police organization was established, providing a police presence and involving local band members. Until the mid-nineties the Huron Wendake police were band constables, not FN Independents. They functioned under the broad policing umbrella, and with the support, of the S.Q. During the nineties the per capita cost and police to population ratio of the Huron Wendake police service (HWPS) were both at the average among the more than fifty police services in Quebec FN communities. For the past five years the HWPS has been in its current form. In 1999 a five year tripartite agreement was signed by the Federal, Provincial and Huron-Wendat governments. In the framework of that agreement, according to the police

director, "our police force is distinct and autonomous and enjoys the support of the Surete du Quebec and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police". The agreement authorizes one director and five full-time officers, and allows for the hiring of auxiliary officers within the limits of the allotted budget. The HWPS has been quite stable. The police director is in his fifth year as head of the service and there has been little turnover among the officers.

Like the Cree at Whapmagoostui, the Huron at Wendake police service is, technically, in terms of the current Quebec police act, a police force. Its police director is sworn in by the FN chief and the constables are sworn in for the duration of their employment by the police director; the officers exercise "show badge" jurisdiction throughout the province. The police director, a band member, had some thirty years of experience with the SQ prior to assuming the direction of Huron Wendake police service five years ago. There are six patrol officers, two of whom possess over twenty-five years of police service within the community. There are also five supernumerary agents, two of whom are in basic training. The police service has one secretarial employee. In 2001 three of the six permanent officers were either on extended medical leave or unpaid leave-of-absence and were replaced by three supernumerary officers. The HWPS has two patrol cars and provides 24/7 policing; as the director reported, "our territory is covered 24 hours a day". In July 2000 the HWPS moved into its present quarters in the centre of Wendake, becoming more accessible to community residents.

Preliminary field-work and interviews with a Council representative, directors of community agencies (i.e., the Youth

Centre, Health and Social Services, Training Centre) and staff of the Wisdom Circle, indicated that the HWPS enjoys the respect of the community. A consensus was reported that the HWPS is effective and responds to the basic needs, as these relate to police presence (visibility) and management of calls for service. The widespread view appeared to be that HWPS provides an adequate "policing for people", first-response policing. Informants emphasized too the importance of round-the-clock policing for providing residents with a sense of safety. The relatively affluent community residents are quite sensitive to the large number of youth and young adult non-residents belonging to different Quebec FNs who are temporarily involved in their community. They are also sensitive to their central location within the larger Quebec metropolitan area which brings traffic and threats of crime. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that community expectations for policing are quite high and there is a modest demand for more preventative police programs, more information and feedback from the police service and problem-solving with respect to the "non-residents problem". The Huron Wendake community is a dynamic thriving community and its leaders have high expectations in relation to its status as a progressive community in policing as well as in other areas. For a variety of reasons then, while reasonably satisfied with the police service, they talk, too, of the need to fine tune community needs with overall police objectives, and want to be more involved in setting policing priorities.

POLICE ACTIVITY

The crime control emphasis of the HWPS, focusing on patrol. response and enforcement, is reflected in its mission statement:

"our mission is to maintain peace, order and public safety in the Wendake territory, and to prevent crime or infractions against the applicable laws of the territories and to search for the perpetrators". Statistics for 2000 reveal that indeed there is a modest rate of crime in the community, perhaps surprisingly so given the population characteristics identified above (e.g., fluctuating population, many young male teens and adults). The relatively modest level of crime is perceived by Council to be a function of the 24/7 service; as noted in one Council document, "the active presence of officers at all times of the day and in every section of the Community, certainly helps to uphold a peaceful and safe environment for the adults and children of our Community". In 2000 the HWPS reported thirty offenses against persons (9 common assaults, 18 threats, 1 homicide and 1 assault with a weapon), fifty-two property crimes (42 burglaries and 10 frauds), and one hundred other infractions (29 misdemeanours, 15 'impaired', 8 breaches of undertakings or probation and 44 'other'). No specific mention was made of band bylaw infractions. The total number of files at court for 2000 was fifty-one or one a week on average. Being urban it is not surprising that the HWPS in 2000 recorded a large number of incidents (i.e., 623), and a fair amount of traffic tickets issued (i.e., 248) and false alarms (i.e., 124). Overall, given the same population of the HWFN, even the modest, absolute numbers of violent and property crimes translates into a rate above average for Quebec communities. Clearly, the HWPS deals with few major crimes but there are enough crimes and incidents of various sorts to keep the small HWPS focused on response and enforcement, especially as the police provide 24/7 service in an

active urban enclave.

The HWPS provides its niche policing in collaboration with other larger police services. It uses the 911 call system of a neighbouring police service and refers serious crimes (i.e., major crimes whether person or property offenses) to the SQ as provided for under an existing agreement. It has limited "ident capacity" and even sobriety tests are administered by the SQ. It might be characterized as being a competent, well-trained and well-managed police force providing effective first line police response. It is also a well-regarded police service enjoying excellent relations with the surrounding municipal forces and the SQ. The direction of change for the HWPS appears to be not one of replacing these collaborative links and becoming more autonomous in all policing respects, but rather, and wisely it would seem, to be more active in terms of peacekeeping and problem-solving. The HWPS plans to work more closely in the sponsorship of the Youth Centre which attracts a lot of non-residents, to generate an information program especially for the vulnerable elderly, and to effect inter-agency collaboration to deal with problems of social order and non-residents. Preliminary field work suggests that more strategic planning might be necessary in order for this small police service to husband its modest resources effectively and in keeping with the high community expectations and demands. Such strategic planning (e.g., establishing priorities in relation to community realities and demands, developing a communication plan etc) would be required if the HWPS is to achieve these additional objectives without sacrificing its reputation for providing solid conventional crime control.

The view of HW policing from the perspective of the police themselves is consistent with the above social construction gleaned from reports and interviews with others. The director of policing reported that the HWPS did not face the problems of extensive distances to patrol, a high rate of violent crime, much social disorder, gangs, high unemployment, turnover among officers or inadequate protocols for collaboration with other police services. Certainly the police officers identified the non-resident factor as a problem for police; as one described it, "manque d'organisme d'hebergement pour autochtones des autres reserves qui sont eu boisson ou sous l'effet des drogues". But the challenges that were highlighted concerned meeting the high demands for service from community residents and the need to buffer the officers from the pressures of family groups and some local influentials. Indeed, meeting the challenge of being people-oriented (considered by many to be a major requirement in FN policing) and being professionally disinterested at the same time, was considered by the police director to be his major accomplishment as a manager. Asked whether there was a special style and aptitude necessary for a FN chief of police, he responded "oui, etre pres des gens et surtout etre capable de defendre ses membres face au conseil de Bande et face a la population (clans) ... "donner un sentiment d'appartenance aux membres de notre corps policier".

The HWPS officers, including the director, were quite realistic about resources. They considered that they had sufficient resources to do conventional crime control policing but that there was need for one additional officer to facilitate the 24/7 mode of policing to which HWPS is committed. The

director considered that the general strategy concerning resources entailed making better use of local community resources and collaborating even more with other police services. Neither regionalization nor amalgamation was deemed to be a desirable or useful strategy (it may be noted that the closest First Nations community is over 150 kilometres from Wendake).

CONCLUSION

The Huron Wendake police service has a good reputation in the community and among neighbouring police services for providing good quality, first response policing. It functions in a potentially quite volatile milieu in terms of geography, fluctuating non-resident young adult population and so on. It maintains order, responds well and is highly visible on a round-the-clock basis. There is little serious crime. Beyond the first line response and visibility, it depends heavily on senior, larger police services for major crime investigation, ident services and other specialized services. Its evolutionary trajectory is to develop more its peacekeeping and problem-solving capacity, a direction of development which is consistent with community concerns and expectations and within the reach of its resources. The HWPS appears to be a good example of effective FN niche policing.

The police service director and other community informants were quite receptive to their policing service being part of a larger national set of case studies. They identified such participation as hopefully assisting them in finding ways to improve their policing effort, already regarded in the views of

some knowledgeable policing experts, as a point of reference for other FN police directors. The informants suggested a case study methodology featuring both a community survey via questionnaires and focus groups (perhaps staff persons from the various community agencies) which could vet the findings and prioritize community demands and preferences. They suggested also that competent "experts" carry out the work in collaboration with resource people familiar with the community. Finally, the informants stressed the valuable process implications of such a case study, namely collaborative planning, liaison with resource persons, discussion of results, and widespread communication and feedback with all community residents.

THE CREE: AN EMERGING REGIONAL POLICE SERVICE?

BACKGROUND

There are nine Cree communities in Northern Quebec and an overall Cree population of 11,000. The population is growing rapidly and some two-thirds are under 30 years of age. In the sixties the Cree of Quebec were largely living in the bush in decentralized camps whereas now there are concentrated or centralized in the nine settlements. As a result of two major agreements with the Province of Quebec, in 1975 and 2002 respectively, the Cree have achieved significant economic security and acknowledgement of political and administrative autonomy in their own territories. Among the Cree the links to traditional culture and life style remain significant and steps have been made to ensure continuity in core cultural areas even as the Cree people and their communities are increasingly drawn into the mainstream of modern industrial capitalism. In the Cree communities, many persons are still involved in traditional pursuits of hunting, fishing and trapping (e.g., roughly one-third of the labour force in the largest Cree community of Mistissini which has a population of over 3000). The Cree school system emphasizes the important of the Cree language, making it the exclusive language of instruction in the first three years of primary school. And it appears that many persons continue to live their lives in traditional styles such as having many of their regular meals in their tents rather than in their wooden, suburban type homes. The communities are quite diverse in population, geographical setting (e.g., some inland, some

coastal), and, of pertinence here, in their community problems and in the level and quality of their police services.

Any meaningful examination of policing among the Cree has to be provided in the context of what is happening at the level of the Cree nation as a whole - i.e., how it is evolving as a political, economic and administrative unity. Another significant context is what is happening in the field of policing itself. As elsewhere in Canada, and indeed throughout the Western world, there has been a continuing process of amalgamation and concentration of policing services fuelled by several factors, most noticeably in Canada by changes in provincial police acts. The trend in Quebec is clearly towards the elimination of smaller police services and the assumption of their police services by the Surete Quebec. Of the over 120 police services, independent of the SQ, that existed in Quebec in 1990, it is expected that no more than a dozen or so will survive (i.e. Montreal Urbain, Quebec City and perhaps a dozen others). Police services in Quebec are ranked in terms of the level of police activity for which they are deemed to be responsibly autonomous and in that respect, there are three key service strata, namely the SQ, Montreal Urbain and the other independents (usually called MPDs or municipal police departments).

First Nation police services, certainly the Cree, are specifically excluded from the Quebec police act. And the normal situation has been for the SQ to provide services to the FN police services without cost. Accordingly, the continued existence of small FN police services is less threatened by the trends identified above. Nevertheless, public expectations about policing and the need to relate effectively to the senior police

services (given that few if any Quebec-based FN police services can be expected to provide themselves what the police act and likely their own publics would consider full-service, satisfactory policing service) create powerful demands for a level and quality of policing service that requires proactive, "networked/connected", and possibly regional FN policing.

In Quebec there are fifty-four FN communities, fifty of which have either "a Police Service" or a "Police Force" with the others being policed directly by the Surete du Quebec (SQ). The italicized labels are quite important since "Police Force" status carries more autonomy (i.e., a police director sworn in by the FN chief, constables sworn in the police director for the duration of employment) and the sworn members have jurisdiction throughout the province (i.e., simply show their badge). On the other hand, a "police service" has a chief constable sworn in by a judge, and other constables considered "special constables" who are sworn in by a judge for a three year renewable period and whose jurisdiction is limited to the confines of their specific communities. All nine Cree communities now have a "Police Force" in the above sense, as do ten other Quebec FN communities. For continuity in this report, we will continue to use the term police service. The nine Cree police services have over 40 sworn members in total.

As noted, research for this project, as well as previous research (Brodeur, LaPrairie, MacDonnell), have indicated significant variation among the Cree communities in terms of crime and social problems and also with respect to the quality of service provided by the extant Cree police forces. The other main findings have been: (1) there is much under-reporting of

family violence offenses; (2) there is extensive use of police for needs having little to do with crime or maintaining social order, and police officers are expected to informally mediate disputes; (3) there is much attrition of cases at the court (i.e., prosecution) level as there is apparently a reluctance by victims and witnesses to pursue the court process; (4) interpersonal incidents dominate police records whereas property crimes dominate the court records; (5) there is a serious problem of repeat offenders, especially among the young adult males. In general, it appears that the policing is of the mainstream mould in its emphasis on professionalism and crime control. There appears to be modest formal public input and few formal community-based policing or crime prevention programs. Not all Cree communities have by-law enforcement or diversion programs for minor crimes. Not all Cree police services have a functioning public security / advisory committee. The community that was highlighted in this research, namely Whapmagoostui, does have all those features and has a reputation of being among the best of the Cree police services. Informants indicated that it could be a leader in any subsequent (and expected) move towards a regional Cree police service.

WHAPMAGOOSTUI POLICING

Whapmagoostui (formerly called Great Whale) is the northern-most coastal Cree community in Quebec, located above James Bay and some 1,600 kilometers from Montreal. There is no road access. The population at this location is comprised equally of Cree and Inuit, each having populations of approximately 700 and having their own police service. At any

given time the non-native population adds from 200 to 300 more people (teachers, nurses, Hydro and construction workers etc). In October 2000, the SQ closed down its station which had been located in Great Whale for more than 30 years.

Interviews with key Whapmagoostui officials (Chair of the Community Justice Committee, Executive Director of the band, the Housing Administrator, the Public Safety Officer, the Director General and the Chief of Whapmagoostui) indicated a high regard for the local police service. The level of satisfaction with the police service, according to a knowledgeable outside expert familiar with almost all the Cree communities, was exceptional at Whapmagoostui. The interviewed local influentials reported much collaboration, especially between the police and the community Justice Committee which provided a diversion program for youth through the offices of the Director of Youth Protection (DYP). At the same time, they indicated that there were serious crime / social problems in the community that needed attention over and above what police can do directly and by themselves.

Several mentioned the problem of assaults and conjugal violence but were also quick to note that "the police are stuck with the problem too". These matters were deemed to be often unreported and when reported often not followed through by the complainant or victim, whether for fear of testifying or other reasons (e.g., forgiveness, pressure from others etc). It was considered by some informants that conjugal violence is culturally sanctioned as in mainstream society; as one person put it, "male inadequacies are compensated through violence and silence is symbolic of general social acceptance". Here some

interviewees also advanced the idea of a clash between old and new ways and a pervasive mind-set among community influentials that a woman's place is at home which in turn appears to abet spousal or partner violence. It was also suggested that conjugal violence has always existed and was considered normal so there is a need for conveying that such practice can no longer be tolerated. As another leader put it, "women are entering the workforce and not accepting the passive roles they once did, and elders are learning to accept this fact". How extensive this development is among the Whapmagoostui Cree, and how much deep cultural roots and/or colonialist legacy facilitate it, are unclear. Other factors said to account for these serious problems include unemployment among males, poor housing (overcrowding etc), and drug and alcohol abuse.

Other social problems and crimes were highlighted by these well-informed local leaders such as drug and alcohol abuse and youth crime (especially property crime and mischief). Several informants cited the problem (and some related community confusion or lack of consensus) of a lack of public legal awareness and education, occasioned by the generational transition to a settled community life heavily permeated by mainstream culture - "elders do not understand the police, legal problems and youth protection programs".

The Whapmagoostui Police include the police director, five constables and a secretary. The support police receive from the community and chief and council is indicated in the fact that federal-provincial funding covers only four of the five constables employed. In response to extensive vandalism and theft, security guards have also been hired by the band to

patrol all band buildings at night; in the nine months since their deployment not a single case of vandalism has been reported. Interestingly, the security guards were placed under the authority of the police director who had them take a forty-five hour training course. There is also a public safety officer who acts as fire chief and emergency response official. There is an active Public Security Committee working closely with the policing service. Among the police members, training and educational levels have improved considerably in recent years and turnover has been sharply reduced. Whereas previously the turnover rate was 50% per year, over the entire last three years it has only been 40%, a sharp decline indeed.

The police director was proud of his department and cited a number of accomplishment including,

- hiring a university graduate as senior constable
- sending candidates to college and then to the police academy

- having training on public security committees given to chief and council and active community members

- personally obtaining a university certificate in police management

- taking disciplinary action when required and even when it reduced available manpower

- establishing and maintaining a regular talk-show on local radio

- obtaining full support from council on all police-related matters including the new police station (despite being over-budget)

- taking control over the security guards

establishing a good working relationship with the Katavik
Regional Police Force (Inuit)

sending fully trained police officers to three other
communities

Police, like the community influentials interviewed, identified interpersonal assaults and conjugal violence as the chief community problems and indicated that the solution rests in preventive measures and guidance more than direct police action. In terms of conventional crime patterns, they emphasized that there was no solvent abuse, a relatively modest amount of property and mischief acts and a fair amount of minor assaults. The statistical data available in the appendix generally support that description. The data from the past two years indicate a quite modest number of recorded offenses (including band by-law infractions) per officer, namely about forty per officer per year. There are, roughly, equal numbers of property/mischief crimes (where young offenders dominate) and crimes against the person (mostly committed by adults). In both instances, and in each of the past two years, there have been about 60 recorded cases. Most "other crime or offenses" are breaches of probation, usually on the part of young male adults. Police in Whapmagoostui do enforce band by-laws, especially concerning the operation of all-terrain vehicle where the violators are usually youth and young adults and mostly male. These by-law infractions amount to about 50 recorded cases per year.

Few criminal cases are processed through the provincial courts. Approximately 20 have been prosecuted in each of the past three years while a small number of others filed by police have been dropped due to insufficient evidence or deemed

"prescribed" (e.g., not filed in time). Police regularly refer a small number of youth cases - no more than a dozen per year - to the Director of Youth Protection (i.e., diversion). While police records make no reference to community-based policing programs, there are some school liaison activities and other programs (e.g., hockey coached by police officers). There also are many "interventions" where police respond to calls and assist the Katavik police serving Inuit at Great Whale. Despite the modest staff complement, the police service tries to be a 24/7 police service. This provision, in addition to the interventions and informal interactions with community residents on a host of matters, would appear to limit the police service's capacity to provide more than quality first-line response. Formal community-based programming, formal restorative justice roles, and other specialized services (e.g., investigative and identification) would be difficult to mount.

CONCLUSION

Both police officials and community key leaders were very co-operative in this modest research initiative and quite willing to participate in a more in-depth case study. In fact chief and council passed a formal motion welcoming such a follow-up, especially one that was truly collaborative and focused on some of their major concerns. The chief in a letter to the researchers commented, "we understand that this study is being undertaken, not as another academic study on First Nations people for the benefit of scholars, but to help us find ways to improve the way we deliver policing services in our community". The Whapmagoostui police service clearly is a well-regarded, effective service offering residents a quality first- response

policing in a "policing for people" style. Still, it has a small complement which does not really allow for much specialization and it could be seen as vulnerable to the disadvantages of isolation (e.g., lacking familiarity with policing developments, conflict of interest etc). Under these circumstances the value of being embedded in a larger regional policing service may be considerable and indeed knowledgeable observers have suggested that this police service will likely form part of a regional Cree police service in the near future. Certainly, there are issues about formal programming, networking with other services, and proactive policing that are important to its future.

SIX NATIONS POLICING: THE MODEL FOR SMALL TOWN, FN POLICING?

During the five days spent on site at the Six Nations First Nation (6NFN), one-on-one interviews were carried out with the chief of police and four other members of the Six Nations Police Service (6NPS) representing a cross-section of policing activities. Two members of the police commission, the police service administrator, two long-standing community activists who have been among the most influential in shaping the police service at Six Nations, and a community corrections official were also interviewed. In addition, information was gathered on the community and the police service (e.g., crime statistics, documents, reports), and the community and its surrounding area were toured.

THE CONTEXT FOR POLICING AT OHSWEKEN

The modern settlement of Six Nations people at Ohsweken, Ontario, dates back to the eighteenth century when the governor of Lower Canada purchased land from other Amerindians to give to Iroquois loyalists who had been displaced in the USA because they had sided with the British during the American Revolution. According to Dickason (p.190), the largest grant, by far, went to chief Brant and his followers, almost three million acres along the Grand River in what is now southern Ontario. This land became the Six Nations reserve. Brant subsequently sold off some land and a later government survey reduced it further. The land claims issue became controversial even in Brant's time as he subsequently contended that the purchase had been unnecessary

since the lands had been Iroquois from time immemorial. Ironically, Brant later became the agent of the tribe that sold the land originally to the government, thereby acknowledging its de facto title anyways. Land claims negotiations continue into the present. The present-day Ohsweken reserve covers some fourteen townships and at least 45,000 acres, but clearly that is a far cry from the original "Haldimand grant" to chief Brant. The Six Nations FN contends in its land claims research documents that the current site constitutes some 4.8% of original holdings.

Subsequent to the Indian Act (1876) and its position concerning the election of band leaders, struggles developed on reserve, in both Six Nations and Akwesasne, between adherents of the hereditary system of selecting leaders and those who supported elections. Among the 6NFN people, the conflict continued from the 1890s till 1924 when the federal government imposed the elective system on the reserve, and the hereditary council was abolished according to the provisions of the 1920 amendment to the Indian Act. The communal divisions on this issue have persisted and there are still the elective and the hereditary "Confederacy" factions, the latter claiming sovereignty. The most dramatic clashes of these political viewpoints in recent decades occurred in the 1960s in conjunction with the rise of a militant Amerindian movement in both Canada and the USA. A related, but not fully overlapping, religious-based division also developed in the 19th century between Christian and Longhouse adherents and continues to be a significant factor in 6NFN life. A nativistic religious revival with Christian overtones occurred among the Six Nations at the

turn of the century. It combined Christian ideas of heaven and hell, a strict code of ethics and some Iroquois traditions of magic, and became known as the Longhouse religion. The Longhouse entails a clans-based collaborative organization and the longhouse concept is rooted in traditional patterns of residence. In the Longhouse meetings, the indigenous language is spoken, men sit apart from women and the various clans are grouped on either side of the room. In addition to weddings and funerals, adherents are brought together on occasion of seventeen major Longhouse events. It appears, on the whole, that 6NFN members defining themselves as Christian would be most likely to accept the new post-colonial order (e.g., band elections, increased autonomy etc "within the system"), and those defining themselves as Longhouse would be most likely to support the autonomy and sovereignty of the "Confederacy" and question the legitimacy of the Canadian laws with reference to themselves. Still, nowadays, there are many nuances in perspectives and practices related to religious affiliation and political orientation and significant overlap in affiliation even within family groupings.

In addition to the above political and religious bases for differentiation among 6NFN people, and apart from specific kinship-based groupings such as clans, the 6NFN is constituted of thirteen bands with a total on and off reserve membership of roughly 20,000 persons in the year 2000. The four Mohawk bands account for about 9000 of these members and 45% of the on-reserve residents, and the two Cayuga bands account for approximately 30% of the total and of the on-reserve memberships. It can be noted that there is another small FN -

the New Credit FN - abutting the reserve but it is totally separate in administration from 6NFN and is policed by the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP).

The 6NFN today is a large reserve of over 10,000 people occupying some 45,000 acres. It is the largest reserve in Canada, population-wise, but much smaller in acreage than a number of FNs such as the Blood and the Tsuu T'ina. While there are some pockets of poverty and areas where single parents on welfare are concentrated, there certainly is no glaring slum area and there are also many newly constructed public buildings (e.g., schools, administrative complexes, seniors' residence) and attractive private homes on spacious lots. There are five elementary schools, one junior high school and one high school where the indigenous language is the language of instruction. After elementary education, most children are bussed to schools outside the reserve. Apart from band administration, health, educational and service agencies, there is no major reserve employer but there are many small retail operations including gas stations, a few tobacco businesses which sell high volume to non-residents, an inn, several auto repair operations, restaurants, technical services, crafts and so forth. There are also a few small farms. The Six Nations Council Management develops and publishes an annual "Consolidated Work Plan" which, among other things, lays out plans for economic development. The chief areas targeted in recent years have been forestry (there are 21,536 acres of forested land on reserve), tourism, and marketing commercial space for lease (e.g., the Iroquois Village Centre/Plaza). The level of economic activity is insufficient to avoid significant underemployment. In 2000/2001 there were 4685

"regular un/employable Active cases" registered with the Six Nations Welfare Department. The 6NFN reserve is in the midst of a well-built up, highly populated area, surrounded by Metropolitan Hamilton, Halton Regional Municipality (whose component cities include Burlington and Oakville, where average household income is among the highest in Canada), the city of Brantford and small towns such as Hagersville. For the most part, this entire surrounding area is quite prosperous but the area most intimately connected to the 6NFN, in terms of band members living there and services being utilized there, is Brantford. It is an economically depressed city with high unemployment, which has a population of more than 100,000 and a police service of more than 100 members. Brantford is the centre for criminal justice system services (court, prosecution, legal aid, corrections, victim services) for the 6NFN.

The 6NFN with its educated people and strong assertive cultural style has always had a reputation for managing its own affairs. There is in place a fairly sophisticated bureaucracy to complement chief and council. The annual Consolidated Work Plan, noted above, lays out mission statements, objectives and actions in all spheres of community activity, from band administration to social services and infrastructure. The Annual Report issued by the Six Nations of the Grand River is also a detailed accounting of all activities, programs and revenues. One is not surprised, accordingly, to find that the 6NFN was among the first FNs in Canada to manage its own INAC funding. A related feature of the 6NFN is the spirit, a contextualized individualism as-it-were, that appears to characterize the people. Unlike many other FNs, there is significant

encouragement of entrepreneurial activity (e.g., the individually-owned, tobacco operations, consultants, small businesses), stress on and respect for individual achievement in all spheres of life, individuals' leasing farm/forestry areas and renting homes, and what informants, especially the police, cited as an anti-authoritarian, aggressive personal style. At the same time, and unlike mainstream society, there are also strong ties to various extra-familial entities such as the Longhouse, clans and bands, and the 6NFN itself (e.g., having FN members in key organizational and leadership positions in the community is emphasized and preferred to outsiders, even if the members are associated with different factions than one's own). No one extra-familial grouping or identity apparently dominates the community. For example, all informants reported a rather even split, in terms of population, among Christians, Longhouse adherents and the non-affiliated.

THE SIX NATIONS POLICE SERVICE

In 1924, as noted above, the elective model of band governance was imposed on the 6NFN. With it came policing by the RCMP which continued until the 1960s when the RCMP began withdrawing as the primary police service of record from FN communities in Ontario and Quebec (where the provincial police services were not the RCMP). The OPP took over patrolling the Ohsweken reserve and in 1982 set up a patrol unit specifically for the 6NFN. The starting point or inception of the 6NPS was in 1985, with band member officers policing under the umbrella of the OPP. In 1989 the Six Nations Police Service (6NPS) took over as the primary police of record, policing in cooperation with

the OPP, under a tripartite agreement (i.e., Canada, Ontario and 6NPN). After three such one-year agreements, a five year agreement was signed in 1991 which fully established the 6NPS as a self-administered, stand-alone police service. Its chief of police had been with the 6NPS since its beginnings and remains chief today, the most senior (in terms of continuous role occupancy) FN police chief in Canada.

In the mid-1980s, as the 6NPS was emerging organizationally, a Six Nations Police Commission was established, in embryo, to lay the groundwork in terms of objectives, hiring policies and other protocols. A document was produced, "Six Nations Policing 1986-1990", which set out the development plan and which, with occasional updates, has indeed been the blueprint followed and the basis for tripartite negotiations. The 1989 tripartite agreement formally established the Six Nations Policing Commission. In its mission statement the Police Commission has emphasized its responsibility for effecting "a level and standard of policing that can keep the peace and protect both person and property ... ensure the enforcement of legislated laws pertaining to the police service are carried out, and ensure the provision of preventative and community educational programs". Initially, the Police Commission was composed of political appointments directly from the Six Nations Council but since 1994 there has been a more community-oriented approach and a composition of four community members, one elder and two representatives from Council. Community representatives are selected through a self-replacing procedure whereby applicants respond to advertisements of vacancies and are interviewed by extant members. The Police

Commission has its own modest budget and has an administrative office and office support. Its thrust in recent years has been more advocacy and buffer but some of its members are usually involved in personnel decisions, including hiring and promotions. Reportedly, the Police Commission has not been much involved in oversight of 6NPS finances nor in the setting of annual 6NPS objectives and priorities.

Virtually from the onset, the Six Nations Police Commission worked towards the establishment of a police service which would be composed of and managed by band members, and would be competent and professional in delivering a service oriented to response, enforcement and crime control. Proactive, crime prevention and community policing (including policing band bylaws) were acknowledged as objectives, as was "culturally sensitive" policing, but the major theme was the creation of a police service that could meet conventional standards for policing and would be free from political interference. Several informants emphasized this theme and in particular credited the advocacy of a few prominent community leaders in this regard. Indeed, one such highly regarded spokesperson, now deceased, was celebrated in the 6NPS 2000 yearbook publication (its first yearbook) where a full page was given to his picture under which the caption read: "Joe's support and commitment to our "own" (italics as cited) autonomous police service will always be remembered". Another influential activist and long-time commission member reported how his own emphasis on professionalism and autonomy of the police service emerged over time:

"Originally as a board member I was unsure of the direction and, due to inexperience, thought to hire local and non-

trained people. I later learned and re-evaluated this and choose to be part of development/growth. I took the approach of advocacy and promotion [of the police service]. As I moved along in background I felt that a large board was unnecessary and that political appointments to the commission should be changed to a community board but I have to note that there were times when the council representatives were most beneficial".

The 6NPS grew quite rapidly from two officers in the late 1980s to nineteen officers and a budget of roughly \$1.78 million in 1996, the last year of its initial five year tripartite agreement. At present, it is in the midst of negotiating a third multi-year tripartite agreement. Currently there are twenty-two officers, namely the chief, a three-person criminal investigations unit led by a sergeant, a community service officer reporting directly to the chief, and four platoons each with a sergeant and three constables (one platoon has an additional constable). There is also an impressive administrative support structure consisting of eight persons including an administrator, three clerks, an administrative assistant who also acts as the Police Commission secretary, a maintenance technician, a civilian court officer, and a part-time financial consultant. The budget is roughly \$2.5 million, funded on a 52-48 basis by Canada and Ontario respectively. There are no additional regular budget resources (i.e., no topping up by the Council) nor are there special security guards or auxiliaries complementing the efforts of the 6NPS. There is an animal control officer hired by the 6NPN to deal with dogs and enforce the band bylaw on animal control. Patrol officers generally operate in one-person cars on twelve hour work shifts. All twenty-two officers, two of whom are female, are band members.

The 6NPS officers are appointed under the police services act and must receive the same basic recruit training or equivalent, as any other Ontario provincial police officer. In the early 1990s the Ontario FNs negotiated out of the Ontario Police Act except for three clauses relating to appointments, training and credentials; the other clauses of the Act (e.g., conduct, disciplinary measures) explicitly exclude them. The 6NPS has emphasized post-cadet training and skill development among its members and that appears to be a matter of considerable pride among the officers and community leaders. The specialized roles of full-time investigator, community service officer and so forth, basically emerged in the mid-1990s as the growth of the 6NPS permitted some specialization. This harnessing and focusing of members' talents continues to be characteristic of the 6NPS. Each sergeant, for example, has a special role (e.g., computer "specialist") apart from his formal sergeant responsibilities. The service now has four trained "scene-of-crime-officers" (i.e., SOCO) who, in addition to their regular duties, attend to basic "ident" duties (the SOCO role was made necessary for all small Ontario police services when the OPP cut-back on the identification services it offered free of charge to other police services). Officers have been sent for upgrading and specialization in areas of auto theft, criminal investigations and domestic violence (here, all officers received a multiple day orientation put on by the reserve's women's centre and transition house personnel). The area of traffic investigation has been a major specialization thrust of the 6NPS. It has officers trained in "total station" technology (an electronic surveying aid for mapping accident scenes among

other uses), traffic reconstructionism and traffic accident investigation. And it has purchased the requisite sophisticated technology (additional to the sophisticated Intoxilyzer 5000 which measures alcohol concentration in the blood) to operationalize that training, enabling the 6NPS with accuracy and pride to state "our investigators rank amongst the best in the province". The recent appointment of a civilian court officer appears to have been another example of effective and efficient specialization, enabling members to concentrate on investigation and patrol (improving clearance rate and treatment of victims) while also ensuring better quality information for the courts (reducing charges dismissed for various reasons).

The main collaborative police service partners for 6NPS are the Brantford municipal police service and the OPP (especially the Cayuga detachment). These services back up one another on patrol and given that the 6NPS usually has several one person cars on patrol while the Cayuga OPP usually has only one car, it is clear that the 6NPS contributes fully to this arrangement. The OPP provides "ident" and major crime serves as is their obligation to all small or modest sized Ontario independent police services; the 6NPS has no qualms nor reluctance in seeking these special services when needed. Occasionally the 6NPS has become involved in joint force operations (JFOs) with the larger police services such as RCMP, OPP, Hamilton and Halton, for matters such as auto theft but JFOs are not common since the six month or longer commitment required of the partners places heavy strain on smaller police services such as the 6NPS. Regular investigation at 6NPS is carried on by the three-person 6NPS' investigative unit. They

handle all "benchmark offenses" (i.e., non - minor and routine offenses) and are informed whenever patrol officers handle the other types. The calls for service / dispatch is effected through the OPP at London, Ontario (a 6NPS proposal for handling its own dispatch was not funded).

Police informants indicated that the major social problems impacting on their work in the 6NPN have been family breakdown and, relatedly in their view, the growth of single parent households. Alcohol abuse was identified as a key problem, followed at much remove by the use of soft drugs. Hard drugs (cocaine, heroin) and prescription drugs were not seen as significant problems at 6NPN. The combination of family troubles and alcohol abuse was identified as responsible for much of the inter-personal assaults that occurred. Youth infractions were not seen as of crisis proportions and the police programs for youth already in place were deemed to be quite effective in reducing youth crime. The policy of zero tolerance in schools has resulted in police being called upon to become more involved there and a challenge for the 6NPS has been how to respond to such requests without taking on excessive commitments in mediation facilitation and the like. The major offenders in the 6NPN, and the serious recidivists, were identified by police and by local corrections officials as primarily young male adults; dealing with such problem cases was seen as requiring both a tough policy of enforcing probation and other undertakings imposed on offenders, and inter-agency collaboration to get at underlying issues. Car theft, whether of the "steal and ditch" or the "chop-shop" pattern, was also seen as a challenge.

VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS OF THE POLICING SERVICE

In 1996 external consultants conducted an assessment of 6NPS as the first five year tripartite agreement was being completed. The consultants (Perkins et al, 1996) concluded that the police had satisfactorily met the terms of the 1991-96 agreement, and that community leaders (twenty-five such leaders were interviewed) and users of the service (twenty community members who had requested assistance from the police) were in agreement that the 6NPS was efficient, effective and equitable in responding to community needs in policing. The authors reported that most interviewees considered that the police service was better than when the community was served by an OPP detachment (here the consultants also cited a mid-1980 community survey where residents were highly critical of the OPP service), and that response times and the police service actually provided were acceptable. Virtually all community respondents especially appreciated the greater police presence in the community (i.e., the police visibility), and commented on the value of having their own people as members and managers of the police service. Generally, there was much reported satisfaction and confidence in the capacity, professionalism and commitment of officers and in the recognition by the service of the need to call on outside help when required. The police service was considered as good as that provided in nearby non-native communities. A significant minority likened the 6NPS police activity to that of the OPP past in still being more reactive than preventative or peacekeeping.

The 1996 assessments were based on a small, non-representative sampling of views. It would be valuable to see

whether there have been changes and also to elaborate on the assessment with a larger representative sample. The very limited non-police contacts made during this field work yielded views quite consistent with the 1996 study. The 6NPS was seen as providing solid, professional, crime control policing. One community official expressed the gist of the viewpoint as follows: "it's been a struggle for the police to get credibility and acceptance but they have done a good job"; several other persons noted that part of the 6NPS's success is its willingness to call in the OPP when needed. The 6NPS was seen as dealing fairly with the major factions in the community. Police and non-police informants indicated, for example, that differences between Christian and Longhouse adherents may have a few implications for policing (e.g., Longhouse adherents are reluctant to have autopsies and express more preference for non-court resolutions for family violence) but that, overall, there is little difference in their demands for and expectations of reserve policing; indeed a strong consensus was that those residents objecting on "traditional" grounds to conventional police enforcement and charge policies were hiding behind tradition rather than exemplifying it.

Among 6NPS officers a widespread viewpoint or social construction of policing at 6NPN was that the 6NPS had had to overcome a credibility problem and a poor police-community relationship inherited from the RCMP/OPP eras. There was a widespread confidence that they had succeeded. The officers felt that there was a much more positive image of policing now at 6NPN and strong community support for the 6NPS. At the same time, the regular upgrading of members' skills, the regular

patrols and especially the investigative capacity now in traffic accidents and the like, were deemed to have earned respect from the senior police services such as the OPP. There was an acknowledgement that the service and the members were vulnerable to arbitrary action by Council but this was tempered by a confidence that a tradition was being established putting the police force at arms-length from "politics". Several officers pointed to incidents that sustained this non-political approach; for example, two cited a recent case of political conflict (e.g., a 'blockade' of band offices) where the service was pressured to take sides but instead responded professionally by refusing to act unless and until an offence took place; when the infraction actually occurred, the police responded.

The perception of community acceptance, peer police respect, and minimization of "politics" may well account for the low turnover among 6NPS staff. The capacity of the service to allow for some specialization and conventional investigative expertise ("handling our own investigations has been very important") has followed as the 6NPS has grown in terms of complement. And that capacity, in turn, apparently has had positive implications for job satisfaction, among other things. While most officers indicated that the service was "almost there" in terms of appropriate complement or manpower, there was some divergence concerning where an additional position might be slotted, whether as deputy chief, in investigations or in community (service) policing. There are some areas where the 6NPS officers do not think they have as yet a community mandate, such as restorative justice or alternative measures, and other areas (e.g., victim services) where there is uncertainty as to

what further response the police service might provide. The vision of policing in 6NPS is at present primarily that of strong, conventional policing. As several officers observed, elaborating that vision has to take into account community preferences, realistic resources allocation and the visions of collaborative policing partners (e.g., the OPP's changing views on supplying identification services, and the requirement of a sex offender registry and so on have implications for 6NPS activity).

6NPS CRIME STATISTICS AND POLICE ACTIVITY

The 1997 Centre for Justice Statistics report on crime and police resources in Canadian municipalities indicated that the 6NPS had much lower per capita police costs and a much larger population per police officer ratio than the average FN independent police service. Its incidents per officer (i.e., caseload) was much higher than average, while the rates of violent crime and property crime fell into the middle range. Among all Ontario police services operating in communities of comparable population size, the 6NPS tended to be in the lower third in terms of population to police ratio, caseload and clearance rates, but it stood out by having the classic reserve pattern of higher violence crime and lower property crime.

Data were also available from three years (1998 to 2000) of the 'Monthly Activity Report To The Six Nations Police Commissions' (see appendix). In general, the level of reported crime at 6NPS is average when compared on a rate basis with other FN communities, and it has remained fairly stable. Property offenses outnumber person offenses but both together

are exceeded by "other criminal code offenses" such as mischief, breaches of probation and so on. These data indicate that person offenses have remained stable with the exception of assault, level one, where the steady, modest increase perhaps has reflected changing societal standards as well as a more zero tolerance policy by the police service. It can be noted, for example, that reported response to "domestics" increased by almost 50% over the three year period. The property offenses of break and enter and motor vehicle theft have increased significantly, while theft, fraud and possession all declined. Congruent with the increased burglaries and motor car theft, the 6NPS security checks increased by 100% between 1998 and 2000. Activity data show that another major focus of the 6NPS has been recovering stolen vehicles, especially "others" (non-residents') stolen vehicles (i.e., some 300 such stolen vehicles are recovered each year on the reserve). "Other criminal code" offenses, always significant in number as noted above, increased by 20% in 2000. Here, the reported offenses of mischief and "other criminal code" infractions, such as breaches, especially increased. Increases in such offenses often are related to more strict enforcement practices on the part of police. Dangerous driving and impaired driving offenses have declined over the three years, perhaps in response to 6NPS' focus on traffic issues. The overall pattern of average and stable reported offenses, applies, too, to charges laid by the 6NPS. In 2000 the police service made 503 charges per 10,000 while in 1998 there were 509 charges per 10,000.

Patterns of offenses and charges are clearly suggestive, if not indicative, of police policy and practice. The above

discussion for example has pointed to the 6NPS's emphasis on crime control, effective enforcement and traffic-related offenses, Other patterns such as increased reported "domestics", decreased police pursuits, and increased band bylaw enforcement (still an infrequent reported infraction) also suggest changes in police policy as much as objective change in the amount of such infractions. The police activity data for the three year period show a steady, modest (i.e. 5% per year) increase in investigative hours and a substantial (i.e., 15% plus per year) decrease in court hours, an incongruity that might be explained by the 6NPS's appointment of a civilian court officer. The activity data indicate that there have been, on average per year, four complaints against the police service and four disciplinary matters.

Police activity data clearly understate the 6NPS efforts with respect to crime prevention, community education and problem-solving (including inter-agency collaboration). Nor do they provide any basis for assessment of the 6NPS as providing a "policing for people" style (e.g., courteous, informative, informal policing contact etc). As noted earlier, there is an officer dedicated full-time to crime prevention, community liaison, and school liaison (i.e., Community Services Officer). Among the specific 6NPS programs are P.A.L.S. (sports and other outings involving police officers and youth), the international D.A.R.E. (directed against drug abuse) and C.A.T. ('combat auto theft). A number of informants indicated that it is this dimension of policing that could be profitably elaborated in the future.

CONCLUSION:

The 6NPS seems clearly to be a model for small town policing among FN communities. It is an effective, professional policing service, primarily, though not exclusively, emphasizing crime control, that is response, enforcement and investigation. With respect to this style of policing, the 6NPS has focused on shoring up areas of policing that match the mandate and the milieu, namely highly visible patrol and accident (more generally, traffic) investigation. It is a well-managed police system, with well-trained officers and, enjoys the respect of its policing partners in the OPP and elsewhere. The police commission and the community's formal commitment to a professional ("neutral" and relatively autonomous) policing service were established prior to the 6NPS' major growth so these components have become "institutionalized" in unison . Accordingly, the 6NPS has been able to prosper and develop in an atmosphere relatively free from political interference and the ensnarement of community factionalism. Not surprisingly, the officers' morale has been high and the turnover rate quite low. Crime control and social order, according to available statistical data, have both been successfully achieved. The bottom-line appears to be that 6NPS is a stable, model, small town police service which is effective, efficient and equitable in service delivery and which enjoys high levels of community support.

Whether it can be deemed a model for other FN police service may depend on whether these latter match up on the chief requisites of the 6NPS. The 6NPN is a large single community of over 10,000 residents and such concentrated size (and geography)

allows for a modest size police force which can provide some specialization, round-the-clock service, and, with some collaboration from senior police services, a "full service" delivery mode. Most FNs are much smaller in concentrated population and their micro police services are more limited to a first-response style of policing. The 6NPN is a community well-divided among religious groupings, clans or family groupings, and political orientations; moreover, it is peopled by well-educated residents, informed by local media and with a strong cultural heritage of what has been called "contextualized individualism". Given these 6NPS features, the 6NPS would hardly survive were it not strongly professional in style and seen to be such by the people. The leadership of police managers and political officials has been an important requisite. Much planning and ideational struggle went on in the process of creating the 6NPS and a tradition of professionalism and autonomy appears to have been established. The sophisticated (in a small town context) administrative apparatus which undergirds the 6NPS may be another requisite of its success.

While the 6NPS has met important challenges and could be considered a model of small town policing, there are areas where further development could be valuable without requiring profound new resources. Beyond continuing pressures to deal with crime and social order problems directly, there is some demand in the community and among leaders in the other local agencies for more proactive policing and more inter-agency collaboration in problem-solving. Also, there is at present, limited formal interaction with the band council (or other organized interest groupings for that matter) and the role of the police board

appears to be concentrated on advocacy and buffering (and some participation in personnel matters) but to be much less evident regarding the formulation of policing priorities and objectives.

Becoming too autonomous, and relying too heavily upon informal community contacts, could cause complacency and weaken the 6NPS. Questions of priorities and strategies can be usefully considered and facilitate development and these are often driven by formal accountability. In the case of the 6NPS, there is a substantial base to continue to build upon. The 6NPS management appears to welcome opportunities to challenge itself, as is reflected for example in the desire to have international accreditation. Certainly, the police service, and the other informants interviewed during this research, appeared eager to be part of an in-depth case study which could facilitate further assessment and development. Indeed, the 6NPS itself has been considering a community survey and, possibly, focus groups to solicit community feedback and assist in strategic planning for the future.

AKWESASNE MOHAWK POLICE: POLICING ON THE EDGE?

During the brief, four-day, field work at Akwesasne, one-on-one interviews were carried out with four officers (chief, deputy chief, sergeant and constable), the chair of the Police Commission, and four persons occupying different leadership roles with the Akwesasne Department of Justice. In addition, Akwesasne was toured with the police. Some key informants (e.g., the community relations officer, the Council chiefs) were unavailable and little secondary data could be accessed.

THE CONTEXT FOR POLICING

Kahnawake, Kanestake, and Akwesasne are three of the seven Mohawk communities in Canada. They occupy lands along the St. Lawrence river in the contiguous areas of Ontario, Quebec and New York State. The three communities have a combined population of over 20,000 and are within an hour and a half of one another by car. The ancient settlement patterns in that region are controversial but it is known that in the 17th century Mohawk people were located in the northern part of New York State and that, subsequently, a number of Mohawks converted to Catholicism and established themselves around the settlements of New France at Kahnawake and Kanestake (Oka). Later still, by the middle of the 18th century, some of the Kahnawake Mohawk settled in St. Regis, Quebec where the Akwesasne reserve was later created (Frideres, 2001).

The Akwesasne reserve in Canada today includes principally three districts, namely St. Regis (called "the village" and the hub of the band's administration), Syne and Cornwall Island. In

addition, there is contiguous Mohawk territory in northern New York. The entire Mohawk lands in the area (i.e., Canadian and American) cover about twenty-five square miles and contain a population of about 14,000 people. The tribal authority is located on the American side, the lands there consisting of property along both sides of State Route 37 where roughly 40% of the tribal population reside. The Canadian districts are governed by the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne. Many Mohawk people, most certainly the "traditionalists" (most if not almost all of whom are Longhouse adherents), do not recognize any constraint of international borders. There is a steady flow of Mohawk people throughout the area for housing, employment and services, and of course much intermarriage between Canadians and Americans (though reportedly little intermarriage between Mohawk and non-native people). Band membership is apparently not problematic (though entitlements in housing etc may be) for Mohawks moving from the USA to Canada or vice versa. Informants indicated that in previous generations there was much greater identification of Mohawks there as either American or Canadian and the national identities carried greater social significance. Recently, however, it is reported that there has been much tribal revitalization and, consequently, a discounting of the national identities among the people in favour of tribal identity.

Akwesasne has a population of about 8000 people in the three districts of St. Regis, Syne and Cornwall Island. Other islands making up Akwesasne Mohawk lands in Canada include several sparsely populated and some unpopulated, small islands, and Hamilton island which is basically populated by non-natives cottagers leasing the land. The St. Regis district is the area

of greatest population concentration and its central zone is crowded with single family dwellings and administrative buildings, ringed along the water and in the woodlands by more spacious and attractive homes. There is no slum area nor high rise apartments for welfare dependents. Indeed, there is only one three storey building in the village and it is an administrative building. There are several impressive new buildings including a school, a health and social services centre and the facilities of the Akwesasne Mohawk Police Service (AMPS). The Cornwall Island district, roughly six by two kilometres, is an attractive residential area with mostly excellent housing, a spacious new arena, school, church and several convenience stores and small businesses. Syne reportedly (the writer did not tour it) has some farmland but apparently the flooding for the Seaway and the pollution of nearby big plants have made farming unproductive. There was little evidence of manufacturing or processing employment operations in Akwesasne but there were the usual gas stations, tobacco retailers, craft boutiques, and small specialized services. The latter types of businesses, including restaurants, were more evident along route 37 in the American territory. In this latter area, there were signs of new economic developments in the works and there was also a large casino. Despite the absence of modest-size businesses and industries, informants indicated that many employment opportunities were available for Akwesasne residents, and not only in the many band-based services (education, health, social services, police etc). Apart from these workplaces and the small businesses, including small construction operations and marinas providing summer jobs,

respondents cited the jobs associated with the international bridge which spans Mohawk territory (e.g., collecting tolls, maintenance).

The Akwesasne Mohawk First Nation (AMFN) has a sophisticated political-administrative organization. The Akwesasne Mohawk Council is made up thirteen persons, each of the three major districts electing four persons (district chiefs) and the entire AMFN electing a grand chief. The Council's policies and planning is effected through a complex bureaucracy which includes departments of administration, economic development, environment, housing, social development and health, justice, recreation, education, and technical services. As in the Six Nations of the Grand River, there is both expansive individual entrepreneurial activity and identification with extra-familial social organizations, what was referred to previously as "contextualized individualism". Individuals operate the tobacco, gas and other tourist and craft businesses plus the construction companies and the marina; even the modern casino on the American side of the reserve is partly privatized. A non-band member with deep roots in the community observed that the community, individually and collectively, is "aggressively assertive and quite conscious of its growth and development". While there is a strong sense of collective identity, there does not appear to be dominance on the part of any particular extra-familial affiliation. The Longhouse - Christian - Other split appears to be, as in the Six Nations, fairly equal in terms of numbers and influence, and the fiery clashes between different political factions, that occurred in Akwesasne as late as the 1980s, appear now to have been

relegated to history. Several informants indicated that an interesting trend has been the increased popularity of the Longhouse position and the revitalization of tribal identity (e.g. while there is as yet no regular immersion school in Akwesasne, interest in the indigenous language has increased and there is reportedly much activity in that sphere).

TWO KEY CONTEXTUAL FACTORS FOR AMPS

The Akwesasne FN appears to be quite unique among First Nations in two respects that have considerable relevance for policing. Its geo-political situation is deeply complex and its system of laws is becoming more so. The reserve is located, as noted, in the USA and in Canada, and in regards to the latter, in both Ontario and Quebec. By land and water it is involved in multiple jurisdictions and interfaces with multiple authorities. It is a natural conduit for people, goods and services and contraband. The leaky borders and the ambiguities of jurisdiction, amidst still controversial "constitutional" positions, create not only opportunities for illegal activities but also ambivalences about what is legal and what the priorities should be for dealing with the illegal activities. The former - the opportunities - are profitable enough that organized crime becomes involved and local partnerships with such outsiders get established, requiring a sophisticated and multi-level police response. The latter - the ambivalences - necessitate considerable dialogue and socialization among the interlocked authorities and their police services. Geo-politically, as the chief of the AMPS noted, "we are in the centre of things", even more so in the light of September 11 and

the increased focus on border traffic of all kinds.

The police and the residents of Akwesasne have to be well-informed about jurisdictional policies and, at the same time, have to convey to non-reserve authorities, whether national or state/provincial, their own AMFN rights and preferences. On a simple level the complex informational requirements are illustrated in AMPS brochures on different topics such as, for example, operating all-terrain vehicles where the policies of Quebec, Ontario and New York State are detailed. One could also point to liquor laws where in Quebec the eligibility age is eighteen while in Ontario it is nineteen and in New York State, twenty-one. On a more general level, considerable time has to be spent by AMPS management discussing policies and practices for responding to sophisticated crime with the RCMP, OPP, SQ, New York State Police and various national level American police officials. Ontario policies such as requiring local police services to provide basic "scene of the crime" ident work, or Quebec polices concerning the credentialization for a chief of police, or federal policies / practices for dealing with smuggling, also impact profoundly on the AMPS, particularly an AMPS which is proud of its professional policing approach. In addition, the tribal policing authority is divided between the AMPS on the Canadian side and the Mohawk Tribal Police on the American side and developments concerning the efficiency and effectiveness of one (e.g., downsizing, morale) can impact deeply on the other service.

Collaboration, both formal and informal, among the police service is a fundamental requisite for effective policing. There are numerous formal and informal interactions among the police

services leaders and among their staffs. For example, the AMPS is currently collaborating, under a multi-year agreement, with the RCMP in a joint investigative team (JIT) focused on smuggling of drugs, weapons and people. These collaborations impact considerably on police resources and on the style of policing and type of police activity that develops on the reserve. This complex situation is rendered even more multi-layered by the close proximity of Kahnawake and Kanestake which raises issues concerning collaboration if not regionalization among the kindred Mohawk police services. While apparently little formal collaboration has occurred among these Mohawk police services there have been some discussions (e.g., considering a Mohawk emergency response team) and occasional collective action (e.g., policing the anti-globalization protest in 2001).

Akwesasne is also unique among FNs in having a long-standing, functioning community court and a Department of Justice. The Mohawk court has been operative in its current format for a decade but according to informants its roots go back much further, perhaps to the 1960s. The core court staff consists of two judges, an administrator and a designated prosecutor. The court sits once a month and has a mandate to deal with community generated laws, peace bonds, traffic offenses and mostly summary criminal code offenses. The mandate appears to be technically much broader than the actual range of matters dealt with. Peace bonds are common but these are usually related to 'neighbour-neighbour' disputes rather than domestic violence cases which are handled in the provincial courts at either Valleyfield, Quebec or Cornwall, Ontario. Handling

traffic offenses through the Mohawk court means that the fines stay in the community but many traffic infractions are also handled in the provincial courts where fines are greater and the offender may lose points on his/her licence eligibility (i.e., the deterrent effect is seen as much greater). Also, while the range of criminal code offenses that could be dealt with through the Mohawk court is limited, it does include offenses such as break and entry, but in practice the court only gets referrals for quite minor crimes. The court has a range of sanctions available to it, namely fines, community service orders and the like, but cannot imprison an offender or place him/her on probation. Referrals to the Mohawk court may come from any level of the justice system but usually of course they come from AMPS officers or from the crown prosecutors in Ontario and, to a lesser extent, Quebec. The community does not have a formal alternative measures program but clearly the Mohawk court can be seen as a conduit for alternative justice. Accused persons, in the case of referrals involving criminal code and other federal or provincial statutes, can exercise the option of having the matter dealt with in provincial court. The judges of the court are local, respected persons, non-lawyers provided with some orientation and training, who have the status of Justice of the Peace, and the prosecutor is a long-time, non-native, band employee of the Akwesasne Department of Justice. Elders are usually available at the court. The Mohawk court and the community laws are only applicable for the Canadian tribal members.

The Akwesasne Department of Justice is an umbrella organization for a host of activities, including the Mohawk

court, the development and codification of band bylaws and community laws, the native courtworker program (whereby courtworkers serve as well in provincial criminal courts where Akwesasne band members may be tried), processing and monitoring probation and community service orders from the provincial courts, and a mediation program. Its staff includes a director, coordinator, clerical staff, official for handling probation and community service work, courtworker and prosecutor. According to its leadership, Akwesasne Justice is concerned with developing an effective community-based and Mohawk-sensitive justice system which is controlled by Mohawk people, encourages "digging deeper into the roots of crime and problems" and reduces dependence on outside courts and incarceration; as one official observed, "we try to decriminalize". In the mediation program the mediators are trained (and upgraded occasionally) under the auspices of the Akwesasne Department of Justice. They receive a modest payment and the participants pay a small fee for the service. There usually are one or two mediations a month as Akwesasne Justice tries to encourage "people to work out settlements as an alternative to court".

Unquestionably, the most significant and unique activity of Akwesasne Justice has been in the area of community laws. There are currently some fourteen band bylaws dealing with the usual band bylaw concerns of public order. The band bylaws are generally in keeping with the Indian Affairs -Indian Act (INAC) requirements and have a clear legitimacy and authorization as well as a straight-forward appeal process. But, unlike the situation in other FN jurisdictions, Akwesasne Justice has the court and designated full-time prosecutor to meaningfully

implement and enforce these regulations. Akwesasne Justice, however, over the past several years, has gone well beyond band bylaws into the creation of community laws, rooted presumably in Mohawk customary law and justified not by resort to INAC (though INAC is advised and its comments and suggestions with respect to any specific community law, may be welcomed) but by claims for aboriginal and treaty rights of self-determination. The AMFN, through its Department of Justice has put into place an elaborate multi-stage process for generating community laws entailing initial member complaints or petitions, community input at several points, research work, Council and general assembly ratification. On paper, at least, these community laws, because of this detailed processual development and cultural legitimation might well be expected to have more impact than band bylaws where the processes for formulation are less demanding (i.e., Council and INAC). Thus far, there have been six such laws established and a number of others are reportedly "in the pipeline". In fact, according to informants, there is so much activity nowadays in this field of community laws that the legislative commission delegated authority by Council to be the responsible directing agency meets almost once a week.

Among the six community laws are the Akwesasne Banishment Law and the Akwesasne Drug Law. The latter successfully went through the elaborate process and was effective October 1999. It has been described as "the Warning and Conviction Law, being a law to stop the activities of people dealing with the traffic of drugs". Under this law drug manufacturers, traffickers etc would receive a warning, to be followed, if unheeded, by the initiation of banishment procedures in Mohawk Court pursuant to

the Mohawk Banishment Law. Based on Mohawk customary law, specific groups of community members could be authorized via Akwesasne Justice to warn the culprits 18 years and older and if the warning went unheeded the banishment procedures would be activated by the Mohawk court prosecutor. Drug convictions, other than simple possession, in appropriate courts elsewhere would automatically bring the person into the banishment process (i.e., the procedures would be activated without the requirement of the individual warning). Thus far, neither the Drug Law nor the Banishment Law (which specifies causes for and processes to be followed in banishing persons) has apparently been utilized but clearly the Akwesasne leaders see this type of initiative - community laws - as trail-blazing for FNs in Canada and report much interest from other native communities.

In light of the above, it is understandable then that informants noted that there are three kinds of laws at Akwesasne, namely outsider laws (e.g., the Canadian criminal code), band bylaws and community laws. Among both police and other informants there appeared to be consensus that the first type of laws are regularly policed by the AMPS, and that band bylaws have usually been accepted and policed by AMPS since their broad legal legitimacy is established (e.g., there is an appeal base in INAC etc). It is acknowledged that community laws are more controversial from a policing perspective since there is some ambiguity concerning whether police force can be used to enforce such laws, whether police might be personally liable in enforcement complaints (especially if force has had to be employed), and where community laws fit in the overall system of justice (e.g., what is the appeal process?).

THE AKWESASNE MOHAWK POLICE SERVICE

While the roots of the AMPS reportedly go back several decades, all informants indicated that it has evolved especially in the last decade under the auspices of "quadpartite agreements" (Canada, Ontario, Quebec and AMFN) and the impetus of the First Nations Policing Policy (1991/92). Immediately prior to that time, the police service had about seven FN constables and liaised particularly closely with the Ontario OPP. The AMPS presently has a complement of twenty-seven officers, namely the chief, deputy chief, four platoons each with a sergeant and four constables, two officers collaborating with two RCMP counterparts in a long-term joint investigative team (JIT), the community relations officer, the court officer and the fleet officer. In addition, there are seven support personnel, namely an office manager, clerk, maintenance person and four dispatchers. The AMPS, in conjunction with fire, ambulance and search and rescue, has its own 911 dispatch system which operates on a 24/7 basis. This call service was achieved in 1994/95 and is deemed by AMPS officers to have been a major accomplishment. AMPS officers work a ten-hour shift and there are usually at least two officers on duty each evening. The officers, all band members and all male (there is a female trainee), are like, their chief, well-trained and credentialized. Four officers have been trained as SOCO (i.e., scene of crime officers), five have breathalyzer expertise (and access to sophisticated breathalyzer equipment) and three are qualified in marine operations. The community officer has had training in media relations and some other officers have had

investigative training at the Canadian Police College.

Headquartered at St. Regis, the AMPS has no substations or community offices but, reportedly, patrol cars can reach Syne and Cornwall Island in fifteen minutes and Hamilton Island in thirty. The AMPS now has excellent facilities, a new, well-laid out, spacious and attractive building, a new boat for water patrols carried out in collaboration with other police services (especially RCMP), skidoos for winter transportation, and in collaboration with the RCMP, use of a helicopter for investigating possible hydroponic sites (i.e., marijuana production) on the islands. The negotiated budget (Ottawa contributing 52% while Quebec and Ontario each contribute 24%) is between \$2.5 and \$3 million annually. There are no supplemental funds contributed by the AMFN but temporary AMPS deficits are covered by the AMFN which is the recipient and administrator of all police funding. There are no special supplemental private security guards funded directly by the Council but Council apparently does manage some security officers associated with Canada Customs.

Virtually all the usual indicators of effective policing indicate that the AMPS is providing a well-managed, quality police service. The AMPS produces annual operational plans which lay out the service's vision (i.e., "we envision a well-trained professional police service that is sensitive to the needs of Ahkwehsronen people, working in partnership with the community to ensure a safe, healthy and responsible community"), identifies strategic goals and specifies the corresponding tasks and performance measures for their realization. While full departmental meetings are uncommon, squad meetings reportedly

are regular. Officers' input is said to be sought on new policies and the latter are vetted with the members. There is a departmental manual (i.e., standard operational procedures), job descriptions for the various police roles, annual performance evaluations and a subculture emphasizing training and upgrading for all members from the chief of police to the constables. Promotion procedures have become increasingly formalized and sergeants are required to take the Ontario sergeant's examination. The AMPS not only collaborates well with the senior police services in the area but recognizes the value of further collaboration, whether by extending its JIT agreement with the RCMP or discussing joint actions with the other Mohawk police services.

The consequences of the solid management and strong professional orientation that the AMPS exhibits are manifested in the excellent clearance rates for violent and property crimes (see below) and in the low turnover among AMPS officers. Recruiting and keeping community members as police officers is something that many FN police services, such as neighbouring Kanestake (and non-FN small town services), have been unable to do, and attests perhaps to the success that AMPS has had in creating a strong professional image and substance for its service. All AMPS members are band members and only two persons have left the service in the last four years. The officers have an association and are affiliated with the larger Ontario Police Association. The chief has held his office for five years, much longer than his three immediate predecessors. It would appear, too, that having a deputy chief managing day-to-day operations has been a particular valuable strategy for maintaining a

quality service, given that the chief has to attend so many community and extra-community meetings because of the complex context for policing that was described above.

It is unclear how effective AMPS has been with respect to community policing. The AMPS informants indicated that there are policies of keeping the victim informed of the progress of an investigation, and reference was made by informants, and in police documents, to several programs such as community watch, crime stoppers, mobilizing volunteers, and traumatic incident debriefing, all of which are classic strategies of good professional policing. It is unclear how much effort and priority has been accorded to collaboration with local service agencies or liaison with the women's and youths' shelters, elder groupings and so forth, but some mutual training has been done alongside community agencies (e.g., women's shelter staff and police staff).

The police commission appears to have been an integral part of AMPS' success as a quality, professional police service. As in the case of the Six Nations, the commission leaders over the past decade have had a vision of policing and the commission's role that has emphasized advocacy for the service (i.e., validating and legitimating it in the community) and buffering it from any direct political interference. The commission chairs, elected Council members, have articulated, and argued for when necessary, a triadic social construction of policing as professionalism, policing focused on community needs, and policing that is arms-length from politics. In addition to the chair, who is always a council member, there are six members of the commission, two from each of the three principal districts

that constitute Akwesasne. Consensus is the rule of decision-making adopted and the chair does not have a vote. The commission meets once a month. While the primary roles of the police commission are advocacy and buffering, commission members are also involved in some personnel matters (especially the appointments of chief and deputy chief and promotions) and hearing complaints against the officers. The police commission does not hold public meetings but there are sessions with other community organizations, especially Akwesasne Justice.

As noted, the AMPS has to deal with significant organized crime (e.g., the bikers, mafia, Colombians) and their reserve associates. The main criminal thrust here is the smuggling of drugs, weapons and people; alcohol and tobacco smuggling have faded in importance. In the opinion of the police interviewees, the smuggling problem is "far more important than other crime". There clearly is much money to be made in smuggling. One young officer noted that community young men who were involved could be seen driving their fast new cars around the reserve blatantly showing off their gains. The lure of the money can get entwined with issues of political rights and autonomy (e.g., to right to grow marijuana) which could make enforcement very difficult and dangerous, sapping community support for the police service. While such a development seems to have occurred in some FN communities (e.g., Kanestake), Akwesasne political and community leaders have strongly condemned such thinking and practice and have supported tough, zero tolerance policing practices; in fact, the community law on drugs could be seen as more stringent than the charges police lay and the procedures police use in dealing with the problem. Conventional crimes such as theft,

other property crime, and public disorder were said to modest in number. Person violence was identified as significant and increasing according to most informants. Typically, assaults - especially domestic violence - were characterized as "high and steady", predictably occurring around certain times of the month (i.e., welfare days). Generally, informants suggested that substance abuse (alcohol and drugs) and the breakdown of the stable nuclear family embedded in a supportive extended family network were the major problems in Akwesasne. The AMPS has a policy of charging for the possession of soft drugs and a policy of sending all available officers to spousal/partner violence calls. Charges are laid in Valleyfield or Cornwall provincial court depending on where the incident took place. AMPS members may take matters to the Mohawk court if they are infractions of band bylaws or very minor offenses. The police service has determined that having a designated court officer to prepare files and attend arraignment has increased efficiency and effectiveness in processing cases.

THE AMPS: VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS

As in most FN communities referred to in this report, the views and assessments of non-police informants convey a characterization of the police service as competent, effective, better than outside police services would be in responding to the community needs and expectations, and one with which they readily identify (i.e., our police). Also, consistent with other FNs, there is a call for more collaboration with local agencies, more involvement with youth and more peacekeeping; in general, a critique, not expressed stridently but a critique nevertheless,

that the policing has yet to capture the essence of native differences or to distinguish itself from good professional mainstream policing. One non-police informant considered that the kind of cadet training officers received and the need for officers to establish their professional credibility have taken priority. Clearly, this view was common among Akwesasne Justice personnel who wanted more enthusiasm from police for -and more use by them of - the Mohawk court and the band bylaw / community law alternatives. For their part, the officers themselves did not challenge or object to the peacekeeping, inter-agency thrusts but, rather, were concerned about jeopardizing their own credibility and bringing policing and justice into disrepute by a too premature involvement. One senior officer commented "we want to develop more culture aspects to reflect our uniqueness from non-native police agencies". Police were, however, sceptical concerning the community laws and even the enforcement of band bylaws, several commenting that charges laid with the court are often withdrawn so why bother, and that persons fined there often, with impunity, do not complete the disposition (e.g., do not pay the fine or do the community service work) or even show up at court. There are also outstanding issues, as noted above, concerning liability in enforcement of community laws. The general opinion from the police side was not one of hostility to the critique but rather a confidence in their current approach and a sense that more work has to be done to clarify legal and related issues and to generate community consensus on the alternative justice policies and practices being advocated. This major issue concerning the preferred style of policing is being played out in many FNs which have self-

administered policing. The difference in the AMFN is two-fold, namely that it has more salience here given the sophistication and development that has occurred over the past decade, and that the debate is engaged with mutual respect on all sides.

Generally the informants, police and non-police alike, considered that Akwesasne is a rather difficult community to police for several reasons, namely high demands and expectations concerning the police service, diverse community factions, and the Mohawk subculture (i.e., assertiveness). Nevertheless, they all pointed out aspects of the community that facilitated policing. It was observed, for example, that the Longhouse / Christian / Other religious divisions have no negative impact for policing. There are apparently no differences among adherents in these groupings with respect to calling for police assistance, cooperating in investigations or testifying/witnessing in court. Moreover, all informants emphasized that the troubles in neighbouring Mohawk communities concerning factional disagreements over policing in the drug trade, and other problems, that have generated much violence even against the police officers, do not apply to Akwesasne. Akwesasne was seen as having gone through that phase ("we've been through that", "that was us in the 1980s") and as now having a strong community consensus that support the current police approach. At the same time, especially among the officers, there appeared to some anxiety that the consensus could fracture and significant chaos ensue.

Among the police informants there appeared to be a sense of accomplishment and pride in the AMPS. The members characterized it as being a well-managed organization with an appropriate

organizational structure and high morale. There appeared to be good cooperation and rapport among the members, with a focus on performance; one officer conveyed this style in his remark, "rank means little here". The officers interviewed considered that the AMPS was about where it should be with respect to appropriate complement or size. The chief uncertainty regarding complement concerned the future development of the JIT and whether additional members would have to be seconded to that collaborative undertaking. The members valued their current collaboration with the RCMP and other police services and were positive about future collaboration with the other Mohawk police services. The strengths of the police service according to the police informants were identified as leaders in Council and the Police Commission who have advocated and protected a professional autonomous police service, and the quality and commitment of the members.

CRIME STATISTICS AND POLICE ACTIVITY

Limited hard data were obtained during the fieldwork at Akwesasne and apparently there are no audits or reports which detail these aspects of the AMPS. The most recent data available through the Canadian Centre For Justice Statistics (CCJS) indicate that conventional criminal offenses and infractions - assaults, property crimes and 'other criminal code (i.e., mischief / public disturbance / breaches) - occur at a quite modest rate. For example, in 1997 the Six Nations' rates of violent crime, property crime, and total criminal code offenses, all were well above those at Akwesasne. The rate of violent offenses was 1354 per 100,000 for 6NFN but only 562 for

Akwesasne, and for property crimes the respective rates were 2677 and 1178 respectively. Consistently, the incidents per officer were almost three times as great among the 6NPS (i.e., 41 to 14). Indeed, almost all communities in Ontario of similar population size (whether FN or mainstream) had higher rates of conventional offenses. In terms of per capita costs and police per population ratios, the AMPS was in the lower half among FN police services but well above most of the other Ontario police departments. The trends in these measures, according to informants, are however for a convergence of Akwesasne and other Ontario communities. The CCJS data also indicate that the AMPS has had an above average clearance rate for property offenses and an average rate for violent crimes (and in both instances above the 6NPS and most FN police services' clearance rates). The data on conventional crime, occurrence and cleared, do not do justice to the effort that AMPS has to expend in dealing with smuggling and organized crime; in these areas there is no comparison between Akwesasne and Canadian communities of comparable size. The experience of police services, such as the Hamilton Police Service in dealing with the mafia, has been that with such sophisticated criminal activity, gains and effectiveness have to be measured in different ways since much surveillance and other police work may impact by deterring and driving away criminals rather than by laying charges.

CONCLUSION

The AMPS certainly has one of the most challenging policing responsibilities among FN police services in Canada. It operates in a milieu where organized crime, of various stripes,

represents a serious threat, where multiple jurisdictions create major opportunities and difficulties for effective policing, where there has been a recent history of serious community divisiveness, and where there have been widespread problems of unemployment, poverty and inter-personal violence which have shown signs of abatement only in the last few years. As the above description and modest analyses have shown, the AMPS has been reasonably successful in meeting that challenge, largely for two reasons, namely (a) its effective police management and the quality of the officers themselves, and (b) strong political leadership at the community level which has buffered the police service from political interference and community factionalism.

The AMPS in Akwesasne would be an excellent case study. Its singularity in FN policing and indeed in Canadian policing would make it informative of policing on the edge with respect to both the possibilities of the modest-sized police service and the future of FN policing. Both the chief of police and the chair of the police commission were positive about participating in a national case study. A collaborative research undertaking that would include a professional survey of the community, focused groups and selective in-depth interviewing plus thorough analyses of secondary data and materials would fill an informational void and assist the AMPS in responding to community needs and preferences and in developing a strategic plan for the its future in a most complex milieu.

APPENDIX A: PHASES IN FIRST NATION POLICING

PHASE ONE: UP TO AND INCLUDING THE 1950s

FEDERAL POLICING

BROAD POLICING MANDATE

ABORIGINAL HELPERS

PHASE TWO: THE 1960s

THE RCMP PULL OUT OF ONTARIO AND QUEBEC

CONTRACTION OF THE POLICING MANDATE

SOME DIRECT ABORIGINAL PARTICIPATION IN POLICING

PHASE THREE: THE 1970S AND EARLY 1980s

THE 3B OPTIONS

SELF-ADMINISTERED POLICING INITIATIVES

NEW GOVERNANCE INITIATIVES (THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, THE
COMMISSION)

PHASE FOUR: THE LATE 1980s TO MID-1990s

INQUIRIES AND COMMISSIONS

FIRST NATIONS POLICING POLICY

ROYAL COMMISSION (RCAP)

THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS

SELF-ADMINISTERED POLICE SERVICES

CURRENT SITUATION: 2001/2001

NEAR-COMplete TRIPARTITE COVERAGE

INDIGENIZATION

FIFTY SELF-ADMINISTERED SERVICES

DIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

THE FUTURE

EFFICIENCY ISSUES

EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES
VISIONS OF POLICING
NICHES, NETWORKS AND REGIONALIZATION

APPENDIX B: EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSTAINABILITY IN POLICING

CONVENTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS RE POLICING EFFECTIVENESS (THE SIX POLICE FUNCTIONS)

RECENT MOVEMENTS IN POLICING AND ISSUES OF EFFECTIVENESS
COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING
THE ACTIVE POLICE ORGANIZATION
CORPORATE IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES
ACCOUNTABILITY / TRANSPARENT STEWARDSHIP

RECENT SOCIETAL MOVEMENTS AND POLICING EFFECTIVENESS
THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT
THE VICTIMS' MOVEMENT
ALTERNATIVE JUSTICE MOVEMENTS (RESTORATIVE JUSTICE)

RECENT SOCIAL FORCES AND POLICING EFFECTIVENESS
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT STANDARDS (e.g. POLICE ACT, POLICE
BOARDS)
CURRENT SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES
DECLINE OR LEVELLING OFF OF POLICE GROWTH
PRIVATE POLICING
COSTING POLICE SERVICES
DECLINE OF THE SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE POLICE SERVICES

APPENDIX C: EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSTAINABILITY FOR FN POLICE SERVICES

THE CONVENTIONAL MEASURES OF POLICING EFFECTIVENESS
(THE 6 POLICE FUNCTION IN FN CONTEXT)

THE RECENT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN POLICING IN FN CONTEXT
(e.g., CBP, BUSINESS PRACTICES, ACCOUNTABILITY)

THE RECENT SOCIETAL MOVEMENTS IN FN CONTEXT (e.g., WOMEN'S
MOVEMENT, VICTIMS MOVEMENT, ALTERNATIVE JUSTICE)

THE RECENT SOCIAL FORCES IN FN CONTEXT (e.g. SOCIO-
DEMOGRAPHICS, PROVINCIAL STANDARDS)

SPECIAL FN CONSIDERATIONS FOR EFFECTIVENESS (e.g., FNPP,
RCAP, POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS)

ISSUES OF SUSTAINABILITY IN FN CONTEXT

THE MANDATE FOR SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE POLICE SERVICES
COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES

THE ROLE OF THE BOARDS RE EFFECTIVENESS AND SUSTAINABILITY
GOVERNANCE RESPONSIBILITIES

THE POLICE SUBCULTURE

