

COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING AND JUSTICE ISSUES: A SURVEY

CONDUCTED ON BEHALF OF THE UNAMA'KI TRIBAL POLICE

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COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS OF POLICING AND JUSTICE ISSUES: AN OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

While there have been major developments in the provision of policing services to First Nations (FN) peoples since the 1960s (see enclosed the chronological chart of important dates), the events of the past decade have been truly profound in their implications. The First Nations Policing Policy (FNPP) announced in 1991 by the federal government has led to two major developments in the policing of Canada's First Nation communities, namely the thorough indigenization of the policing complement, and the rapid growth of self-administered FN police services exercising varying degrees of autonomy and completeness. Statistics provided by the Aboriginal Policing Directorate (APD) indicate that there are now some 850 fully empowered, FN officers in Canada, a proportion of Canada's police officers which is 50% above the proportion of aboriginal people in Canada's employed labour force as a whole. FN officers now constitute the large majority of officers policing in FN communities (Murphy and Clairmont, APD, 1996). In addition, the self-administered or 'stand-alone' FN police service has been the fastest rising type of police organization in Canada over the past decade. It is present throughout Canada. There are, by APD criteria, at least thirty self-administered police services of varying sizes and degree of institutional completeness (Clairmont and Murphy, APD, 1999).

As noted above national level studies have recently been conducted which surveyed the perspectives, attitudes and activities of the front-line officers in FN communities (Murphy and Clairmont, 1996), and which analysed FN police services, especially from the viewpoint of the police managers (Clairmont and Murphy, 1999). Evaluative reports, and audits, have frequently reported the viewpoints of community leaders, essentially chiefs and councillors, and, occasionally, members of the newly established police boards. Little information is available, at least in published form, on how the non-official, everyday inhabitants of FN communities have assessed these two developments of indigenization and self-administration... This modest project represents a start on that agenda. It is directed at documenting and analysing the views of adult community residents served by one FN police service, namely the Unama'ki Tribal Police Service (UTPS).

TABLE ONE
ABORIGINAL POLICING IN CANADA: A CHRONOLOGY

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

1968: DIAND INITIATES THE BAND CONSTABLE PROGRAM

1968: KAHNAWAKE PEACEKEEPERS PROGRAM STARTS

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

1973: RCMP 3-B POLICING PROGRAM BEGINS

1975: ONTARIO INDIAN SPECIAL CONSTABLE PROGRAM (OICP) BEGINS

1975: AMERINDIAN POLICE PROGRAM ESTABLISHED IN QUEBEC

1970s: DIAND UNDERTAKES EVALUATION OF BAND CONSTABLE PROGRAM

1978: DAKOTA OBJIBWAY TRIBAL COUNCIL POLICING ESTABLISHED

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

1982: 500 INDIAN OFFICERS ARE NOW EMPLOYED IN FN COMMUNITIES

(INCLUDING 130 BAND CONSTABLES)

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

1995: EVALUATION OF THE FIRST NATIONS POLICING POLICY AND PROGRAM (Jamieson and Associates) SOLICITOR GENERAL

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

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

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

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

Perhaps the most pervasive theme that has emerged from the studies and evaluations referred to above is that while the two developments are valued, there is a sense that the quality and type of policing provided to FN peoples stills leaves much to be desired. This view has been expressed by political leaders (e.g. chiefs and councillors), police personnel themselves, and the assessors. The major area of shortfall has generally been identified as the lack of community or people-oriented policing. The FNPP laid out the three objectives of providing policing comparable in costs and resources to that available in non-native communities, provision of policing that is increasingly subject to FN administration and control, and effecting a policing that responds to the distinctive character of FN communities. It is especially with reference to the latter objective that community needs assessment can play a pivotal role in advancing the agenda of FNs and of the FNPP. The main issues to be examined in the community needs assessment include levels of crime and social problems, level and type of victimization, perceptions of fear and security, the extent to which wrongdoing gets channelled through the police and the formal justice system, policing priorities from the community's perspectives, evaluation of the basic or core policing functions, sense of adequacy of the police service, willingness to participate and partner in the policing effort, and orientation to potential alternative justice initiatives.

UNAMA'KI TRIBAL POLICE SERVICE

The UTPS was formally launched in December 1994. It has had an official complement (but not always the actual complement) of fifteen UTPS officers and two secondments from other police services. When this project began, there was a chief of police, two sergeants (one of whom was seconded from the RCMP), four corporals (one per each FN community served, and one of whom was female), and ten constables (one of whom was seconded from the Cape Breton Regional Municipality Police Service). In addition there were five persons employed in dispatch and one in finance and administration. During the year-long course of this project there were several significant developments for the UTPS. Police substations were erected in the three FNs of Membertou, Waycobah and Chapel Island, to complement the new headquarters building

erected in Eskasoni, the largest Mi'kmaq community in Nova Scotia. The two seconded officers were replaced by credentialized FN officers giving UTPS a complement of seventeen native officers. Just prior to the project being undertaken, the police board of UTPS was reorganized and the band chiefs of the four participating FNs became board members in the reconstituted board which also included one community representative from each FN; previously no chief sat on the board.

The UTPS is a regional police organization serving an FN population of approximately 5000 persons, distributed over four quite geographically distant communities. Initially it served a fifth FN community, Wagmatcook, but the latter returned to RCMP policing almost two years ago. Throughout Canada, FN self-administered services have had higher costs per capita and lower population per officer ratios than their provincial counterparts. Some reasons for this variance are provided in the Clairmont and Murphy report on 'stand alone' services referred to above. In the case of the UTPS, reasons for such a pattern would include having to deal with geographically distant communities, high community expectations for policing, start-up costs for a new police service, a high rate of violent crime (by far, the highest among Nova Scotian communities), and comparatively high levels of property crime and other criminal code offences such as public disorder and mischief (see *Crime and Police Resources in Canadian Municipalities*, 1997, Centre for Justice Statistics, 1998). To put the cost/resource factors further in perspective, it can be noted that, in Nova Scotia, the cost per capita for RCMP policing FN communities (via what is known as CTAs or community tripartite agreements) is substantially greater than the UTPS's per capita costs; according to the APD's 1999 report, "Comparative Characteristics Between First Nations and Municipal and Provincial Police Services", the RCMP's CTA per capita cost is \$430 while the UTPS' is \$346. More complex and problematic is the evidence that the UTPS clearance rate for reported criminal offences has been mediocre. It is not clear to what extent clearance rates have been negatively impacted by familism and other community factors. Examining community perspectives on policing, responses to victimization, and informal resolution of wrongdoing may shed light on these issues.

PROJECT RATIONALE

The following is the stated rationale for this community needs assessment project as presented by the UTPS to the Aboriginal Policing Directorate.

"The Unama'ki Policing Service is committed to providing quality policing, and especially community-based policing philosophy and practice, in all the First Nation communities it serves on Cape Breton Island. This is a significant challenge for our newly-created police service since resources are quite strained, community expectations are quite high, and the levels of social problems and conventional crime very high in our jurisdictions. The base complement is scarcely adequate for policing geographically dispersed communities where the level of conventional crimes and crimes of violence as auditors have shown is at least 5 times the levels encountered in the RCMP jurisdictions and 3 times that found in Municipal jurisdictions in Nova Scotia. As in many First Nation communities the demand/expectation for policing is quite high; calls for service have increased 400% since the Unama'ki Policing Service began in December 1994. Clearly, in this era of fiscal restraint, we have to provide efficient and effective policing by going beyond incident-driven policing. To be effective in implementing community-based policing and engaging in problem-solving our officers require training additional to the first-rate conventional training they obtained as cadets. In addition, it is imperative that the police service fully understands and is responsive to the needs and views of the communities. The UTPS has to develop its own style in response to the special needs of our First Nation communities.

The proposed needs assessment project provides a real opportunity for the UTPS to advance in the above objectives. It is timely and important to undertake a needs assessment over the next few months. Our

complement is stabilized and at its highest levels since the UTPS' inception. A new chief has recently been appointed. All stakeholders, including board members, police officers, and community people are oriented to securing an enhanced and more proactive policing style. Also, there are opportunities for the UTPS and the four participating First Nation communities to utilize the needs assessment results in order to develop a more elaborate proposal for crime prevention and take advantage of the new initiative in that area launched by the Government of Canada".

SPECIFIC RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This needs assessment was directed at obtaining information on the needs and views of community residents with respect to matters relevant to the policing service; these matters include perceptions of crime levels in the community, and of the major social problems there, identification of the kinds of priorities UTPS should have, assessment of police service's basic functions and overall performance, and willingness to participate with the UTPS, on a voluntary basis in specific ways.

A second major objective was to generate information in order to facilitate the UTPS' planning and program development in achieving its special policing mandate; this included, where possible, detailing the implications for manpower and organizational structure. A third, ancillary objective was to explore the participants' response to the Mi'kmaq Young Offenders Program (MYOP) and their views on the development of further alternative justice initiatives in the future.

METHODOLOGY

The survey instrument was developed after discussion with UTPS and MYOP staff and after an examination of comparable instruments used in other police research. The instrument was pretested. In the end the questions utilized and the format adopted followed closely the

survey instruments that the researcher employed in his 1991/92 survey of policing and justice issues among Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, both on and off reserve. It would therefore be possible to compare community perceptions and attitudes about these issues before and after the establishment of the UTPS. In this report, however, the focus is exclusively upon current community attitudes and assessments. It may be noted too that while the instrument largely consists of questions calling for a fixed-choice response (i.e., "check off or circle the response that represents your view or experience"), there were twelve open-ended questions where respondents were encouraged to respond in their own fashion; these types of questions generally preceded the fixed response types in order to tap spontaneous views and attitudes.

A small grant of \$4700. from the Aboriginal Policing Directorate to the Unama'ki Tribal Police Service (UTPS), enabled this researcher, on behalf of the UTPS, to hire and coordinate the activities of four Mi'kmaq interviewers, each utilizing the common survey instrument and interviewing in his/her home community. All four interviewers were adults who had participated as volunteers in new justice alternatives in their communities (e.g., MYOP) but none had any affiliation with the UTPS. It was not possible to provide more than minimal training to the interviewers; the researcher met with each person individually to discuss the project, review the questions, and, as a model, to interview each one using the survey instrument. Each interviewer was instructed to interview at least forty adults in the community and to draw upon all segments and areas in the community in obtaining an roughly equal number of male and females, and persons under and over thirty-five years of age (i.e., quota, purposive sampling). The interviewers were paid on a 'per interview' basis and were asked to record the names and addresses of all respondents on a separate sheet of paper so that they could be officially thanked for their participation by the UTPS.

The interviewers on the whole did a reasonable job and virtually all questionnaires were completed fully. Many questionnaires recorded the meaningful comments of the respondents. In only two of the four FN communities did the total number of obtained interviews reach the targeted threshold of forty. Seventy-five were completed in Waycobah and forty-seven in Eskasoni, whereas only thirty-one were obtained in Chapel Island, and, most disappointedly, only twenty-five in Membertou. The interview quotas for gender were adequately met as, overall,

ninety-seven females (i.e., 54% of the sample) and eighty-one males completed the questionnaire. The quotas were reasonably, though less successfully, captured for age as 106 or 59% of the total sample was under thirty-five years of age. In only one community did the quality and potential bias of the interviewing become suspect and in that one instance a different interviewer was sent in and completed the bulk of the interviews obtained for that community; a comparison of the questionnaires obtained from the two interviewers indicated no problem or inconsistency in results.

RESULTS

The reports for each participating First Nation follow this overview. Here the results will be discussed in a succinct fashion with emphasis on what is common and different in the survey results from the four communities serviced by UTPS. Each First Nation had some special dimensions to its response. Eskasoni, the largest FN and the location of UTPS headquarters, highlighted the central problem for policing of "getting rid of the drug dealers and bootleggers". While all communities shared this concern and connected it closely to the other major police and community problem, namely dealing with youth, that issue stands out in the Eskasoni response in large part because, otherwise, crime and social problems were seen as "average" and the assessment of policing was generally positive. In the case of Membertou, there was a strong theme (or social construction) presented of high levels of crime and social problems, and a sharp critique of UTPS' crime fighting, especially with respect to response times, criminal investigations, and dissemination of crime prevention information. Membertou respondents exhibited a higher degree of worry about becoming victims of crime. There was, also, in the Membertou responses, an especial focus on youth gangs and their intimidation of seniors, a theme that reflected, perhaps, on the timing of the survey and the concerns of the main Membertou interviewer. In Chapel Island the central underlying theme of the survey questionnaires was the problem of feuding among different family groups and the complaint that, with respect to certain enforcement practices (e.g., motor vehicle offences), policing was biased by familism. This theme was strongly evident in the surveys conducted by two different

interviewers, one of whom was from outside the community. Among the participants from Waycobah, there was a similarity to Chapel Island in the emphasis on the theme of feuding as a major community problem, and family ties impacting on police enforcement of motor vehicle and public order laws, but Waycobah stood out, among all the communities, for the significant differences found in the responses by gender and age. Women gave different responses than men, and middle age/older respondents differed in their views from the young adults; the pattern was for females and older persons to perceive more crime and big problems in the community, to expect the UTPS to do more to deal with these concerns, and to be more critical of the UTPS service.

There were several themes that crosscut the communities. Overall, there were important socio-demographic differences in the responses as age and gender status affected assessment. Females were more likely, especially in Eskasoni and Waycobah, to expect more involvement by the UTPS in the local social problems, and to be more critical of UTPS efforts with respect to problem solving and crime prevention. Apart from Membertou, women gave poorer performance grades to the UTPS and were more likely to say the service overall was not adequate. Female respondents in all four communities more frequently called for police collaboration with other local agencies to get at the roots of crime-related problems. They were more likely to cite the UTPS, either in positive or in negative terms, in discussing why crime levels were what they were, and appeared to depend more on the UTPS for reducing their fears of crime and victimization. It is not clear whether this gender difference is the result of gender culture (e.g., men being more "macho" and discounting their dependency) or whether it is related to a possible virilocal residence pattern (i.e., at marriage, does the couple live in the male's community?). Interestingly, the survey also revealed there was much ambivalence concerning the extent of wife battering and child abuse in the communities. Typically, women were more likely to consider these matters as big problems in their communities but, surprisingly, age was almost as important a factor - younger adults, male and female, were much more likely to report spousal violence and sexual assault as serious community problems. Age mattered as well with respect to other responses. In Waycobah, it was the older respondents who especially considered the community to have high crime levels and big social problems, and who were the most critical of the police

service. In Eskasoni, older respondents reported more crime and community problems but younger adults were more likely to give the UTPS low grades.

In all communities, save Membertou, crime levels were seen as "average", but in all four FNs the perceived trend was for an increase in crime, and, in particular, more serious and personally threatening crime. Certainly, a significant proportion of respondents reported that they worried very much about being assaulted or, at least, victimized through property theft or vandalism. Respondents in the larger FNs of Eskasoni and Membertou identified burglary and vandalism as "big problems" in their community, while the most frequently cited "big problems" in the smaller communities of Chapel Island and Waycobah were feuding and vandalism. The majority of respondents in all communities held that much serious wrongdoing simply does not get reported to the police. They usually also considered that wrongdoing not reported to the police does not get dealt with informally either through local agencies or chief and council. Such views underscore the dependence on the police and also the widespread female position that police have to collaborate more with other local agencies in effectively dealing with crime and social problems.

There was a widespread consensus among communities and age/gender groupings that crime and social problems were especially linked to youth and to drug and alcohol abuse. While parenting and modern youth culture were often identified as root causes, respondents clearly saw drug dealers and bootleggers as the immediate culprits. And the vast majority of all respondents indicated that much of this illegal activity is neither reported to the police nor handled otherwise in the community. Perhaps, then, it is not surprising that throughout the area, the policing priorities most frequently cited were fairly conventional ones, namely working with youth, and catching criminals. Providing security (and less fear) for seniors and having conventional crime prevention programming (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch, school liaison) were also emphasized. A secondary priority, though not an unimportant area of concern, expressed by many respondents, especially in the three smaller FNs of Waycobah, Chapel Island and Membertou, focused around confronting bias or, better perhaps, the perception of family bias, in police enforcement of certain kinds of wrongdoing (e.g., traffic offences, public disorder).

In all four communities, the majority of respondents rated their UTPS policing as good or

average (as opposed to poor or uncertain) on the police functions of general enforcement and personal approachability; there was significant variation, though, as Eskasoni and Membertou respondents were much more likely to give such assessments. A clear majority of Eskasoni respondents also considered that the UTPS policing was good or average in terms of response times, crime solving and providing the community with the kind of policing it wanted; however no more than one-third, and often less, of the respondents in each of three other communities shared that positive assessment of those three police functions. In all four communities, a large majority of respondents were quite critical of the UTPS' crime prevention programming and information dissemination. Moreover, respondents typically held that they knew little about the UTPS' resource situation and that it did not communicate or inform well. The general view was that it was the responsibility of the UTPS to better inform citizens and to exercise a more transparent stewardship. Respondents were quick to suggest a wide range of actions that UTPS could undertake to improve the communication process, mentioning newsletters, focus group discussions, community advisory committees, and an officer dedicated to crime prevention and public affairs.

Survey participants in Eskasoni and Membertou were rather evenly divided on whether the relations between UTPS police and community members (i.e., those known well by the respondent) were excellent or good rather than fair or poor. However, in Chapel Island and Waycobah no more than one quarter of the respondents considered that such relations were excellent or fair. Male and female responses were quite similar on this issue across communities. A majority of Eskasoni participants (58%) considered that UTPS provided adequate policing for their community. In the three other communities the assessment was much different as only about 15% or one in six respondents (whether male or female) considered the policing to be adequate. Interestingly, a large percentage of the respondents in these communities reported that were not sure whether the policing was adequate. It would seem that many adult residents recognize that the UTPS is in its maturing period and are willing to 'cut it some slack' under the circumstances; in other words, they are critical but suspending judgment for the nonce. Interestingly, too, a large number of the survey participants expressed a willingness to become involved as volunteers with the UTPS. A majority of the male participants in each community

expressed a willingness to volunteer with UTPS by serving on advisory committees or collaborating in crime prevention projects; and a sizeable minority were willing also to help out at the local police station and even join auxiliaries and related police activities. Females gave similar responses.

Apart from policing, the survey inquired about respondents' knowledge and views of the Mi'kmaq Young Offenders Project (MYOP), and of possible developments in alternative justice programming. Most respondents reported that they were not especially aware of MYOP. Among those with some knowledge or experience of the project, there was usually, but definitely not always, a positive assessment. The positive comments either reflected personal experience with MYOP cases or a view that the justice circles appropriately divert youth committing minor offences by providing a good forum to explore the roots of the problem and to generate effective support which can redirect the youths. The negative comments drew less on actual experience and largely reflected the view that the young offenders would not be persuaded to change behaviours by a program which supposedly gave them merely a slap on the wrist. It may be noted that the survey had an educative role in that persons who were unaware of MYOP, had the project explained to them by the interviewers, all of whom were experienced with MYOP.

There was much diversity in respondents' views as to whether the MYOP program should be extended to include more serious and repeat young offenders, and adults committing either minor crimes or acts of low-level family violence. Overall, respondents were in favour of extending the program in all instances where the offence does not involve a serious personal assault, whether the offender is a youth or an adult. The overall sample was quite divided, half for and half against, about extending the MYOP diversion to adults committing family violence and to youth who commit serious crimes or are repeat offenders. There was some variation by community but, for the most part, the results were quite similar throughout the area. Surprisingly, the gender differences were quite modest and inconsistent from one community to another, even on the issue of whether cases of family violence should be referred to the Mi'kmaq justice circles. Survey participants differed much in terms of their receptivity to further restorative justice initiatives but overall they were supportive of such development on the assumption that major crimes and acts of serious personal violence would still be referred to the conventional justice

system. Those persons in favour of alternatives pointed to both push (e.g., the current system does not work well) and pull (e.g., the alternatives would be more effective and/or culturally appropriate) factors. Those persons opposed usually argued that the alternatives would not deter offenders and were not culturally salient to young people. Roughly half the sample were willing to become involved, as a volunteer, with MYOP and other justice initiatives, particularly in roles advising or helping either offenders or victims, and in discussions of Mi'kmaq justice alternatives. Differences by community were modest (though Membertou respondents were especially likely to express a willingness to volunteer), as were gender and age differences.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In general the initial expectations of this project were realized. There was a high level of participation and frank responses were provided by survey participants. Each FN had its distinctive context which was reflected in the responses. There was the predictable estrangement from Eskasoni headquarters in the other three communities. Sociodemographic variables such as gender and age impacted on the responses though not always as might have been predicted from other studies of community views on policing. It was clear too that in the communities there were high expectations about the policing service and these expectations might well have been heightened by the erection of substations in Chapel Island, Membertou and Waycobah. It was also clear, too, that most residents identified with the UTPS, saw it as "our police", and were willing to help out by volunteering in whatever ways might be appropriate. The survey realized its objective of determining what challenges and opportunities community residents posit for the UTPS.

Like other FN 'self-administered' police service the UTPS is young, having only four years under its belt. With limited resources it must deal with high community expectations and serious social problems. Like other FN police services, it has built up, in a short time span, a solid core of credentialized, native police officers. For several months now, it has been functioning without secondments from either the RCMP or Cape Breton Regional police services and is now 100% native. It is clear from this community needs assessment survey that the

communities want more community policing in two major senses. On the one hand, there is a demand for more conventional policing which may be defined as effective response to calls for service, crime solving, and enforcement vis-a-vis bootleggers, drug dealers and traffic offenders. On the other hand, there is strong community demand for what has been called 'policing for people' performance. Here we refer to the participants' demand for better communication and information dissemination, more transparent stewardship (i.e., explaining why the police resources are allocated as they are and why officers act as they do), and more crime prevention and community partnering. It seems reasonable that these two major types of demand may require changes within the UTPS organization, management and training systems; such changes might include having an officer dedicated to crime prevention programming and public affairs, more training in problem solving, and more effective liaison with youths and victims. But there seems to be little doubt that responding to such major demands will require more collaboration with local agencies and effective utilization of volunteers and other community resources. The evidence from this needs assessment suggests that there is a recognition of the need to nurture a civic culture at the community level and a willingness to volunteer and help out with the UTPS.

In sum, this community needs assessment identified problems and priorities from the perspective of adult residents in the four communities served by the UTPS. The survey participants were frank and critical but they also identified with the UTPS, allowed for its recency and resource situation (as they understood it), and were willing to participate more in the policing effort. The challenges for the UTPS and the communities are indeed significant. Informal social controls at the community level, while being transformed by self-government, still leave much to be desired; moreover, small police organizations with their limited resources are increasing anachronistic in modern society unless they can develop an effective niche of community policing, developing solid links and partnerships at the local level, and collaborative ties, where warranted, with larger police services.

UTPS COMMUNITY NEEDS ASSESSMENT

ESKASONI SURVEY RESULTS

Eskasoni is, by far, the largest First Nation in Nova Scotia with a resident population of about three thousand. It had a handful of band constables headed by a competent, credentialized police chief, prior to the establishment of the UTPS. These officers held appointments as special constables under the R.C.M.P. Eskasoni was the only Mi'kmaq community in Cape Breton that had a full band constable police service, though other Mi'kmaq communities had some experience with band constables (see Clairmont, 1992). Upon the establishment of the UTPS, the Eskasoni band constables became members (some after obtaining additional training) along with new recruits trained at the R.C.M.P. depot in Saskatchewan. Eskasoni was selected as headquarters, and the chief constable of the Eskasoni band police service became the first chief of the new multi-reserve police service. Just prior to this UTPS community needs survey, in the fall of 1998, a new police station was formally opened in the centre of the community. There was no especial, apparent contextual factor that suggested potential response patterns in the survey but there was a recent history of well-publicized violent crime and publicly expressed concern about alcohol and drug abuse among the young. Among Eskasoni residents, and especially among community leaders, there was a longstanding, strong sentiment in favour of a more autonomous native service such as the UTPS, and, reportedly, a sense of pride and satisfaction in having a well-equipped, well-qualified community police service.

In Eskasoni forty-seven adults were interviewed, namely twenty-five females and twenty-two males. The ages for females ranged from 22 to 84. For purpose of analysis the female respondents were grouped into two age categories, namely 22 to 35 and 36 to 84; there were fourteen in the former age category and eleven in the latter. In the case of male respondents the ages ranged from 25 to 64 and there were eleven participants in each age category, 25 to 35 and 36 to 64. All questionnaires were completed well and there were numerous comments advanced by the participants.

Table One
 Perceptions of Crime Levels
 Eskasoni Adults, %s

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Crime Level			
High	17%	23%	12%
Average	58	49	64
Low	17	14	20
Don't Know	8	14	4

Table Two
 Perceptions of Whether Crime Has Been Increasing
 Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Crime Level			
Increased	36%	40%	36%
Stayed Same	41	32	44
Decreased	13	14	12
Don't Know	10	14	8

PERCEPTION OF CRIME LEVELS IN ESKASONI

Overall, seventeen of the twenty-five female adults perceived the community as having an average level of crime while three said 'high' and five said 'low' (see Table One). The general view was that there is not the homicides, the hold-ups or the frequent flashing of police lights and piercing sounds of sirens that one encounters in the city, and that either not much happens around here (most frequently stated by the younger women) or that the respondent at least does not hear of much crime (most frequently stated by the middle aged and older grouping). Another common view for those claiming crime levels as 'average' was that the crime level is not as bad as in some places but worse than in others. Most young females and all older females held the 'average' view. It would be wrong to mistake this view for complacency; as one thirty-seven year old, traditionally-oriented female commented: "it's average right now but there are other factors that could cause it to go up if not taken care of now; it should be low". Among the middle age females there was more variety but a tendency to perceive crime levels as low. Those women citing high crime levels pointed to substance abuse, especially drug abuse among youth. Those citing low crime levels essentially said that they did not hear of much crime going on and usually kept to themselves in any event.

Nearly half the female respondents (i.e., eleven) held that crime levels have remained the same in the community over the past few years. Nine women perceived crime as increasing while three believed it had decreased and two were uncertain of any change (see Table Two). Among those claiming that crime levels remained similar there was often the associated view that 'nothing much happens; it's the same old thing' or 'the younger generation does the same things as the older generation did' or 'it's a small group who do all the wrongs'. Those females who claimed that crime had increased were more commonly in the older age categories and typically they pointed to problems among youth (eg 'they're getting bolder', 'there is nothing for youth to do') and to the growth of substance abuse (especially the presence of drug pushers and bootleggers). An older women observed "there are a lot that are good and a lot that are bad but it's getting worse since before there wasn't a lot of people on drugs but now there is. Thirty to forty years ago there were only people who made homebrew but now there are too many bootleggers and drug

pushers". Her views were echoed by other respondents such as the young woman who noted "fights are more frequent, fights over stupid things, and fights aren't one on one any more". Those few women reporting a decrease in crime referred to having heard of many more wild things having happened in times past.

The male pattern of response was consistent with that of the female participants (see table One). Half the adult males indicated that the crime levels at Eskasoni were average, basically proffering some variant of "it's no worse than anywhere else" or advancing the information that there have been few serious crimes in the community recently. About twenty-five percent of the males characterized crime levels as high, referring to an upsurge in burglary in order to secure drug money, and the subsequent need for residents to lock up everything. A few males, all young adults, considered that the crime levels were low, contrasting the crime in Eskasoni with "the real world [outside] where there is a lot of murder and rape".

The male respondents were fairly equally divided between those who considered that crime had increased in the community over the past several years, and those who perceived it as having remained the same (see Table Two). The respondents taking the former position (i.e., crime has increased) usually indicated that the community has grown in population so there is more opportunity for crime and more people to commit crime. Several referred to growing drug use among youth as a key factor while others referred to dysfunctional families. There was a view that crime has become more organized with persons stealing to feed drug habits and 'fences' buying the stolen items. All this has presumably led to a more brazen type of offender; in this vein one older man observed: "the kids are bolder and they're no longer afraid to walk up to the house and write on the doors". Those respondents who suggested crime levels have remained the same typically indicated that the same types of crimes are being committed as before, just the names of offenders have changed. The few respondents who held that crime levels have decreased pointed to the absence of murders and other spectacular serious crimes, and to the availability of places for youth to hang out such as the arena.

THE JUSTICE-RELATED WORRIES OF ESKASONI ADULTS

Eskasoni women expressed significant worry about their possible victimization (see Table Three). About one quarter of the participants said that they worried much or very much about being attacked or molested in the community, though the majority (i.e., 56%) did not report any such worry. Not surprisingly, younger women were much more likely to express such a worry. Roughly half the women (i.e., 13 of 25) did report being much worried about having their property stolen or vandalized and only a handful did not report some worry in these regards.

Table Three
Worry Much About Being a Victim
Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Worries			
Being Attacked	20%	13%	28%
Property Stolen	48	45	52
Vandalized	48	45	52

In all communities there are some social problems, related directly to justice and policing, about which residents are particularly concerned. In this survey residents were asked whether particular problems were prevalent in the community. These problems were burglary, wife and child abuse, vandalism, feuding among family groups and 'broken windows' (see Table Four). Just under fifty percent of the women (i.e., 11 of 25) identified wife battering and child abuse as a big problem in Eskasoni, and another large percentage indicated this behaviour to be 'somewhat of a problem'. Feuding among family groups, burglary, vandalism and property destruction were also perceived as significant community problems; in each instance about one-third of the female subsample characterized these behaviours as big problems in Eskasoni while another forty percent of the respondents identified them as 'somewhat of a problem'. In general,

older female adults were most likely to indicate either that these behaviours were either no problem or that they were uncertain about their significance.

Table Four
Perceptions of 'Big Problems' in the Community
Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Big Problems			
Burglary	36%	45%	28%
Family Violence	36	27	44
Vandalism	36	36	36
'Broken Windows'	30	32	28
Feuding	27	16	32

In general male adults express little worry about being attacked or molested even though, in fact, statistics generally indicate that male adults (especially young male adults) experience significant assault. In this sample (see Table Three) the male adult respondents, as expected, overwhelmingly expressed having no (i.e., 'not at all') concern about being attacked or molested. Over forty percent did however express 'much' worry about being victimized through burglary or vandalism; in these regards their worries matched those of the female respondents.

Eskasoni adult males agreed that there were a number of 'big' justice problems in the community. In particular they stressed burglary and vandalism as 'big' problems, but family abuse

and feuding were seen by most of these respondents as at least 'somewhat of a problem'. Comparing their responses with the females reveals that the females were more likely to stress the problems of wife battering, child abuse and family feuds, and the males were more likely to stress burglary. For both genders, older respondents were more likely than younger ones to give either 'no problem' or 'don't know' as responses.

VICTIMIZATION IN ESKASONI

Fully one-third of the female respondents indicated that they had been the victim of a crime in the community during the past two years. Younger adult females were more likely to report such victimization. All respondents who had been victimized indicated that they had reported the matter to the police. Interestingly though, most female respondents also agreed that many wrongs are not usually reported to the police in Eskasoni. Asked 'what kinds of crimes or legal wrongs are often not reported in this community', the most common spontaneous response (given by ten of the twenty-five women) was family and sexual abuse. About 25% of this subsample cited drug pushing and bootlegging while an equal percentage referred to child neglect and substance abuse as most likely to go unreported. Interestingly, older women were somewhat more likely to spontaneously cite bootlegging, drug pushing and substance abuse while younger women were more likely, spontaneously, to cite family and sexual abuse.

When the respondents were asked, specifically and explicitly, about community patterns of reporting to police on seven crimes or legal wrongdoings, (see Table Five), in each case, with the exception of vandalism, a majority indicated that usually police were not informed. More than two-thirds of the female sample contended that bootlegging, substance abuse and underage drinking were usually not reported to the police. And a slight majority (i.e., 14 of 25) held that wife battering, child abuse and petty theft were usually not reported to the police. Only in the case of vandalism did a clear majority of the female respondents indicate that the crime or legal wrongdoing was usually reported. Even here though it was noted that reporting did not always

mean much; as one respondent commented "once a person deserts a place everybody else destroys it". Consistent with the patterns noted above, older women were more likely either to hold that wife battering and child abuse were usually reported to police or to say that they did not know if there was reporting. There was no obvious age difference among females in perceptions of reporting for the other crimes. Of course reporting a crime is not the same as successfully dealing with it and several respondents made that point, especially in relation to wife battering and bootlegging, where, subsequent to reporting, either charges may be dropped or witnesses refuse to testify.

Table Five
 Perceptions of What Wrongs Are Unreported to Police
 Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Unreported Wrongs			
Wife Battering	55%	50%	60%
Child Abuse	60	60	60
Petty Theft	60	60	60
Vandalism	30	30	30
Bootlegging	72	72	72
Substance Abuse	74	76	72
Underage Drinking	76	82	72

The women were asked whether wrongs not reported to the police were nevertheless dealt with informally in the community by organizations such as family service, drug counselling or the band council itself. The subsample responses were split about equally into three response

categories, namely 'sometimes', 'rarely', and 'don't know'. Young women in Eskasoni were especially likely to claim that the unreported wrongdoing only rarely gets dealt with informally or by other community agencies. Only one, quite elderly, respondent held that informal resolutions were frequent. Roughly one quarter of the male respondents reported having been victimized by a crime in the community over the past two years, a proportion slightly lower than among the female respondents. The male victims were more likely to be older and to have been victimized by burglary or vandalism. All but one of the victims indicated that they had reported the incident to the police. The person who did not report the matter was a young adult and his reason for not doing so was "because I know who did it [the offence]". When asked what crimes or wrongs are typically not reported to the police in Eskasoni, the most frequent, spontaneous, male response was drug dealing and bootlegging; only four persons cited family abuse matters. Interestingly, this spontaneous response pattern - the spontaneity is indicative perhaps of what is most on one's mind - was the reverse of the female spontaneous response patterns. Nevertheless, perhaps indicative of the growing influence of new norms on gender relations, younger adult males were more likely than their older male counterparts to spontaneously identify family abuse issues as the major unreported crimes.

When the male respondents were asked about community practices in reporting specific crimes to the police, their responses matched up well with those of the female respondents (see Table Five). As in the case of the females, the males indicated that wife battering, child abuse, petty theft, bootlegging, substance abuse and underage drinking are usually not reported to the police, while vandalism usually is reported. And, as in the case of the females, bootlegging and substance abuse were especially perceived to go unreported. Unlike the female sample, there was no apparent difference, by age category, in the views of the males. The males did not differ much from the female respondents in terms of their perceptions of whether such wrongs, unreported to the police, get dealt with more informally within the community; about one-third suggested 'sometimes' and the rest said either 'rarely' or 'don't know'.

POLICING PRIORITIES AMONG ESKASONI ADULTS

The participants were asked to give their own views on whether there were specific local problems that UTPS police should be striving especially hard to prevent or eliminate. There was a clear consensus among the females, namely that police should rid Eskasoni of drug pushers and bootleggers. Almost half the female adults explicitly stated that view while several others alluded to it in referring to youth problems and the need for crime prevention programs. Certainly youth issues were also deemed important for police attention, primarily substance abuse, underage drinking, and youth malaise leading to suicide attempts. One respondent commented that "there is a [recreational] place for young people to hang out but not everybody goes there". A few female participants called for faster response to calls for service and more visible patrols. As in other surveys of community assessments of policing, the younger adults were more likely to be critical. The chief criticisms in this sample concerned alleged police favouritism (especially to some impaired drivers) and alleged police reluctance to intervene in some cases of domestic violence.

Among the male participants there was less consensus but overall the response pattern was similar to that of the females. A plurality of the male adults too stressed that UTPS should focus on ridding the community of drug dealers and bootleggers. The males, especially the younger adult males, also emphasized faster response times and working with youth. There were no clear differences in the views of younger and older Eskasoni men. Overall, then, the males, like their female counterparts, in their spontaneous comments emphasized that police focus on conventional policing matters and especially focus on ridding the community of those persons facilitating substance abuse among the young.

All participants were asked whether they would accord high, medium or low priority to each of seven possible police activities (see Table Six). It can be seen that among the adult males

there is a strong consensus that catching criminals and working with youth should be accorded the highest UTPS prioritization. Almost as pervasive is the view that crime prevention programs (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch) merit high priority. Roughly half the male subsample accorded high priority to 'security for seniors' and 'mediating disputes and peacekeeping'. It may be noted that several male respondents indicated that if the UTPS worked more effectively with youth then, by implication, seniors would be better protected and that logic accounted for their not giving high priority to 'security for seniors'. A majority of the Eskasoni men held that traffic issues should be accorded medium priority. In the case of 'working with other community agencies to develop justice alternatives', a plurality of male participants gave this strategy medium priority and a significant number actually accorded it low priority; it might well be that the respondents did not have a clear sense of what exactly these activities might entail and so accorded them less priority. There was a difference in the male responses by age category as younger Eskasoni men were more likely to state that the various possible police emphases should be given high priority; in other words, they were apparently more demanding of the police service. Overall, the male participants placed emphasis on what might be called, conventional police tasks.

Female adults in Eskasoni responded like their male counterparts (see Table Six). The large majority accorded high priority to the UTPS working with youth and catching criminals, and only slightly fewer held that security for seniors, crime prevention activity, and collaboration with other community agencies should also receive high priority. The females gave the same lesser priority as

Table Six
High Policing Priorities,
Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
High Priority			
Youth	87%	86%	88%

Seniors	60	52	64
Catching Criminals	76	86	68
Traffic Issues	36	36	36
Crime Prevention Programs	66	68	64
Dispute Mediation	44	50	40
Collaboration with Other Community Agencies	47	36	60

the males did to traffic issues, as more than a third of this subsample considered that these issues should receive low priority. Mediation and peacekeeping was accorded medium priority by a majority of the females. Overall, then, females differed from males in emphasizing more priority to collaboration with other community agencies and emphasizing less priority for catching criminals. There were no significant differences in emphasis between young and older female adults.

After having responded to fixed choices, all survey participants were asked to advance their own priorities for the UTPS. For the majority of female respondents the priorities were that the UTPS do more to protect and serve youth and elders. Other frequently expressed preferences for UTPS prioritization were 'busting' bootleggers and drug dealers, and more effective communication and promotion of police activities. Traffic concerns were articulated by a few women. Several young female adults stressed the need for better response to family violence, including the monitoring of restraining orders and peace bonds, and disciplining offenders. Eskasoni men gave somewhat similar spontaneous responses in stating their priorities. Working with youth and elders, and cracking down on drug dealers and bootleggers were their key priorities for UTPS. They also frequently mentioned the 'watchman' police responsibilities such as monitoring public events, traffic control around the schools, and visible, general patrol.

Overall, both female and male respondents had similar priorities, namely substance abuse, and youth (and seniors) concerns; the gender difference was in females' emphasizing family abuse and males' emphasizing police 'watchman' activities.

COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION ABOUT POLICING

With but a few exceptions, Eskasoni adult males held that they were not well-informed about what the UTPS do and what resources they have available to do their work. About half the presumably ill-informed participants took personal responsibility for their lack of information (e.g., "I don't go looking for information"), while an almost equal percentage pointed out that the UTPS does not produce fliers, newsletters or other public accounts and is generally too secretive. Those who claimed to be well-informed were, for the most part, young adult males. Virtually all male respondents offered suggestions for how the UTPS could improve its communication with people in Eskasoni. First and foremost they suggested regular newsletters or fliers reporting on UTPS activities and programs. Related frequent suggestions called for the UTPS use of the local cable television and for the striking of local advisory committees. Several male participants, all young adults, suggested that officers should receive more training in communications skills and that the UTPS should consider having an officer specializing in public relations. Several older males commented on the value of informal communication attained through 'walking the beat' and attending, in uniform, community events; one of these men observed: "they need to keep in touch with people instead of being so confidential, need to loosen up a bit".

Female adults in Eskasoni, with only two exceptions, stated that there were not well-informed about what the police do and what resources are available to them. A handful of female participants took personal responsibilities for this lack of knowledge but for the most part the female participants emphasized that the UTPS does little to improve their information about policing in the community. They stressed that they were told nothing and that everything was treated by police as confidential; in the words of one young woman "they [police officers] don't say anything; no one talks; the only time you hear anything is if you have a scanner". Like the males, the female participants suggested that regular newsletters or fliers should be issued by the

UTPS, perhaps in conjunction with cable telecasting and talks to youth in the schools. The females were especially concerned that the UTPS communicate well with youth, making them more safety conscious and sensitive to crime prevention. One older female advanced the suggestion that the UTPS regularly consult with an elders' circle in order to ensure continuity and consistency with Mi'kmaq traditions.

ASSESSING THE POLICE FUNCTIONS

Generally Eskasoni male participants considered that the UTPS was carrying out its responsibilities quite well (see Table Seven). In particular they gave the police high marks for 'being approachable and easy to talk to' and for 'enforcing the law and keeping order'. The assessments for 'responding to calls for service' and 'giving the community the kind of policing it wants' were generally positive. UTPS' activities with respect to investigating and solving crime received a mixed, though still positive, assessment, but the majority of Eskasoni male participants considered that the service did a poor job 'providing information to the public on ways to prevent crime'. As in other research on generational differences in attitudes to the police, young adult males in general gave lower assessments of UTPS than did the older male participants.

It is clear from table seven that female adults in Eskasoni were more critical of the police service. The only police function that females evaluated similar to the males was that of 'providing information to the public on ways to prevent crime'; here a majority of both genders considered the UTPS to be doing a 'poor job'. Whereas the majority of males rated the UTPS as doing a good job in enforcement, and being approachable, females accorded only 'average' grades to the police on these functions, and about 25% held that the UTPS did a poor job in these respects. Female participants were also much less likely to accord the UTPS a positive assessment for investigating

Table Seven
Assessing Police Performance
Eskasoni Adults, %

	Good Job			Average Job			Poor Job			Not Sure		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Police Function												
Enforcement	44%	64%	28%	50%	36%	60%	4%	0%	8%	2%	0%	4%
Response	24	40	8	44	36	52	20	10	28	12	14	8
Crime Solving	24	45	4	36	18	52	24	18	28	16	18	16
Approachability	48	68	32	30	14	44	17	9	24	5	9	0
Providing Crime Prevention Information	10	14	8	23	18	24	57	54	60	10	14	8
Providing the Policing Wanted by the Community	20	40	4	48	40	56	20	16	24	12	4	12

and solving crimes; only one woman considered that the UTPS was doing a 'good job' on this police function while about a third of those who had an opinion considered that a poor job was done. Female participants were also more likely to express some cynicism concerning police response to calls for service as several suggested that the speed of response depended on who was working and whether the caller was kinsfolk. Not surprisingly then, the female participants were less enthusiastic about the UTPS's providing the community with the kind of policing it wants. The young female adults were especially less positive about the police service while the older females were more likely to give favourable assessments or to answer 'don't know'.

OTHER ASSESSMENTS OF POLICING BY ESKASONI ADULTS

All participants were asked "among most people you know well, would you say the relations between the people and the local police officers are excellent, good, fair, or poor?" Female respondents (see Table Eight) were largely divided between those who replied 'good' and those who replied 'fair'. Only two female adults said 'excellent' and only three said 'poor'. Younger female adults were more critical in their assessments than older women. As can be seen in table eight, the Eskasoni men gave similar though slightly more positive responses. Surprisingly, young adult males gave slightly more positive assessments than older males. Overall, then, Eskasoni adults indicated that, in their circles of kin and close friends, the relations between UTPS officers and the local population were considered satisfactory but also that there was significant scope for improvement.

In a final question directed at their overall assessment of UTPS performance, all participants were asked whether they considered the Eskasoni police service to be adequate. Fifty percent of the female participants held that Eskasoni was being adequately serviced by the UTPS (see Table Nine). The other half was divided equally between those who did not think so and those who were not sure. There was little difference in the female assessments by age, something which suggests that even while young females may be more critical of the police service, they believe it has met an acceptable standard. Eskasoni men were more likely than the female

participants to judge Eskasoni as being adequately served by the UTPS, especially, and surprisingly, the younger adult males. When asked to specify the ways in which the policing service was inadequate, the large majority of participants

Table Eight
 Assessment of Police-Community Relations
 Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
State of Relations			
Excellent	10%	14%	8%
Good	36	36	36
Fair	32	30	32
Poor	8	5	12
Don't Know	14	14	12

Table Nine
 Is Eskasoni Adequately Served by UMPS?
 Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Adequacy			
Yes	58%	68%	48%
No	23	22	24

Not Sure	19	10	28
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Did provide a number of contentions. Most common among the females (i.e., 40%) was the view that UTPS suffered from an inadequacy of resources, whether it be in the number of officers or in equipment (e.g., paddy wagon, police boat). Other inadequacies, cited by at least a few participants, referred to the skills and styles of the officers (e.g., "not approachable", "lacking in interpersonal skills"), the need for more female officers, deficiencies in police programs for youth, and investigative or crime fighting shortfalls; this latter view was expressed by one older Eskasoni woman as follows: "if they were serving us adequately there wouldn't be any young people going around sniffing for drugs and alcohol. There are too many places where kids go to smoke up or drink". There were no obvious differences among females by age, in specifications of inadequacies. Eskasoni men responded again in ways similar to Eskasoni females. The most common inadequacy of the police service was seen to be its lack of resources (i.e., the need for more officers). Apart from this consideration, the male views were quite varied though several did mention 'inadequate response times' and the need for more youth-oriented programs.

GETTING INVOLVED WITH THE UTPS

All participants were asked if they had both the available time and the desire to become involved as a volunteer with public security and justice programs in their community. Two-thirds of the females and 50% of the males answered affirmatively. In response to several hypothetical possibilities (see Table Ten), both males and females indicated especially that they were desirous of being on a local police advisory committee and/or working with the UTPS in crime prevention programs. A majority of those who indicated they had both the available time and the desire to get involved were also interested in helping out at the local police station, being involved in a citizen-on-patrol program or even joining an auxiliary program. Not surprisingly the younger adults were most likely to envisage themselves as assisting directly with the UTPS. Overall, then, while these data provide little basis for assessing the depth of the commitment, it is clear that there is a reservoir of voluntary resources available to the UTPS in Eskasoni.

Table Ten
Willingness to Volunteer with UTPS
Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	60%	70%	52%
Serve in Crime Prevention Projects	60	70	52
Help out at Local Police Office	34	32	36
Participate in a Citizens-on-Patrol Program	42	40	44
Join a Police Auxiliary	38	45	32

OTHER JUSTICE INITIATIVES IN ESKASONI

Eskasoni adults were asked their views about new justice initiatives that are being discussed in many First Nation communities and which, in Eskasoni, are exemplified in the Mi'kmaq Young Offenders Project (MYOP) which now serves both Cape Breton and Mainland native people. The core of the program is youth diversion. Upon referral from the police, MYOP essentially diverts young offenders using the format of Mi'kmaq justice circles which bring together offender, victim, police and local agency representatives. The facilitator is usually a MYOP staff person. Typically there is also a young adult mentor who provides guidance and support for the young offender, especially during the latter's completion of the consensual disposition.

Most Eskasoni male participants (i.e., 66%) indicated that they had no knowledge at all about MYOP; there was little difference by age category in knowledge of MYOP. Those who did claim some awareness of the program were quite diverse in their assessments of it. Of the handful who claimed some knowledge, half said it was a good program for youths and half thought that it was bad or a farce (presumably because, in their view, it was a slap on the wrist etc). All three males who claimed much knowledge about MYOP (one was active in the program) considered it to be a good program producing good results. In contrast to the males, Eskasoni female adults generally (i.e., roughly two-thirds) indicated that they had at least some knowledge of MYOP but only four allowed that they had very much knowledge about it. The female respondents were generally well-disposed towards MYOP, considering it to be a valuable way to deal with youthful offenders. One young female observed "it's helpful; it gives the youth the chance to develop relationships with people within the justice system and get a more positive outlook. They view those who brought them to MYOP as not out to get them but to give them a chance". Still, several females were quite critical of MYOP (e.g., "it sucks; offenders just get a slap on the wrist") and there was concern that there may not be enough follow-through on the sentences or dispositions; as one older female commented "it's pretty good; the first time you go it looks and sounds good but they do not carry through on what they say; they stretch the limits; offenders should pay the consequences for not keeping their agreements".

After briefly describing the protocol for MYOP, the survey participants were asked

whether the program should be extended to include repeat offenders, adult offenders and offences dealing with family violence (see Table Eleven). Almost two-thirds of the female participants considered that the MYOP program should be widened to include youthful repeat offenders, adults who admitted to minor crimes, and indeed to all offenders save those who have committed serious personal assaults. A majority of the women also favoured a program similar to MYOP for youth who have committed serious offences and adults who have admitted to family violence. Older Eskasoni women were slightly more inclined to reject the widening of the MYOP protocol in the above instances. Eskasoni men, on the other hand, were less willing to see the expansion of the MYOP program along the specified lines though almost half agreed with extending the program to adults admitting to minor offences or to acts of family violence. And exactly half the male participants indicated that the MYOP protocol should be widened to apply to all offenders save those committing severe personal assault.

Table Eleven

Assessments of Expanding the MYOP Program

Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Type of Expansion			
Youth Committing Serious Crimes	46%	40%	52%
Repeat Young Offenders	51	36	64
Adults Committing Minor Crimes	58	45	64
Adults Admitting to Family Violence	54	50	56

Anyone Admitting to an Offence which Is Not a Serious Personal Assault	58	54	64
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Survey participants were asked whether they were in favour of Eskasoni becoming more involved in new justice alternatives such as sentencing circles and healing circles. Most respondents favoured such initiatives and generally for positive reasons having to do with what might be called restorative justice. One older woman for example commented, "Yes, to deal with what they did right away and facing the person they wronged and making amends", while a young male adult noted, "Yes, if you wronged the community, you should be judged by the community". Other similar comments included those of a young female who said "it will help them think about why they do what they do and they'd get help; they would be more comfortable in a healing circle speaking their own language. They'd think more about what happened in the circle". There was a strong sense that justice should be rooted in the community; one older male held that "sentencing circles make people more accountable", while another older male added "Yes, it can change the community atmosphere for both the community and the offender". It was frequently alleged that the community form would not only be culturally appropriate and more effective than the current practice in dealing with wrongdoing (especially among youth), but also would quite feasible; several adults held that "we have the resources to do so". While these three major themes - restorative justice, cultural appropriateness, and community salience - prevailed, there was some caution and pragmatism. Several respondents argued along the lines, "yes, if it works", while a few others added contingencies such as "yes, if the clans are involved". A few respondents were opposed and their view was essentially expressed in the comments of one older woman who argued "a criminal is a criminal and should go to jail and serve time; [otherwise] they'll end up not being properly punished and won't learn their lesson".

While positive about new justice alternatives, virtually all respondents held that there are certain crimes or offenders that should only be dealt with by the police and the courts (i.e., the existing justice system). Child molesting, serious sexual abuse, murder and other violent person-

offences were typically seen to be off-limits for the new initiatives, at the very least for the immediate future and until these new initiatives proved themselves. Some serious property offences were also often mentioned in this way and, not surprisingly in light of the respondents' previous comments about policing priorities, sometimes bootlegging and drug dealing were singled out for formal justice treatment. It seems clear that most respondents considered the new justice alternatives as providing less harsh punishment of offenders; indeed, those respondents who were opposed to the widespread utilization of such initiatives typically emphasized this point.

Respondents were also asked whether they considered any particular justice alternatives specifically for Eskasoni. Most did not but the minority that did, offered a wide range of suggestions. The most frequent focus for these suggestions was youth, and respondents talked about having "certified counselling for youth", involvement of elders, "boot-camps" and other ways to impact on young offenders. Several respondents referred to the need for conventional police programs such as neighbourhood watch while a few others wanted simply to rid the community of some people; as one young adult commented "we need to deal with murderers, rapists and child molesters by getting rid of them as in sending them away to live elsewhere".

Table Twelve

Willingness to Volunteer with MYOP and Other Justice Programs

Eskasoni Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=47)	Men (N=22)	Women (N=25)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	58%	64%	52%
Be an Advisor or Helper for Offenders or Victims	56	54	56

Attend a Mi'kmaq Justice Circle	52	54	52
Discuss New Mi'kmaq Justice Alternatives	68	72	64

The majority of Eskasoni men expressed a willingness to be involved, on a voluntary basis, with new Mi'kmaq justice alternatives (see Table Twelve). About 75% said they were interested in joining in discussions about such new alternatives and a majority expressed an interest in participating in relevant advisory committees, in being an advisor or helper for offenders or victims, and in attending a Mi'kmaq justice circle. The female participants essentially mirrored the men in their willingness to become involved in new justice initiatives. For both genders, the younger adults were most willing to become active in new justice programming in Eskasoni.

OVERALL RESPONSE PATTERN

The survey of Eskasoni adults was well-received in the community and a reasonably representative sample completed the questionnaire and did so quite thoroughly. A majority of the participants, especially the younger and older women, considered that crime levels in Eskasoni were 'average'. Men and women held basically similar views though the older males were most likely to contend that crime levels were high. A significant percentage of Eskasoni adults held that crime has increased in the past few years in the community. There was a strong consensus that the chief reason, for either the high levels of crime or the recent increase in crime, was related to substance abuse and the alleged proliferation of bootleggers and drug pushers.

Eskasoni adults expressed high levels of worry concerning their possible victimization in the community through burglary and vandalism. A significant percentage of female participants, especially the younger women, indicated that they worried 'very much' or 'much' about being assaulted or molested. About a third of the total sample reported that burglary, family violence

and vandalism were 'big problems' in the community. Males and females gave somewhat similar responses but males were more likely to emphasize burglary whereas females were more likely to stress family violence. Younger adults of both sexes were more likely to report the above problems as being major concerns in Eskasoni. Actual victimization was reported more by females, especially by young women. Virtually all victims did report the incident to the police. However the Eskasoni adults indicated that much wrongdoing of all types is not reported to the police. Female participants, especially the younger women, spontaneously and frequently referred to family and sexual abuse as under-reported, while drug dealing and bootlegging also was commonly cited, spontaneously, by both men and women. A majority of both genders considered that most ordinary wrongdoing, apart from vandalism, does not get reported to the police. Many respondents expressed scepticism about the effectiveness of the official response to these wrongdoings, especially in matters of spousal violence and bootlegging. Furthermore it was widely contended that only infrequently, if at all, are the unreported wrongdoings adequately dealt with informally in the community by social agencies or political leaders.

When asked what specific local problems the UTPS should give priority to, the Eskasoni adults largely agreed that it should focus on ridding Eskasoni of drug dealers and bootleggers. Attention to problems with youth was also emphasized and for many participants these concerns - youth and the availability of drugs and alcohol - were closely interconnected. Overall the participants appeared to stress police priorities that are fairly conventional and would be typically articulated in most communities. When asked to rate various possibilities for policing priority, Eskasoni men and women gave quite similar assessments, perhaps the only significant differences being that men emphasized more the priority of 'catching criminals' while women emphasized more 'police collaboration with other agencies in the community'. In elaborating further on their priorities for policing in Eskasoni, the men and women reiterated their concerns for dealing with substance abuse and youth, even while mentioning a variety of other issues such as faster response times and better handling of incidents of family violence.

Most Eskasoni adults considered that they were not well-informed about what the local police do and what resources police have available to carry out their tasks. A majority of the participants, while acknowledging some personal responsibility for their lack of information,

contended that the UTPS as an organization, and the officers themselves, do little to keep them informed. It was held that there is little public information available through newsletters or public meetings and that the officers are unduly secretive and uninformative. Most participants suggested a variety of strategies to overcome this informational shortfall, especially regular newsletters, use of cable television, more public presence, and, if possible, more training for officers in communication and public relations.

In most policing circles, especially in this era of community - based policing, police services assess themselves in terms of the so-called six police functions. In this survey Eskasoni adults were asked to rate their police service along comparable lines. The responses indicated a mixed assessment though, with the exception of providing crime prevention information where the consensus was that UTPS did a 'poor job', a clear majority of the participants rated police as performing at an average level at the least. Women, especially young women, were least likely to say that the police were doing a good job on any of the police functions, and a large minority accorded the police service poor grades on all police functions save general enforcement. Only a small minority of either males or females considered that, among their social circles, the relationship between police and residents was excellent but most allowed that, at the least, it was 'fair'. A majority of Eskasoni adults considered that whatever the shortfalls or areas for improvement, the community is being adequately served by the UTPS. Men were more likely to have that view than women. It should be noted, too, that the majority of the participants reported themselves to be willing to volunteer with the UTPS, especially in relation to serving on local advisory committees or in various crime prevention programs.

Finally, Eskasoni adults were asked about MYOP and the development of Mi'kmaq justice alternatives in Eskasoni. While most females reported at least some awareness of MYOP, the majority of men said they knew nothing about it. Among those with some knowledge of the program there were mixed assessments of it, but commonly, the respondents were positive; this was especially true for the female respondents. The survey participants were quite divided in their views on the widening of the MYOP protocol to take in repeat youthful offenders, and adults who admitted to minor offences or to family violence. Women were more likely to favour expansion in all instances save when serious personal assault is involved. Most Eskasoni adults

were quite receptive to the idea of launching new justice alternatives in the community. Typically the respondents held that such initiatives could advance a more effective kind of justice, a restorative justice, and would also be both culturally appropriate and salient and feasible to community development in Eskasoni. A majority of Eskasoni adults expressed a willingness to participate on a voluntary basis in MYOP and in future alternative justice developments.

UTPS COMMUNITY NEEDS ASSESSMENT

WAYCOBAH

In Waycobah the sample of survey respondents was quite large in comparison with the other communities where the survey was conducted. Seventy-five persons completed the questionnaire, a significant percentage of the approximately 350 adults in this community of roughly 700 people. There were thirty-three males (21 under 35 years of age and 12 over) and forty-two females (30 under 35 years of age and 12 over). All but two respondents were adults. The sample was clearly weighted to young adults, a population grouping that is usually more critical of the police service, though of course that may not be the situation in Waycobah. Waycobah is situated on both sides of the very busy Trans-Canada highway and given previous information concerning residents' complaints about traffic, one might well expect traffic complaints to loom large when residents were asked about community problems and policing priorities there. Previous surveys (e.g., Clairmont, 1992) have indicated a certain estrangement on the part of Waycobah residents from organizations headquartered in Eskasoni so one might also expect to find indications of this orientation in the survey responses concerning the UTPS. It is interesting, too, to speculate concerning gender differences. Waycobah is only about one quarter the size of Eskasoni and one might expect that a higher proportion of the adult women might have married into the community and, accordingly, one might expect a greater difference by gender here than was found in Eskasoni (i.e., the females would see the community's problems and police service in a different light than the Waycobah males).

PERCEPTION OF CRIME LEVELS IN WAYCOBAH

Overall, Waycobah participants were quite diverse in their perception of crime levels in their community but the most frequent response was that the crime level was 'average' and that it had remained the same over recent years. The proportions reporting high crime levels and a recent increase were roughly matched by those claiming low levels of crime and a decrease in

recent years. Still it is significant that about 25% considered Waycobah had high levels of crime and also that roughly 30% felt that crime had increased in recent years (see Tables One and Two). It can be observed from these tables that women were more than twice as likely to perceive Waycobah as having 'high levels of crime' and as having witnessed an increase in crime over the past two or three years. Further analyses of these data revealed that respondents in the older age category (i.e., 35 years or more) were much more likely than their younger counterparts to see Waycobah as a high

Table One
Perceptions of Crime Levels
Waycobah Adults, %s

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Crime Level			
High	23%	13%	32%
Average	40	47	32
Low	26	30	22
Don't Know	11	10	14

Table Two
Perceptions of Whether Crime Has Been Increasing
Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Crime Level			

Increased	30%	21%	40%
Stayed Same	36	30	40
Decreased	25	39	14
Don't Know	9	10	6

crime community and its crime levels as having increased in the last few years. Among females the

age difference in perceptions of crime was especially pronounced. Roughly 65% of the females more than thirty-five years of age held that Waycobah had high levels of crime and fully 75% of them claimed that crime had increased in the last few years; the comparable figures for the women under thirty-five years of age were only 20% and 25% respectively!

Those interviewees who reported the community as having low levels of crime typically, if female, used the yardstick of what was happening in other reserves; one eighteen year old female observed "there is not as much violence as in other reserves", while another young woman noted "this reserve is hardly anything compared to other reserves such as Eskasoni and Shubie [Indian Brook]". Male respondents who perceived Waycobah as having low levels of crime more often used the yardstick of historical experience; one thirty-two year male commented "I see a significant decrease", and several others used some variant of that expression (i.e., 'it used to be worse'). A few males explained their perception of low crime levels by referring to the presence of the UTPS (e.g., "the police are doing their job"; "the cops are out too much now"). Other explanations for a perception of low crime levels included the claim that "nothing really happens around here" or "it's too quiet" or "because there's not a lot of people here". More idiosyncratic explanations for a perceived low level of crime included "because when people drink in our community they don't go around", an explanation offered by several respondents. Only one person explicitly cited community factors as responsible for her perception of low crime levels; this young woman contended "everyone in the community knows each other well. They work together to find who did a crime or stole something".

Among the respondents claiming that crime levels were high, there was a pervasive tendency to cite alcohol and drug abuse as the main causal factor. One twenty-six year old

woman commented "there is a large number of people drinking or doing drugs and causing fights with others ... housing being broken in and stuff stolen". A young male adult expressed a rather common related observation namely "because there's a lot of drug pushers and bootleggers on the reserve". This substance abuse - based crime was seen as especially a problem among young people. Surprisingly, a significant proportion of females holding the view that Waycobah's levels of crime were high, explicitly pointed to policing shortfalls. Several echoed the views of one forty-eight year old female who said "because they [offenders] are not afraid of the police; they [the police] never show up". A thirty year old woman wrote that "many [offenders] think that the tribal [police] won't be around until two or three days later than when the crime already happened. They [the police] don't take the calls coming seriously, make fun of the calls". A few male respondents also argued that an allegedly low charge approach has led to a disrespect for the law and a crime control problem. Others citing a high level of crime explained their view simply by claiming that for a small community Waycobah had too much crime.

As noted above the most frequent viewpoint among the Waycobah sample was that crime levels were average and had stayed the same in recent years. Those who advanced this position nevertheless often were sharply critical of existing conditions, especially with reference to teenagers. Several such women expressed the idea contained in one's remarks that "there are not enough role models to show these young teenagers what crime does to others and to their family members". Certainly these respondents, both females and males, were quick to cite drug and alcohol problems especially among youth, and to suggest that police have to do a better job dealing with these problems.

Generally, respondents who claimed that crime had remained at the same level in recent years accounted for their claim in diverse ways. It was common for such respondents to observe that the community retained "the regular troublemakers" or "the same people breaking the law". Some respondents however coupled their perception with either positive (i.e., "[same because] the police are doing their job") or negative explanations (i.e., [same because] nothing been done to change things". Those individuals who reported that crime had increased in recent years frequently accounted for their viewpoint by claiming that the UTPS was too slow in responding to crime. Females in particular expressed this criticism; one twenty-six year old woman

observed: "the police don't respond quickly enough. They are not at the scene until five hours later and there is no one to stand by when they are in court or while they are not in the area". Female respondents, however, who perceived the crime as decreasing, tended to credit the UTPS with that outcome. One young woman commented that crime had decreased because "since Unamaki came to our reserve, people have more respect for others and are likely to get caught in the act if they did something illegal". Males who considered that crime had decreased occasionally cited the UTPS as the cause (e.g., "there is now UTPS in our reserve so it has calmed down"; "faster police response and immediate action"). However the males just as often cited factors other than policing as being responsible for the decrease; one man pointed to the better community resources (i.e., "there are buildings on the reserve for people that have problems like the police office and the transition home for people abused and battered") while another young male adult suggested that people were coping better (i.e., "in the last few years I've had friends that have had a few problems but now they seem to have resolved them").

THE JUSTICE-RELATED WORRIES OF WAYCOBAH ADULTS

Table Three presents data on respondents' extent of worry about being victimized in their community. It can be noted that a significant minority worried much or very much about being attacked, having their property stolen or being vandalized. As usual in such surveys, women were somewhat more likely than males to express this level of worry. Not surprisingly, women over thirty-five years of age were much more likely than the younger female adults to worry much about such victimization (e.g., 75% of the older women worried much about being attacked and having their property vandalized while only roughly a quarter of the younger women expressed such concerns). This pattern of age difference (i.e., older persons having greater worries) also held for the males but to a much lesser extent.

Waycobah residents identified a number of 'big problems' in their community (see Table Four). The most frequently acknowledged 'big problem' was feuding among different families or groups. Women were more likely than men to cite big problems and nearly two-thirds identified feuding as such a concern. It is interesting to speculate whether the significant differences

between men and women on all the items depicted in Table Four would have anything to do with the greater likelihood of the males being life-long community residents. There were also some interesting differences by age category. Among women, older respondents (i.e., thirty-five or more years of age) were more likely to cite burglary, vandalism and feuding as big problems but were slightly less likely than their younger counterparts to perceive wife battering and child abuse as big problems. Among males, there was a consistent pattern for the older respondents to perceive each listed issue

Table Three
Worry Much About Being a Victim
Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Worries			
Being Attacked	32%	29%	35%
Property Stolen	43	33	51
Vandalized	44	44	44

Table Four
Perceptions of 'Big Problems' in the Community
Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Big Problems			
Burglary	26%	21%	31%
Family Violence	32	21	40

Vandalism	36	24	45
'Broken Windows'	43	32	50
Feuding	50	35	62

in Table Four as more of a big problem for Waycobah, than did the younger males; interestingly though, this age difference was least with respect to the issue of wife battering and child abuse. It appears then that the younger Waycobah adults, both female and male, were comparatively more sensitive to the issue of wife battering and child abuse.

VICTIMIZATION

Approximately thirty percent of the Waycobah adults reported that they had been the victim of a crime in the community within the past two years. There were no discernible differences in rate of victimization either by gender or by age category. Nor was there any difference in whether the victimization was reported to the police; in all but a handful of cases the victimized respondents indicated that they did report the incident to the UTPS. The few who did not report their victimization to the police offered a variety of reasons for not doing so; one young woman and one young man claimed to have resolved the matter themselves (i.e., "someone stole my hat but I stole it back"; "I got my stuff back myself") while a few indicated that they did not bother because the incident was very minor. No one indicated that a significant victimization occurred which was not reported to the UTPS, though some persons indicated that they were not satisfied with the response they had received.

The survey participants were asked their views about what crimes or legal wrongs were typically not reported to the police by Waycobah residents. Women, especially young women under thirty-five years of age, frequently referred to sexual abuse and family abuse (both spousal and child abuse). A number of these women also claimed that the reason for such lack of reporting was the widespread perception that the local police would not take their cases seriously. Less frequent, but still common, were references to bootlegging and drug dealing, underage

drinking, and to drunken driving. Among males, the most frequent spontaneous reply focused on alcohol and drug abuse, as references were made to substance abuse among youth and to the presence of bootleggers and drug pushers. Less frequent, but not unusual, were references by males to three other concerns namely family and sexual abuse, driving offences, and police bias in favour of local political leaders and their own families.

All Waycobah participants were asked if the specific wrongs of wife battering, child abuse, petty theft, vandalism, bootlegging, substance abuse and underage drinking were usually reported or unreported to the police. Their responses are provided in Table Five. It is clear that the majority considered that virtually all of these wrongs typically go unreported. Women were much more likely than men to make that allegation. The top three typically unreported wrongs, according to the

Table Five
Perceptions of What Wrongs Are Unreported to Police
Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Unreported Wrongs			
Wife Battering	59%	56%	62%
Child Abuse	62	53	68
Petty Theft	52	32	68
Vandalism	40	26	50
Bootlegging	69	53	80
Substance Abuse	73	66	80
Underage Drinking	74	66	80

respondents, were bootlegging, substance abuse and underage drinking. There were no especial differences in the views of young and older female adults but, among males, older respondents were more likely to contend that theft, vandalism and substance abuse went unreported in the community. It may be noted that all the participants were also asked whether wrongs, unreported to the police, were dealt with informally in the community by organizations such as the band council, family services or alcohol/drug counsellors. The majority answer was 'rarely if ever' however roughly thirty percent of both the women and the men believed that 'sometimes', if not often, there were informal responses to the wrongdoing in the community.

POLICING PRIORITIES AMONG WAYCOBAH ADULTS

Asked to identify specific local problems that the police should be trying especially hard to prevent or eliminate, Waycobah females overwhelmingly emphasized faster response to calls for service and reports of crime. One young woman expressed a common community expectation when she noted, "I think if you call the police, they should arrive right away, not the next day". In many instances the call for a faster response was coupled with other priorities such as "they need to get to know the people" or "and to be seen more". A frequent priority for female respondents focused on dealing effectively and thoroughly with bootleggers and drug pushers: one woman commented: "remove all bootleggers and pushers for a change. Make it a clean reservation". There were of course other more idiosyncratic priorities advanced by the women; these included "get the child molesters who are not band members out of the community", "concentrate more on the Trans-Canada highway than charging people on the reserve", and "watch out for the kids thirteen and under who go out too late; that will be a problem in the future".

"Faster response" was also the chief priority advanced by Waycobah males. One thirty-nine year old male suggested that slow response is related to the staff at headquarters asking too many questions, while a twenty-nine year old argued that "if you tell them the warriors are making trouble they come fast". Several persons stressed traffic issues (e.g., speeding, dangerous driving) while a few others mentioned working with youth, and doing extra patrolling on 'welfare weeks' and on weekends.

Table Six provides data on the proportion of respondents who considered that the UTPS should accord high priority to specific concerns raised by the interviewer. Two patterns stand out. First, the concerns receiving the highest priority were quite conventional police tasks such as working with youth, providing security for seniors, and catching criminals. A clear majority of respondents emphasized those concerns. Secondly, males and females responded in roughly the same fashion although females more frequently gave high priority to the issues (aside from traffic issues). Further analyses of the data given in Table Six indicate that, among females, older respondents were more likely than their younger counterparts to demand high UTPS priority for all the items asked about. Among males, the age effect was totally opposite; for every item asked, it was the young male adults who more frequently thought that UTPS should accord it high priority.

All respondents were asked to elaborate further in their own words on the priorities that UTPS should adopt. The female respondents, by a large margin, suggested that working with youth had to be the major UTPS priority. It was frequently suggested that the key ways to deal with 'the youth problem' would be to introduce curfews and to deal with youth substance abuse (especially

Table Six
High Policing Priorities,
Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
High Priority			
Youth	64%	62%	66%
Seniors	57	54	60
Catching Criminals	64	60	66
Traffic Issues	35	36	33

Crime Prevention Programs	53	48	56
Dispute Mediation	50	45	54
Collaboration with Other Community Agencies	45	36	52

underage drinking). Eliminating bootlegging and drug pushing was frequently mentioned and, indeed, there was much suggestion that these problems overlapped with the youth problem; as one young adult female commented: "they [UTPS] should focus on youth and teen alcohol and drug abuse". About 15% of the women placed greatest priority on UTPS dealing with family violence and sexual assault; most of these references suggested that child abuse was a significant problem in Waycobah. Equally common were references to better police performance, primarily overcoming alleged bias and favouritism vis-a-vis family members or higher status people in the community. Other elaborations focused on faster response time and enforcing traffic offences. Among Waycobah adult males the most frequent demands were for the UTPS to work more with youth, to deal with the bootlegging and drug dealing, and to enforce driving laws (e.g., licences, speeding, drunken driving). The males rarely advanced family violence or sexual assault as UTPS priorities and few mentioned a problem of biased policing. Overall, both males and females placed priority on conventional policing tasks and responsibilities.

COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION ABOUT POLICING

All interviewees were asked whether they considered themselves well-informed about what the police do and the resources they have available to do their work. The typical response was "no, not at all". The respondents placed the blame for their lack of information squarely on the UTPS, contending that "they don't inform us on any situation ... the only things you hear is either rumours or lies"; some comments were quite cynical if not bitter, suggesting that the police

are not interested in communication. One male expressed a not uncommon view, namely "the police station is always locked up and officers never give any statistics about local crime and legal stuff". There was little difference between male and female respondents though the females were somewhat more critical and less likely to consider themselves even modestly informed about policing.

Most respondents did have suggestions for how the UTPS could improve its communication with people in Waycobah. Essentially they believed that it should put out more information on crime statistics and crime prevention programs through newsletters and the channel three community television system. A significant number called for more school liaison activity by the UTPS as well as workshops or public community meetings. Some respondents held that what was required was a more approachable, friendly style of policing as through "open house at the police station" or "it wouldn't hurt them to say hello to people when they meet them on the street" or "visit some houses, have tea, earn the peoples' trust so they will tell you what they know". A number of respondents alleged that Waycobah did not have commonplace police-community programs such as crime stoppers, neighbourhood watch and so forth.

ASSESSING THE POLICE FUNCTIONS

Waycobah residents were asked to assess how well the UTPS has been accomplishing the standard six police functions. The results are provided in Table Seven where police functions are

Table Seven
 Assessing Police Performance
 Waycobah Adults, %

	Good Job			Average Job			Poor Job			Not Sure		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Police Function												
Enforcement	9%	15%	5%	42%	41%	43%	42%	35%	47%	7%	9%	5%
Response	11	15	7	16	18	14	66	54	76	7	12	3
Crime Solving	10	16	5	16	19	15	68	56	76	6	9	3
Approachability	26	26	26	28	32	24	38	26	48	8	16	2
Providing Crime Prevention Information	4	7	3	27	34	22	58	45	66	11	14	9
Providing the Policing Wanted by the Community	10	11	12	24	28	22	57	60	54	8	0	12

listed by rows, and the possible ratings - good, average, poor - by columns. Reading across the columns for the row, 'enforcement', it can be seen that 9% of the total sample considered UTPS to be doing 'a good job' while 42% said 'an average job', another 42% reported 'a poor job', and 7% were unsure what rating the UTPS merited. Overall, Waycobah respondents were quite critical in their judgment. On four of the functions a majority assessed the UTPS as doing 'a poor job', while in the case of the other two (i.e., enforcement and approachability) a large minority (42% and 38% respectively) rendered that assessment. The lowest assessments were given for investigating and solving crime, and responding to calls for service, where 68% and 66%, respectively, considered that UTPS were doing a poor job in Waycobah. The police function for which UTPS obtained the best assessment was approachability where 26% of the sample rated UTPS as doing a good job and another 28% gave the assessment, 'an average job'.

Table Seven indicates that Waycobah women were generally much more critical of UTPS policing. They were especially critical concerning response to calls for service and investigating crime where, in each case, 76% of the sample gave the assessment "a poor job". While Waycobah male adult respondents gave the UTPS more favourable assessments, a majority of them also considered that the UTPS did a poor job with respect to response, crime investigation and providing the policing wanted by the community.

There was a significant effect by age of the respondents. Among females, the older women (i.e., those over 35 years of age) gave the lowest assessments with respect to all the functions except response to calls for service where there was no age difference in the assessments. The majority of the younger females, albeit only a slight majority, rated UTPS as doing an average or good job with respect to enforcement and approachability. Among the male participants in the survey the age effect was similar and more enhanced. Older males were more critical of the UTPS while a majority of the younger men (i.e., 35 and under) assessed the UTPS as doing an average or good job with respect to enforcement, investigating crime, approachability, and giving the community the kind of policing it wants. Overall, then, the Waycobah participants were quite critical of the UTPS on the standard police functions. Females, especially older females, were the most critical, while among the males, the young men typically

gave the more positive ratings.

OTHER ASSESSMENTS OF POLICING BY WAYCOBAH ADULTS

Survey respondents were asked whether, among people they knew, the relations between the people and the local police were excellent, good, fair or poor. The results are presented in Table Eight. Respondents' views were well-distributed as 26% said 'excellent' or 'good', 32% said 'fair' and 38% 'poor'. Consistent with the findings on assessment of police functions, female respondents were more critical than their male counterparts; 43% of the females rated the relations as 'poor' compared with 32% of the males. The age effect was also consistent with previous results. Older females were more likely than younger females to rate relations as poor, and the age difference was even greater among males where 50% of the older males rated relations as poor but only 25% of the younger males did so.

Table Eight
 Assessment of Police-Community Relations
 Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
State of Relations			
Excellent	6%	6%	4%
Good	20	22	18
Fair	32	32	33
Poor	38	32	43
Don't Know	4	6	2

In a final question directed at their overall assessment of UTPS performance, all participants were asked whether they considered the Waycobah police service to be adequate. It

is clear from Table Nine that only a small minority of the participants were willing to say 'yes'. At the same time, the most common response, overall, was 'not sure', indicating a high level of

Table Nine
Is Waycobah Adequately Served by UTPS?
 Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Adequacy			
Yes	16%	22%	10%
No	41	35	46
Not Sure	43	42	44

suspended judgment. In other words, despite some tough critical assessments, many Waycobah residents were reluctant to rush to judgment; it could be argued that they have 'cut some slack' for UTPS, likely because they recognize the recency of its formation and because they identify it as 'ours'.

Variations in this reporting of UTPS adequacy by gender and age were quite consistent with previous findings. Females were more likely than males (46% to 35%) to consider the police service in Waycobah as not adequate. Older participants, especially older males, were modestly more likely than younger ones to have that view.

Respondents were asked to specify, if possible, the ways in which they found the police service to be inadequate. Here the female respondents tended to reiterate their complaints about the need for a faster response to calls for service and greater police visibility. Building a new police station in the community has also raised expectations about police being there. A significant number of females also reiterated their previous criticism about police responding faster and more helpfully to their own relatives and friends. One young woman expressed in depth the views of several in the following words:

"I believe that the tribal police should go on a sensitivity training course. I feel that they

are not very sensitive towards women's issues, such as domestic violence. Also, they should be more people-friendly ... they act like big shots; they are here to serve and protect the first nations people. Why aren't they? I also feel that a lot of crimes go unsolved. Why? Is it because they don't know how to solve them? I don't know! Maybe the tribal police should hold an open forum to the public to let us know how they feel and what they know; they should have this at least two times a year. Maybe we are insensitive towards the police force. That was just a thought".

In a sympathetic vein one young woman observed "the police officers try to do their best at their job but sometimes don't get much respect or information from others". Male participants most frequently indicated that they were not sure about the precise ways the police service may be inadequate but virtually all of those who advanced a reason referred to slow response times.

GETTING INVOLVED WITH THE UTPS

Waycobah survey participants were asked about their views on collaborating more with the UTPS on a voluntary basis; specifically they were asked whether they would want to be on a local police advisory committee, work with UTPS in crime prevention, help out at the local police station, become involved in a 'citizen-on-patrol' program, and/or join a police auxiliary program. The results are provided in Table Ten. It can be seen there that roughly half the sample expressed a willingness to volunteer with the UTPS in each of these specific ways. There was little difference by gender though males expressed somewhat more willingness to volunteer in actual policing either through an auxiliary program or a citizen patrol. There was, surprisingly, no clear difference by age category.

OTHER JUSTICE INITIATIVES IN WAYCOBAH

Waycobah adults were asked their views about new justice initiatives that are being advanced in many First Nation communities and which are exemplified in the Mi'kmaq Young Offenders Project (MYOP) which now serves both Cape Breton and Mainland native people. The core of the program is youth diversion. Upon referral from the police, MYOP essentially diverts young offenders using the format of Mi'kmaq justice circles which bring together offender,

victim, police and local agency representatives. The facilitator is usually a MYOP staff person. Typically there is also a young adult mentor who provides guidance and support for the

Table Ten
 Willingness to Volunteer with UTPS
 Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	50%	48%	51%
Serve in Crime Prevention Projects	54	58	51
Help out at Local Police Office	50	48	53
Participate in a Citizens-on-Patrol Program	46	58	37
Join a Police Auxiliary	42	46	39

young offender, especially during the latter's completion of the consensually agreed-upon disposition.

The majority of the survey participants indicated that they were not familiar with MYOP and indeed knew nothing at all about it. Roughly 60% of both male and female adults gave that response. After MYOP was explained to them by the interviewer (a volunteer with MYOP) a number of these respondents offered the view that the program had much merit; one thirty-six year old woman commented: "it sounds like a start to prevent young offenders from crime, to

learn from their mistakes and teach others to stay away from crime". A smaller number of respondents were doubtful and a few simply said "it sucks".

Among the respondents who held that they did know something or very much about MYOP, the views were generally quite positive. One twenty-seven year old woman, who claimed to be well-informed, commented: "I find the young offender project does somewhat help teenagers from doing more crimes and maybe it would help the young ones to change their lives around". Another young woman offered: "I think this program is very good. It gives teenagers a second chance. Everyone deserves a second chance. Peer pressure could have been involved and might have made the person do what they have done". A young male adult commented: "It helps the youth. It has open laws for troubled youth. Good job". But not all who claimed to be informed gave unconditional support to the program. A few women were rather negative on MYOP; for example, one twenty-two year old observed "I think it's an easier way for youths to get away with murder". But more female respondents (women elaborated more in their answers than men did) simply raised cautions. One twenty-five year old said "I believe they [MYOP staff and volunteers] are not legally educated enough to do the job they do and they need counsellors to help the teens or youth in their hearings"; a thirty-year old female commented "there needs to be a counsellor present because of all the emotions that come up. The people who sit in on these sessions are not equipped to deal with these feelings; another young woman remarked "I just hope that they [MYOP] know what they are doing because the youth are precious; they are our future. I hope that they [MYOP] aren't too lenient with young offenders".

Subsequent to a brief discussion of MYOP, the interviewer asked respondents whether the program should be extended to include repeat offenders, adult offenders, serious crimes and instances of family violence. The results are given in Table Eleven. Approximately half the respondents were in favour of expanding the MYOP protocol to include each of the five different scenarios asked about. Overall, too, there were no sharp and meaningful differences by gender. Surprisingly, women were as likely as men, if not more so, to support the inclusion of some family violence cases. When the male and female subsamples were examined by age category, no strong differences were found. It was anticipated that older males and females might be more hesitant to expand the MYOP protocol but that was not the case. In fact the older respondents

(i.e., those more than 35 years of age), especially among the females, were consistently more willing to support such future initiatives.

Respondents were also asked whether they were in favour of the Waycobah community becoming more involved in 'traditional' justice alternatives such as sentencing circles and healing circles. There was considerable variation in their responses and in the degree to which they viewed such alternatives in a positive light. The clash of perspectives is apparent in the comments of two young women; one woman answered "no, because my opinion is that the alternative route would be too lenient and the offender may not benefit; the youth are not into tradition; they'd just take it as a joke"; the other woman, however, answered "yes, because putting someone in jail doesn't solve their problem. They need to be held accountable in front of their peers, to take responsibility for their crimes and also to get some healing to change their behaviour and attitudes". Those women who, at least on the surface, opposed these justice initiatives typically held that there were many people in Waycobah who did not believe in healing circles and that these initiatives would not work since presumably not many people would get involved in such public activities; there was also a concern that familism and favouritism would reduce the efficacy of these justice alternatives. Men were more likely to be ambivalent and more frequently answered "don't know", but, as among the women, those who offered a position were roughly equally divided between positive and negative positions. Those who said yes held that "it's part of who we are" or "yes it means more input and interest" or suggested that it may solve underlying problems and reduce recidivism. Those men who were opposed typically did not develop an argument and the few who did simply asserted something similar to one who said "the legal court system does a better job".

Respondents were also asked about the desirable reach or scope of any new justice alternatives and if they were in favour of any particular new justice alternatives. The large majority of Waycobah adults indicated that they would be reluctant to introduce justice alternatives in the case of serious crime (e.g., murder, serious sexual assault, child abuse) and a significant number would place quite strict limits on the offences to be included in any alternative justice protocol. Other respondents took a more pragmatic approach, arguing that the courts and police do not know the people or understand their problems so let us use these

alternatives extensively as long as they prove to be effective (e.g., "first try it, then leave it to the court if it doesn't work"). It was clear that

Table Eleven
 Assessments of Expanding the MYOP Program
 Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Type of Expansion			
Youth Committing Serious Crimes	55%	51%	59%
Repeat Young Offenders	54	58	51
Adults Committing Minor Crimes	52	48	55
Adults Admitting to Family Violence	48	45	51
Anyone Admitting to an Offence which Is Not a Serious Personal Assault	58	58	57

for many respondents the crucial criteria were effectiveness and equity.

When respondents were asked what their own desired new justice alternatives were for Waycobah, most of them (perhaps tiring of the long questionnaire) said none in particular. The

most common suggestion was "a curfew for youth", followed by "more police programs" such as Neighbourhood Watch, ridealongs and so forth. Several young women called for more female police officers "so women would not be intimidated to call for help". Other, more individual, wishes were for a court on the reserve, healing circles and counselling.

Finally, all respondents were asked whether they would want to participate as a volunteer with MYOP and in other new Mi'kmaq justice alternatives. The results are provided in Table Twelve. A significant number of Waycobah adults - between 43% and 56% - indicated they would be willing to volunteer to serve on advisory committees, assist offenders or victims, attend a Mi'kmaq justice circle and/or discuss new justice alternatives. There were modest differences by gender with males usually reporting greater willingness and availability. Among females there were no differences in willingness to volunteer by age category, but among the males, those over thirty years of age were consistently, if modestly, more likely to express a wish to participate in these endeavours. It might be noted that in a few cases the respondents were willing to participate even though they might disagree with the program, something which attests perhaps to their community commitment. One young women, for example, commented as follows:

"as a concerned citizen, I'd like to know how they run and hope to add my input to make it run well. Although I don't believe MYOP should be in existence, I would want to be on their committee. They are there. They exist. Maybe I can add my input, as a professional in this community, I believe I can help the MYOP. But more importantly, I can help the young offender".

Table Twelve
Willingness to Volunteer with MYOP and Other Justice Programs
Waycobah Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=75)	Men (N=33)	Women (N=42)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	43%	46%	41%
Be an Advisor or Helper for Offenders or Victims	56	54	56

Attend a Mi'kmaq Justice Circle	44	53	37
Discuss New Mi'kmaq Justice Alternatives	56	60	52

OVERALL RESPONSE PATTERN

It was expected that the Waycobah subsample would be rather critical of policing and other justice issues in part because the sample was overly representative of young adults. It was also expected that there would be significant differences by gender. Apart from these hypotheses it was expected that there might be an estrangement effect vis-a-vis the UTPS headquartered in Eskasoni. Finally, it was anticipated that traffic issues would be especially important to Waycobah residents. In general the survey results do support these expectations but there was one major surprise, namely it was the older Waycobah respondents (i.e., those more than thirty-five years of age) who were the most critical of the policing service.

While the most common expressed perception of the crime level in Waycobah was that it was 'average' and had remained the same over recent years, females were much more likely than males to believe that the crime level was high and that crime had increased significantly in Waycobah in recent years. Older women in particular held that view. It was found that women used a different yardstick than males in reaching their judgments on crime. Women compared Waycobah with other reserves and focused on policing, whether positive or negative, as the chief reason for the patterns that they perceived. Men compared the present with the past and emphasized alcohol and drug abuse as the chief factor. Not surprisingly, women expressed more worry about victimization than did males, and older women more so than younger women. Still, a significant minority of men worried about being attacked, burglarized or vandalized in Waycobah. Women also identified more 'big problems' in Waycobah than males did. Again there was a significant age effect as older adults were the most likely to accord the status of 'big problem' to the specific issues they were asked about. Among these latter issues, feuding among different families or groups was most frequently seen by the respondents as a big problem.

Roughly thirty percent of the sample reported that they had been the victim of a crime in Waycobah in the past two years. And a large number of respondents indicated that much wrongdoing in the community is not reported to the police. Women were much more likely to identify all the various types of wrongdoing as going unreported. Most respondents, male and female, considered that wrongdoing unreported to the police rarely gets resolved otherwise by other community agencies or leaders.

Waycobah adults clearly indicated that the chief local issue to which policing should be directed is faster response to calls for service. A close second was the concern for ridding the community of bootleggers and drug dealers. Asked to prioritize specific areas of possible police emphasis, respondents emphasized conventional areas such as youth, security for seniors and catching criminals. Women were more likely to accord highest priority to all the issues, especially the older women. Specific suggestions advanced for police to address were youth issues (e.g., curfews), bootlegging and drug dealing, family violence and biased policing; the latter was mentioned most frequently in reference to driving issues (e.g., speeding, driving while intoxicated etc). The large majority of Waycobah adults considered that they were uninformed about UTPS policing strategy and resources, a situation which they generally claimed to be the fault of the police service. Females were most critical about the alleged informational shortfall. Respondents were quick to offer remedial suggestions, calling for more information via newsletters etc, more community and personal contact with the police, and more community police programming.

Waycobah adults were quite critical of the UTPS in relation to the standard police functions. Enforcement and approachability were rated as at least average while poorest grades went to response to calls, and investigation and crime solving. Women were more critical in these rating than males and older females in particular were critical. Among males, it was the older respondents (i.e., over thirty five years of age) who gave the lowest assessments. These results were quite unexpected since most surveys of policing find that younger adults are the most negative on the policing assessment. The majority of the Waycobah sample did report that relations between the police and community residents were, at the least, fair; here again gender and age mattered as females and older persons were more likely to characterize those

relationships as 'poor'. These same gender and age effects were operative when respondents were asked in an overall sense whether the policing service was adequate. Only a small minority said yes but, interestingly, the most common response was 'not sure', a response which suggests that Waycobah respondents are suspending judgment for the nonce and 'cutting some slack' for the very young police service. In this regard it can be noted that roughly fifty percent of the respondents expressed a willingness to become involved with the UTPS as a volunteer in any of a variety of ways.

Waycobah adults were also questioned concerning the MYOP program and other new justice alternatives that are being discussed in many First Nation communities. Most respondents had heard little if anything about MYOP but were generally supportive of its approach when it was explained to them. Others who were knowledgeable generally were well disposed to it based on that knowledge and/or experience. While there were concerns raised by many adults, the majority of the sample, both male and female, were in favour of expanding the reach of MYOP to include more serious offenders and offences. Here there were no strong age or gender effects. The respondents had quite diverse views about the new justice alternatives such as sentencing circles and healing circles. Those who were sceptical raised concerns about how serious such initiatives would be taken by offenders and others, and whether there would be bias occasioned by family and friendship ties. Those in favour considered that these new initiatives might well be more effective than current justice practices, and, in addition, would be more culturally appropriate and community-based. Few respondents did not think that serious and major crimes should be exempt from such new initiatives; still there was a widespread pragmatic orientation holding that the limits should ultimately be decided against a track record of effectiveness and equity. The specific justice alternatives advanced by the sample participants were quite conventional, focusing on youth and police programs such as neighbourhood watch. As in the case of the UTPS, about half the respondents expressed a willingness to become involved as a volunteer with MYOP and discussion groups concerning the new possible justice alternatives.

UTPS COMMUNITY NEEDS ASSESSMENT

MEMBERTOU SURVEY RESULTS

Membertou is a First Nation of roughly 700 residents that has been within the boundaries of the city of Sydney and is now within the amalgamated Cape Breton municipality. Until the advent of the UTPS, it was policed by the Sydney Police Department where none of the officers have ever been band members. This survey of UTPS community needs in Membertou utilized the same instruments in all respects as used in the survey of other communities. In Membertou twenty-five adults were interviewed, thirteen females and twelve males. The age range for females was twenty-three to sixty years and the median age was thirty-eight years. For males, the range was eighteen to forty-six years and the median age was also thirty-eight years of age. All questionnaires were completed well and there were numerous spontaneous comments advanced by the participants.

At the time of the community survey there was much discussion in Membertou about the deviant and aggressive activities of 'youth gangs' (i.e., especially a small quasi-gang led by two males aged eighteen and seventeen respectively) and particularly their harassment of seniors. Indeed, as interviewing began in November 1998, community attention was riveted on the actions of one mature, well-respected band member who took it upon himself to publicly challenge the small group of youths whom he alleged were harassing his elderly aunt. His 'vigilantism' evoked a responsive chord in Membertou. Clearly, then, the activities of youth and the protection of elders were major topics of discussion in the community. It should also be noted that, since the establishment of the UTPS, a major concern has been expressed by community residents, and more formally by chief and council, concerning the visibility and response time of the police service in Membertou. In October 1998 the new substation at Membertou, located in the centre of the community, was officially opened; additionally, by that time, the UTPS had taken steps to increase police presence in the community by placing an additional member there on a fairly regular basis. It would be interesting to see what impact these developments had on

the longstanding Membertou complaints. Preliminary information and interviewing had indicated that, despite the complaints, Membertou residents had a strong identity with the UTPS (i.e., referring to it as "our police") and were quite remindful of the complaints they had, in years past, vis-a-vis the service provided in previous years by the Sydney Police Service.

PERCEPTION OF CRIME LEVELS IN MEMBERTOU

Membertou respondents, in large majority, considered that their community had a high level of crime and not one person considered the level 'low' or was uncertain in his/her apperception (see Table One). There was no significant difference between males and females. In their accompanying comments the respondents typically pointed to wayward youths and to the problems of drugs and alcohol abuse, especially among young people. A few respondents indicated that their perceptions tallied with police statistics on crime on the reserve while others echoed the remarks of one woman who said "the evidence is there - homes broken into, assaults etc". A number of respondents suggested that the reaction to youth deviance was ineffective at both the justice system and the band council levels.

With very few exceptions (see Table Two), the survey participants, male and female, considered that crime had increased in the community over the past few years. The most common

Table One
Perceptions of Crime Levels
Membertou Adults, %s

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Crime Level			
High	72%	67%	77%
Average	28	33	23

Low	0	0	0
Don't Know	0	0	0

Table Two
 Perceptions of Whether Crime Has Been Increasing
 Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Crime Level			
Increased	88%	92%	86%
Stayed Same	8	8	7
Decreased	0	0	0
Don't Know	4	0	7

reason offered for the alleged increase focused on the problems of the young. Here respondents referred to youths being 'out-of-control', whether because of youth subculture, lack of effective parental control or socialization, or widespread substance abuse. A thirty-eight year old male respondent commented "it's due to peer pressure and street attitudes; the badder you are, the higher esteem among the teens". One thirty-seven year old woman opined "[there's] no control of children at home so there is no control with them outside the home. They don't listen to their parents at home so they aren't going to listen to any other people out there". A few residents believed that there had been an escalation from petty crimes to assaults (e.g., "they are more aggressive and force you to lock your doors") while another few respondents suggested that the increase largely reflects greater community awareness of crime and deviance.

THE JUSTICE-RELATED WORRIES OF MEMBERTOU ADULTS

A majority of the female respondents indicated that they worried 'very much' about being victimized in Membertou, whether by personal assault, vandalism or burglary. As in the case of Eskasoni, and indeed in virtually all similar surveys carried out in North America, males were less likely to report worry about being assaulted or molested, but aside from that small difference, the male responses mirrored, and slightly exceeded, those of the female adults (see Table Three). It can be seen in Table Four that female respondents typically considered that burglary, vandalism, and poor maintenance of property were 'big problems' in Membertou. Among males only burglary and vandalism were typically deemed to be 'big problems'. Wife battering and child abuse were considered to be at least 'somewhat of a problem' by both males and females (this particular issue received more 'don't know' responses than all other items combined). Indeed, a large majority of the sample held that all the issues referred to in Table Four were at least 'somewhat

Table Three

Worry Much About Being a Victim
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Worries			
Being Attacked	48%	40%	54%
Property Stolen	72	83	62
Vandalized	76	83	70

Table Four

Perceptions of 'Big Problems' in the Community
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Big Problems			
Burglary	68%	67%	70%

Family Violence	24	25	23
Vandalism	72	67	77
'Broken Windows'	36	8	62
Feuding	32	25	39

of a problem' in Membertou. One middle-aged male respondent, embarrassed perhaps at having to report such 'big problems' in his community, observed that problems are easier to see on the reserve than in either a large city or a less densely settled area.

VICTIMIZATION AND THE RESPONSE TO IT

In this small sample of Membertou adults almost thirty percent of the adults (roughly equal proportions of males and females) reported themselves to be victims of crime in the community over the past two years. These incidents apparently were all reported to the UTPS police, although one thirty-four year old female, who was victimized by burglary and assault, indicated that she did not report the incident immediately because she feared reprisals by the youthful offenders against her children. When respondents were asked what crimes or legal wrongdoings are not reported to the police by Membertou residents, their spontaneous replies

Table Five
Perceptions of What Wrongs Are Unreported to Police
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Unreported Wrongs			
Wife Battering	56%	50%	60%
Child Abuse	48	42	54
Petty Theft	64	58	70

Vandalism	16	16	15
Bootlegging	96	92	100
Substance Abuse	84	92	77
Underage Drinking	84	92	77

focused on bootlegging and drug dealing but a wide range of other matters were cited, including assaults and traffic offences (i.e., driving while intoxicated and speeding). Several females observed that fear of reprisal keeps much wrongdoing unreported and this view was underscored by a twenty-four year male who commented further that "people shouldn't be afraid of reporting wrongdoings and crimes, of not keeping their mouths shut".

When asked to indicate whether a suggested wrongs, listed on the questionnaire, were either reported or unreported in the community, the survey participants held (see Table Five) almost unanimously that bootlegging, substance abuse (and drug dealing), and underage drinking were usually not reported. A majority of males and females held that wife battering and petty theft usually went unreported. There was significant hesitation and ambivalence among both sexes with respect to whether wife battering and child abuse incidents were reported to the police, a pattern which might suggest the need for more in-depth study in collaboration with Mi'kmaq Family Services. Of the types of wrongs asked about, only vandalism was considered by a large majority of both sexes to be usually reported to the UTPS police. It should be noted that, in the eyes of several respondents, reporting does not mean that anything happens to the offender since, allegedly, charges are often not laid, and when laid, the courts are often too easy. No respondent believed that unreported wrongs are 'often' dealt with informally in the community through family services, alcohol and drug counsellors or the band council. The most common response was that such wrongs are 'rarely' dealt with informally but about thirty percent of the small sample considered that 'sometimes' these wrongs are indeed handled informally in the community.

POLICING PRIORITIES AMONG ESKASONI ADULTS

Asked what specific problems the UTPS should concentrate upon, the majority of the Membertou respondents, and especially a large proportion of the female adults, suggested faster response to calls for service. It was alleged by several informants that the injuries caused by fights would be less severe "if the police were closer". Also mentioned were youth delinquency and the need for greater community involvement in policing. It appeared from the survey that the establishment of a substation at Membertou has sharpened the community's sense that there is a need for more police presence and more police officers! When asked to accord low, medium or high priority to a set of possible police activities (see Table Six), the majority of the survey participants, especially the females, gave high priority to all save traffic issues and even here a clear majority of both sexes accorded these issues at least medium priority. It is clear, then, that community residents have quite high expectations about their police service. The chief emphases for the males were security for seniors, working with youth, and developing crime prevention programs. For females, the emphases were working with youth, security for seniors, and catching criminals. A number of respondents stressed that well-known crime prevention programs (e.g., Neighbourhood Watch) were unavailable in Membertou. When asked what their own personal priorities were for UTPS policing in Membertou the chief activities emphasized were crime

Table Six

High Policing Priorities,
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
High Priority			
Youth	84%	67%	100%
Seniors	88	83	92
Catching Criminals	76	50	100
Traffic Issues	36	25	46

Crime Prevention Programs	76	75	77
Dispute Mediation	60	58	62
Collaboration with Other Community Agencies	60	58	62

fighting and security for seniors but there was a good spread of opinion as well calling for other activities such as faster response time, crime prevention programs, traffic, and community involvement. More police presence during the time period, midnight to early morning, was frequently mentioned.

COMMUNICATION AND INFORMATION ABOUT POLICING

Most respondents, whether male or female, indicated that they were not well-informed about what the UTPS officers do and what resources they have available to carry out their tasks. Typically they held the UTPS responsible for this shortfall on the grounds that "no one tells us" or "there is no public relations officer" or "there is no community policing". In an exception that proves the rule, one forty year old male expressed the view that he was quite well informed but then added "I've made a point to find out but they [police] do not communicate well". Another respondent, a fifty-eight year old female, observed that "they're [UTPS] good with the kids; when kids do something wrong, they [UTPS] go to the parents". The respondents had little trouble suggesting ways to improve communication and information flows. Many participants referred to the value of regular newsletters (primarily using the community newsletters, not generating a new one) while females were likely to add that community advisory groups might be valuable. A significant number of respondents suggested workshops and programs such as neighbourhood watch. Several persons were of the view that UTPS would require more officers in order to have greater involvement with community residents. Another idea, repeated occasionally in the other reserves, was having 'beat cops' who walked around at times.

ASSESSING THE POLICE FUNCTIONS

Survey participants were asked whether the local police did a good job, an average or a poor job with respect to the standard six police functions. The results, depicted in Table Seven, indicate that both male and female respondents assessed the police as doing a poor job in regards to responding to calls for service, providing information on crime prevention, and, to a lesser extent, giving the community the kind of policing it wants. Males assessed the police as being very approachable and also as doing at least an average job with respect to enforcing the law and keeping order; they were quite diverse in their assessments of the local police's investigative and crime solving performance though the plurality response was "an average job". Females, on the other hand, rated the police as 'average' on law enforcement and 'good or average' on approachability, while assessing them as doing a poor job with respect to investigation and crime solving. On the whole, then, the respondents considered that the UTPS has much to improve upon in its service in Membertou.

The survey also asked participants to rate the relations between residents (especially those known well by the respondents) and the police as either excellent, good, fair or poor. Table Eight indicates that most females assessed these relations as either good or excellent while most males rated them as either fair or good. One forty-one year old male expressed a criticism echoed by a few respondents, namely that "relationships are excellent but too friendly. Friendship will affect their ability to do the hard part of the job such as arresting their friends and relatives".

Table Eight

Assessment of Police-Community Relations
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
State of Relations			

Excellent	20%	16%	23%
Good	44	25	62
Fair	28	43	15
Poor	9	16	0
Don't Know	0	0	0

Table Seven
 Assessing Police Performance
 Membertou Adults, %

	Good Job			Average Job			Poor Job			Not Sure		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Police Function												
Enforcement	12%	8%	15%	60%	58%	62%	24%	33%	15%	4%	0%	8%
Response	4	0	7	16	17	15	80	82	78	0	0	0
Crime Solving	12	8	15	32	42	23	40	25	54	16	25	8
Approachability	52	58	46	32	25	38	16	17	16	0	0	0
Providing Crime Prevention Information	0	0	0	12	0	23	76	82	70	12	17	8

Providing the Policing Wanted by the Community	0	0	0	24	0	46	64	82	46	12	17	8
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Note: This table should be read across the rows.

All survey participants were asked to make a simple overall or 'bottom-line' judgment of the UTPS in Membertou, namely "is your community being adequately served by the police?" The male participants virtually all replied 'no' while females were more diverse in their answers though the majority response also was 'no' (see Table Nine). In elaborating on why they considered the police service inadequate the chief reason given was "response times need to be improved". Other reasons, given by at least several respondents, were police failure to press charges, in minor and traffic cases, especially where friends and relatives were involved (described by some, undoubtedly in sarcasm, as 'family-oriented policing'), and the lack of community policing. Many residents called for more community programs such as neighbourhood watch, and for UTPS obtaining more officers to effect these programs as well as provide a greater police visibility (i.e., more spot-checking and surveillance) and faster response; a thirty-eight year old male commented that "there is a serious funding problem. Overall, [they are] doing a good job but there are not enough officers". While the respondents were critical of the local police service, it was clear that most also regarded it as an improvement on the old police service; one male noted "it's better and [we get] more respect than before", while another simply stated that "it's ours". Several people contended that, because of the recent significant movement towards self-government, the community is now ready to assume a greater partnership in the policing of Membertou.

Table Nine
Is Membertou Adequately Served by UTPS?
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Adequacy			
Yes	16%	8%	23%
No	68	84	54

Not Sure	16	8	23
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GETTING INVOLVED WITH THE UTPS

A slight majority of male and female survey participants indicated that they had the available time and would like to be involved as a volunteer with public security and justice programs in Membertou. All but one or two males reported themselves willing and available to work with UTPS on crime prevention programs and to be on local police advisory committees [see Table Ten]. Most males were also willing to be involved in any 'citizen-on-patrol' program and approximately one-third were willing even to volunteer helping out at the local police

Table Ten

Willingness to Volunteer with UTPS

Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	76%	90%	62%
Serve in Crime Prevention Projects	88	90	85
Help out at Local Police Office	52	33	70
Participate in a Citizens-on-Patrol Program	68	67	70

Join a Police Auxiliary	32	33	30
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station or to become involved in a police auxiliary program. Female participants reported a willingness to become involved as a volunteer in all facets of police voluntarism except for a police auxiliary program. It was interesting that several respondents specifically mentioned the value of participating in a program aimed at assisting victims; such victims' services programming has become increasingly prevalent in Canada and is now defined as a core police service in many provincial jurisdictions.

OTHER JUSTICE INITIATIVES IN ESKASONI

The majority of the survey participants, especially the female participants, reported that they knew little if anything about the major new justice initiative among Mi'kmaq, namely the Mi'kmaq Young Offenders Project (MYOP) which emphasizes diversion for first time young offenders. Among those who reported some or considerable knowledge of MYOP, the views held were generally positive (e.g., "it's a great program"; "it's good for first time offenders, keeps them out of the system") though there was significant concern that the program might not be effective in deterring wrongdoing and that there was too little public information about it. One middle-aged male expressed a commonly held view about programs such as MYOP: "there needs to be more victim services in justice services. The justice system sides with the offenders (helping them) and the victim is forgotten".

After a brief discussion of MYOP with the interviewer, who described the program to those without knowledge of it, the survey participants were asked whether MYOP's mandate should be widened to include repeat offenders, offenders of serious crimes, and adult offenders. Their responses are given in Table Eleven. It can be seen that male respondents were typically not in favour of widening MYOP to include youths who have committed serious crimes, repeat

young offenders or adults who admit to crimes of family violence. Less than half the male participants would recommend expansion of MYOP along those lines. There was some ambivalence and ambiguity in their response. They were clearly in favour of expansion to include virtually all offences apart from severe personal assault whether committed by a youth or an adult. And almost half the males were prepared to accept the use of MYOP or a similar program in the case of young repeat offenders or adults committing family violence. The female responses were very similar to the male patterns on all possible extensions of MYOP.

Table Eleven

Assessments of Expanding the MYOP Program
Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Type of Expansion			
Youth Committing Serious Crimes	32%	25%	38%
Repeat Young Offenders	44	42	46
Adults Committing Minor Crimes	90	90	93
Adults Admitting to Family Violence	52	42	62
Anyone Admitting to an Offence which Is Not a Serious Personal Assault	68	67	70

Asked about their opinions on new justice alternatives, such as sentencing circles and healing circles, becoming established in Membertou, most female respondents were quite positive, especially if there was extensive community involvement and if there was still a strict response to crimes of serious personal assault. A thirty year old woman said she was positive because "there's a more relaxed atmosphere to air grievances, and an elder is there". One forty-three year old female commented that, if these programs are to be effective, they must take place quickly after the offence takes place and there must be some concern, and protection if necessary, for the victims; such concerns are typical in First Nation communities practising sentencing circles. Males were also generally supportive of these kinds of justice initiatives. Their reasons were many. Some considered these programs as having great therapeutic or rehabilitative value. One thirty-nine year old male held that "it gets to the issues at hand and brings out real feelings", while another forty-one male believed that such in-depth talking and interaction among peers could get at underlying causes and thereby prevent future problems. Others had more ideological reasons, such as the forty-six year old who observed that such initiatives "add to our own self-determination and sovereignty". Some respondents were more

Table Twelve

Willingness to Volunteer with MYOP and Other Justice Programs

Membertou Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=25)	Men (N=12)	Women (N=13)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	77%	90%	62%
Be an Advisor or Helper for Offenders or Victims	72	67	77

Attend a Mi'kmaq Justice Circle	68	50	85
Discuss New Mi'kmaq Justice Alternatives	77	75	77

practically-oriented, such as the thirty year old male who noted that these programs would save on court time and court costs. Other males, however, were sceptical of the deterrent effect of programs, such as sentencing circles, and would not advise their repeated use for the same offender. Virtually all respondents were reluctant to utilize such programs in cases of serious violent offences such as murder, rape and child abuse, and many were not in favour of such initiatives being applied to repeat serious offenders or in instances of major crimes. In these cases, it was held, the offenders should be dealt with only by the police and courts. Of course, the respondents might have answered somewhat differently if the initiatives were depicted as complements and supplements, rather than alternatives, to existing justice practices. Finally, when asked what justice initiatives they would want to see in Membertou, most respondents who offered a suggestion, suggested conventional programs such as victims services, crime stoppers, and neighbourhood watch, but a few did call for healing circles with police backup and support.

As in the case of police voluntarism discussed above, respondents in this sample reported themselves quite willing to become involved as volunteers in new community justice initiatives such as MYOP. Table Twelve indicates that both male and female adults were quite interested in being on local advisory committees, assisting offenders and victims, attending a Mi'kmaq justice circle and joining in discussions about further Mi'kmaq justice alternatives.

OVERALL RESPONSE PATTERNS

As indicated in the introduction, Membertou is an urban reserve and has had a significant

crime and social disorder problem in recent decades. The survey participants perceived the community as having a high level of crime and many held that the situation has worsened because of substance abuse among youth and young adults and secondary wrongdoing (e.g., burglary, assault) associated with that abuse. Certainly there was a high level of worry expressed, concerning all types of victimization, by both males and females. Females expressed more worry and were more likely to assess Membertou as having serious problems calling for high priority from police and others. Roughly thirty percent of the respondents claimed to have been victimized in the community within the past two years. The residents clearly had high expectations for policing and, especially for fast response in matters of person-assault and public disorder. The opening of a police station in the middle of the community seems to have heightened these expectations since respondents held that police services should now be more accessible. Membertou was somewhat distinctive among the four reserves surveyed in that there was frequent reference made to intimidation by a quasi-gang of youths. In general both males and females also indicated that much wrongdoing does not get reported to the police and also is not handled informally in the community.

The major, spontaneously identified policing priority for Membertou adults was faster response to calls for service. Respondents characterized a number of thrusts as demanding high priority from UTPS, especially working with youth, providing security for seniors and catching criminals, all of which could be deemed to be fairly conventional demands of a police service. Most respondents did not consider themselves well-informed about UTPS policing priorities, strategies and resources. In general, they placed responsibility for this shortfall on the UTPS, though a number of respondents allowed that UTPS resources, especially manpower, may be inadequate. The respondents made numerous suggestions for improving the flow of information and understanding, calling for newsletters, community advisory groups, and community policing programs.

Membertou respondents gave UTPS rather mediocre grades on the six police functions, being more critical than their Eskasoni counterparts but less critical than those in the Waycobah and Chapel Island samples. They were especially critical with respect to response, crime prevention, and UTPS provision of the kind of policing which the community presumably

needed. Still, most females considered that the UTPS officers had good or excellent relations with people and male respondents rated these relations as either fair or good; few respondents rated police-community relations as poor. Both male and female respondents typically argued that the police service in Membertou was inadequate, largely contending that response times had to be improved, and, secondarily, that basic community police programs such as neighbourhood watch need to be implemented. At the same time there was a widespread view that the policing was better than had been provided by the Sydney Police Department in the past, and the citizens appeared to identify with the UTPS even as they criticized it. It was not surprising then that a majority of respondents indicated their willingness to become involved, as a volunteer, in a wide range of potential UTPS activities. It can also be noted that the survey results pointed to a general consensus among male and female adults in Membertou on virtually all matters relating to policing, though there was some indication that females wanted 'more policing'.

Membertou respondents typically professed little knowledge of MYOP. Those who did have knowledge of the program were generally positive though, more so than in the other communities, there was concern expressed about short-changing the victims. There was considerable ambivalence about whether MYOP's protocol should be amended to include serious crimes, repeat offenders and adults. In these respects male and female responses were quite similar; indeed there was not as much age and gender impact on most themes among this Membertou sample. Both males and females were supportive of the movement towards implementing new justice alternatives in Membertou, especially if there was significant community involvement and if serious or major crimes were excluded until these new approaches proved themselves effective. The respondents believed such new initiatives might well be more effective because of their restorative justice philosophy; they welcomed them also for their appropriateness to Mi'kmaq cultural style and potential contribution to self-government. A large proportion of the respondents indicated a desire to become involved as a volunteer with MYOP and other new justice programs.

UTPS COMMUNITY NEEDS ASSESSMENT

CHAPEL ISLAND

Thirty-one adults were interviewed by two interviewers in Chapel Island, a small First Nation of roughly 350 people, located some ninety kilometres from UTPS headquarters in Eskasoni. It has two officers assigned to it. In the fall of 1998 a new police substation was opened in Chapel Island. At the time of this survey there was some controversy over policing in the community, controversy particularly associated with a few incidents of arson. For some time, too, there has been occasional feuding among different family groups and that could also be expected to impact on respondents' assessments of community problems and policing priorities. Chapel Island is located on both sides of a fairly busy highway (secondary to the Trans-Canada highway system) and concerns about traffic issues were also anticipated. As in the case of Waycobah, it could also be expected that there might be a certain estrangement vis-a-vis the somewhat distant headquarters in Eskasoni. Seventeen of the thirty-one respondents were female, of whom ten were over thirty-five years of age. The sample included fourteen males, all but three of whom were under thirty-five years of age. It can be expected that there might well be sharp differences between the disproportionately older female subsample and the disproportionately young male subsample. It is unclear whether the female adults were more likely than their male counterparts to have been born and raised in other communities. There were no interviewees older than sixty years of age.

PERCEPTION OF CRIME LEVELS IN CHAPEL ISLAND

As indicated in Table One, few respondents considered Chapel Island to have a high level of crime; indeed, a significant minority, and, in the case of females almost fifty percent, held that the crime level is quite low. An older woman who considered the level of crime to be 'average' - the contention of the majority of the sample - commented: "it [crime] is spur of the moment stuff; people don't lead a life of crime". A female respondent who did consider crime to

be at high levels argued that "half of it [crime] is not reported to the police". One forty year old female said that crime is at a low level because "there's no robberies, no gangs, no drug dealers, no bootleggers",

Table One

Perceptions of Crime Levels
Chapel Island Adults, %s

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Crime Level			
High	6%	6%	5%
Average	58	66	50
Low	36	28	45
Don't Know	0	0	0

while another woman with a similar assessment commented "I am only aware of people in trouble with the law because of their abuse of alcohol and drugs, and this is usually the same bunch in the courts". One young male adult held that "it's low because people deal with one another on a one to one basis"; another young man attributed the low level of crime to the UTPS, saying "it's because of native policing". An older male contested the basic idea of typifying crime levels, contending "it depends on what you mean; crime fluctuates by time of year and days of the week".

The largest number of respondents reported that the crime level in Chapel Island had stayed roughly the same in recent years, rather than either increased or decreased (see Table Two). Males were more likely than females to report that it had increased. Those respondents who considered that crime levels had stayed the same expressed their views with comments such

as "same old stuff, different people, different day" or "it's just a small community with the same troublemakers". Most of those who noted that crime was increasing, cited the recent instances of arson in support of their claim; one older woman for example simply stated "[increasing] because people are burning buildings down". Another woman suggested that crime levels have increased not in a quantitative but in a qualitative way: "the crimes are worse". One fifty-five year old woman was more expansive in her remarks: "Mi'kmaq have lost respect for themselves and others and rather than do anything

Table Two
 Perceptions of Whether Crime Has Been Increasing
 Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Crime Level			
Increased	26%	37%	18%
Stayed Same	48	28	64
Decreased	22	28	18
Don't Know	3	7	0

to help themselves they wallow in self-pity for what they don't have and envy those people who better themselves". Among the respondents who contended that crime has been decreasing there was reference to "things aren't as bad as before" and "the ones that used to be bad are gone", but a few also attributed the decline to the more visible presence of police.

THE JUSTICE-RELATED WORRIES OF CHAPEL ISLAND ADULTS

As indicated in Table Three, few Chapel Island adults, whether male or female, worried

very much or much about being a victim of attack in their community, and only roughly thirty percent worried about burglary or vandalism. There appeared to be a modest tendency for older respondents to worry more about becoming victims of property crime. When asked if a variety of crimes or social order problems constituted 'big problems' in Chapel Island, once again only a small number replied in the affirmative (see Table Four). There was one exception, namely that a majority of both male and female adults reported that feuding among families and groups in the community was a big problem. These views about what was a big problem in the community were essentially shared by adults of both genders and both age categories. In light of these reports on worries and problems, it is not surprising that only fifteen percent of the sample reported themselves to have been a victim of crime in Chapel Island over the past two years. The female victims all reported the incident to

Table Three
Worry Much About Being a Victim
Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Worries			
Being Attacked	3%	0%	6%
Property Stolen	26	28	24
Vandalized	30	34	24

Table Four
Perceptions of 'Big Problems' in the Community
Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Big Problems			
Burglary	10%	7%	12%
Family Violence	6	14	0
Vandalism	26	21	30
'Broken Windows'	16	21	12
Feuding	55	56	53

the police while none of the males did; the latter alleged that "[I] could not prove who damaged my car" and "[the police] don't do anything about any complaints".

Chapel Island adults indicated that a wide range of wrongdoing usually does not get reported to the police. The two most commonly mentioned items in this respect were drug dealing and traffic offences (i.e., driving without a licence, speeding and driving while intoxicated) but other matters such as underage drinking and substance abuse, child abuse and vandalism were also cited. Drug dealing was clearly associated with increasing youth delinquency and police attention to this issue was emphasized; as one woman commented "I think that police should seriously start looking for those selling drugs and pills". Traffic concerns were co-mingled frequently with complaints about alleged police bias in enforcement (e.g., not charging one's relatives).

As in the other three reserves served by UTPS, most Chapel Island respondents held that bootlegging, substance abuse and underage drinking are usually not reported to the authorities (see Table Five). Other wrongs such as child abuse and petty theft were also deemed, by a large minority

Table Five
 Perceptions of What Wrongs Are Unreported to Police
 Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Unreported Wrongs			
Wife Battering	50%	57%	41%
Child Abuse	45	35	53
Petty Theft	45	57	35
Vandalism	35	50	23
Bootlegging	64	70	60
Substance Abuse	70	70	70
Underage Drinking	80	85	76

of the sample, to go unreported in the community. There was no clear pattern of gender differences in these assessments. There was much uncertainty, not depicted in Table Five, concerning the reporting of wife battering and child abuse; respondents either identified these behaviours as unreported or stated that they did not know. As in the other reserve samples, Chapel Island adults indicated that unreported wrongdoing rarely gets dealt with more informally by other community agencies and institutions.

POLICING PRIORITIES AMONG CHAPEL ISLAND ADULTS

When Chapel Island adults were asked what community problems police should be paying especial attention to, their most common spontaneous response was 'faster response to calls for the service'. Traffic issues were the next most frequently cited concerns that were raised. Here, the respondents mentioned driving without a licence, speeding and driving while under the influence, and here, too, is where respondents complained about alleged bias in practices of

police enforcement. There were other more idiosyncratic concerns raised but perhaps most importantly several respondents envisaged more proactive policing: one male suggested: "the police should try to go to schools so they can gain the kids trust, cause I think the kids are scared of them", while a female noted: "[the police] should educate the public on all options available to them and who to contact for legal problems".

In response to specific possible priorities asked about by the interviewers (see Table Six), the Chapel Island adults held that high police priority should go to working with youth and to catching criminals, both conventional policing demands and quite consistent with the survey results in other UTPS-serviced communities (see Table Six). The only other focal concern, where a clear majority of the respondents called for high police priority, was with regards to 'dispute mediation', which is not surprising given that feuds among family and groups in the community had been identified as a major community problem. Generally, too, the Chapel Island residents held high expectations for police performance; it is clear from Table Six that almost half the sample also called for high police priority to other issues such as security for seniors, traffic issues, crime prevention programming, and collaboration of police with other community agencies.

Respondents' own spontaneous priorities for policing were quite diverse and included reducing bias in enforcement and response, mediating disputes, charging for traffic violations, and doing more crime prevention work. Traffic issues received attention not only because of speeding and other violations but also because a number of respondents considered this activity to be the focal point of bias, alleging that some traffic violators were not charged due to kinship and friendship ties; as one woman argued "[UTPS officers should] stop taking sides when it comes down to family; everyone should be treated the same". Police presence and visibility were also emphasized; one male commented " [there needs to be] round the clock policing, more availability of officers for complaints or problems; when things go wrong in the community after 12 a.m. there seems to be no one working".

Table Six
High Policing Priorities,

Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
High Priority			
Youth	70%	70%	70%
Seniors	48	50	44
Catching Criminals	74	80	70
Traffic Issues	36	20	44
Crime Prevention Programs	45	50	40
Dispute Mediation	60	65	53
Collaboration with Other Community Agencies	48	43	53

Virtually all Chapel Island participants said that they were uninformed about policing and police resources, usually blaming the police for 'not announcing anything' or, as another female commented, "they don't go around giving information on what they do". Their suggestions for improvement ran the gamut from advisory groups to neighbourhood watch programs but there were two main areas of emphasis, namely more visibility and interaction, and newsletters and information dissemination. It was common for respondents to mention the importance of school liaison (e.g., "I think in Chapel Island kids are scared of the police because people tell them to be; UTPS should visit the schools more often") and police participation in community activities. There was here, as in the other communities, no mention of why the police might not be engaging in such activities; in other words there might be a major communication gap here

between police perspectives and needs and those of the community, something which indeed might be attenuated with the kind of activity that some respondents mentioned (e.g., ridealongs, open house etc).

ASSESSING THE POLICE FUNCTIONS

Chapel Island respondents were also asked to assess how well the UTPS delivers the basic policing functions and whether it provides adequate policing for the community. As can be seen in Table Seven they were on the whole rather critical of the UTPS performance to date. Virtually no one assessed the UTPS performance on any of the standard functions as "a good job". However, the majority of the sample did hold that in terms of law enforcement and approachability, at least an 'average job' was being done. The areas of most negative assessment were investigation and crime solving, and providing crime prevention information. The former may well be related to the notorious arson incidents that had occurred just prior to this survey, while the latter may be related to the reported absence of programs such as neighbourhood watch. The majority of respondents also claimed that the UTPS did a poor job in responding to calls for service, and in providing the kind of policing that the community wanted. There was no profound and consistent difference in the assessments provided by gender or age category of respondents.

As can be seen in Table Eight, the majority of the respondents (more so the males) considered that police-community relations were good or fair, at least among the people known well by the respondents. Still, no respondent described those relations as excellent and a significant minority (more so the women) described them as poor.

Only a minority of the sample considered that Chapel Island was presently being served adequately by the UTPS (see Table Nine). As in some other UTPS-serviced communities, there was a large proportion of the sample who described their view as 'not sure', keeping their powder dry as it were, and cutting some slack for the young police service to realize its promise. Asked for examples for how UTPS in Chapel Island was inadequate, the major proffered explanations were the family bias, the slow response time, and the absence of more community-oriented policing; as

one male observed: "more initiative is needed by individual police officers to close the gap between the police and the community". Several respondents answered the request for elaboration on the reported inadequacy by simply referring to "the arsons". Interestingly, there were few differences in these assessments by age or gender of respondent.

Surprisingly, and in contrast to the other community samples, the majority of the Chapel Island respondents reported that they did not have the availability and/or inclination to participate as a volunteer with the UTPS. Still, as indicated in Table Ten, a significant minority were willing to become involved in all aspects and especially with respect to serving on advisory committees, in crime prevention projects, and at the local police station. Males were consistently more likely to say they would participate in these ways.

Table Seven
 Assessing Police Performance
 Chapel Island Adults, %

	Good Job			Average Job			Poor Job			Not Sure		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Police Function												
Enforcement	4%	9%	0%	57%	54%	60%	35%	27%	40%	24%	9%	0%
Response	7	8	5	23	30	18	63	54	72	7	8	5
Crime Solving	0	0	0	17	15	18	83	85	80	0	0	0
Approachability	4	0	6	50	46	53	40	46	35	7	8	5
Providing Crime Prevention Information	4	0	6	10	6	12	83	92	76	4	0	6
Providing the Policing Wanted by the Community	4	8	0	30	40	23	53	44	58	13	8	17

Note: This table should be read across the rows.

Table Eight

Assessment of Police-Community Relations

Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
State of Relations			
Excellent	0%	0%	0%
Good	18	20	13
Fair	42	46	37
Poor	27	20	37
Don't Know	13	13	13

Table Nine

Is Chapel Island Adequately Served by UTPS?

Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Adequacy			
Yes	16%	30%	6%
No	48	40	52
Not Sure	36	30	42

Table Ten
Willingness to Volunteer with UTPS
Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	40%	64%	17%
Serve in Crime Prevention Projects	43	57	30
Help out at Local Police Office	43	50	35
Participate in a Citizens-on-Patrol Program	37	43	30
Join a Police Auxiliary	20	22	17

OTHER JUSTICE INITIATIVES IN CHAPEL ISLAND

The large majority of Chapel Island respondents reported that they knew nothing at all about the MYOP program. The few who had some knowledge gave quite diverse assessments; one, for example, thought it was a good program while another believed it required more community involvement, and a third was hesitant, saying "don't know whether it works; haven't

seen any statistics".

After a brief discussion of the program, the interviewer asked respondents whether they would be in favour of MYOP's extension to include repeat offenders, more serious offenders, adult offenders, and cases of family violence. These results are provided in Table Eleven. It can be seen that a small majority of the sample held that the program should be expanded to include more serious young offenders as well as adults who have taken responsibility for minor crimes. There was less enthusiasm for extending the program of diversion to adults admitting to family violence; only one-third of the female respondents supported that option. There were few 'don't know' answers so it appears that Chapel Island respondents had at least medium-strength views on the issue of MYOP's extension.

A large majority of the respondents favoured more involvement in the new justice alternatives that are being advanced in native communities. There were many reasons offered in

Table Eleven
Assessments of Expanding the MYOP Program
Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Type of Expansion			
Youth Committing Serious Crimes	52%	43%	59%
Repeat Young Offenders	52	43	59
Adults Committing Minor Crimes	55	57	53
Adults Admitting to Family Violence	40	43	35

Anyone Admitting to an Offence which Is Not a Serious Personal Assault	59	64	53
--	----	----	----

support of their position. Some contended that the present system of justice is either racist or ineffective. One twenty-two year old female commented: "yes, because the white people will not give them a fair court hearing". Other interviewees suggested that the new alternatives might well be more effective. One older woman observed "yes, if they [offenders] deal with those they have wronged then they will be able to see what they have done"; another older woman noted: "sentencing circles and healing circles might help some people especially if they are judged and brought before people they know"; a fifty-one year old female commented "yes, talking to their own people would make it easier on the youth; it would be easier for children to talk to people they know". Others especially appreciated the potential link to traditions and cultural heritage; one woman noted: "yes, maybe they can connect back to their culture; they could respect themselves more". Those who disagreed with the adoption of such justice alternatives in Chapel Island expressed a distrust about how these new system of justice might operate; one forty-five year old male said "no, I don't trust them", while a nineteen year old said "no, it might be one of their friends".

Most respondents, while favourably disposed to new justice alternatives, were cautious about the speed and depth of the implementation. And most residents would have serious crimes, especially violent assaults, child abuse and so forth, go through the formal police-court system; very few respondents would have all wrongs or crimes resolved in alternative systems of justice at this time. Few respondents offered any suggestions for justice alternatives in Chapel Island but, among the few who did, there was an interest in involving elders in some way; one fifty-five year old female put that view in this stark language: "I think young offenders should be made to work for elders, otherwise the person they have wronged should be able to mete out punishment".

Finally, as is evidenced in Table Twelve, a significant proportion of these adults were quite willing to volunteer for MYOP and to participate in discussions pertinent to the development of new justice alternatives in Chapel Island. Males, for some reasons that are puzzling to the researcher, were far more likely than females to declare a willingness to participate as a volunteer in such endeavours.

Table Twelve
 Willingness to Volunteer with MYOP and Other Justice Programs
 Chapel Island Adults, %

	Total Sample (N=31)	Men (N=14)	Women (N=17)
Type of Voluntarism			
Serve on an Advisory Committee	43%	72%	17%
Be an Advisor or Helper for Offenders or Victims	50	85	17
Attend a Mi'kmaq Justice Circle	43	64	24
Discuss New Mi'kmaq Justice Alternatives	43	64	24

OVERALL RESPONSE PATTERNS

From the perspective of most Chapel Island respondents the community has a low level

of crime and the crime level has remained roughly the same over the past several years. The adults reported few worries about being assaulted, burglarized or vandalized in the community. The community was depicted as having few 'big problems' in the justice area, although feuding was considered by a majority of the respondents to cause significant threat to peace and social order. Compared to the other reserves policed by the UTPS there was little self-reported victimization. At the same time respondents did indicate that there was significant under-reporting of wrongdoing to police authorities here. Singled out especially, was under-reporting with respect to drug and pill dealing (often associated in peoples' minds with the increasing problem of youth delinquency) and traffic offences (often associated in peoples' minds with biased police enforcement). Chapel Island was similar to the other reserves in that the respondents contended that bootlegging, drug dealing and underage drinking were usually not reported to the police, while, as in the other communities, there was much uncertainty with respect to whether incidents of family violence and child abuse were usually reported. Similarly, too, the Chapel Island respondents thought that wrongdoing which is unreported, is unlikely to be dealt with informally by other community agencies or leaders. Finally, no consistent, significant differences by age category or gender, could be discerned in this small sample of Chapel Island adults.

Chapel Island respondents identified faster response to complaints and calls for service as the major community concerns that UTPS policing should address. Traffic issues were also emphasized. When asked about specific, suggested, possible priorities, the respondents, similar to those in other communities, called for high priority to be given especially to working with youth and catching criminals. Perhaps because of their concerns about feuding in the community, they also stressed UTPS police becoming more involved in dispute mediation. On the whole their expectations for police services were quite high, and, across the board, they called for high policing priority. In their own spontaneous discussions of police priorities the respondents more frequently referred to concerns for equity in delivery of police services and for greater police presence. There were no discernible age or gender differences in the stated preferences for policing prioritization.

Few respondents reported that they were adequately informed about what the police do and what resources they have available. Suggestions for overcoming that shortfall included more police visibility, more police interaction especially with schools and youth, and more dissemination of information to the community by the UTPS. Respondents' answers suggested a major communication gap between officers' resources, needs and stresses on the one hand, and, on the other, residents' needs and demands for policing. Attenuating that communication problem is a challenge for the UTPS.

Chapel Island respondents were quite critical of the UTPS performance to date with respect to the standard policing functions. Investigations and crime solving, and the provision of crime prevention information were the two areas particularly assessed as 'poor'. Response to calls and the provision of a kind of policing that the community wanted were also judged by a majority of respondents as rather poorly done. The majority of the respondents did allow that the UTPS was doing an average job with respect to enforcement and approachability. It did appear that these judgments related to events that had recently occurred in the community as well as to the expectations that people had about community police programming. In general, the respondents considered that police-community relations were 'okay' but no one considered them to be excellent and a significant minority actually considered them to be 'poor'.

Only a minority of the Chapel Island respondents considered that the UTPS policing was adequate to the community. Interestingly, though, many of the others were reluctant to commit to any fixed position on the question of adequacy. The large number of people who said they were not sure perhaps indicates that many respondents wanted to reserve judgment and see how the UTPS develops. Three major areas of inadequacy were elaborated upon by the respondents, namely response time, perception of family bias, and community programming. A large minority of the Chapel Island respondents indicated that they would be willing to volunteer in UTPS-sponsored collaboration, especially in crime prevention programs and in advisory committees.

Most Chapel Island respondents claimed to know nothing at all about the MYOP program. Those with some knowledge had quite diverse views but none expressed strong judgments about the program. Subsequent to brief discussions, roughly half the sample expressed approval about extending the MYOP protocol to deal with more serious young offenders and

even adults admitting to minor offences. There was more reluctance, especially among females, to expand the protocol to include adult cases of family violence. Most of the respondents were well disposed to the initiation of new alternative forms of justice in Chapel Island, sometimes for push reasons (the ineffectiveness and inequity of the current justice system) and sometimes for pull reasons (better effectiveness and cultural relevance). Few persons offered any specific suggestions for the kind of new justice alternatives that might be developed there. A significant number of respondents expressed a willingness to become involved on a volunteer basis with MYOP and to participate in discussions about new justice alternatives. Here, for one of the few times in the survey, there were sharp differences by gender as males, by far, expressed more willingness to engage in these activities.