FIRST NATIONS POLICING SURVEY

FINAL REPORT

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Recently there have been major changes in the policing of First Nations communities in Canada. Policing arrangements have begun to reflect historical and cultural differences and the often unique and diverse policing needs of First Nations peoples. The policing of First Nations communities is evolving in order to ensure equality and equity of police services. This is in part being accomplished by the gradual indigenization of aboriginal policing by increasing the number of First Nations police officers in existing police organizations such as the R.C.M.P, and through the creation of autonomous First Nations police forces in aboriginal communities.

As a result of these initiatives, there has been a rapid growth in the number of First Nations police officers and police organizations in Canada. Located in a wide a variety of primarily rural communities, approximately 800 First Nations police officers and band constables, constitute a distinctive police population with unique personal and occupational pressures.   Organizationally, policing in Canada's aboriginal communities is divided among five major policing systems. First there is the R.C.M.P. which employs both aboriginal and non-aboriginal members in aboriginal communities subject to its local jurisdiction; increasingly, these local RCMP officers are of aboriginal background. In recent years there has been a significant growth in the number and size of Stand Alone First Nations Police Services; thus far the largest growth has been in Ontario and Quebec but largely autonomous policing systems are in place also in Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia. A number of aboriginal communities in Ontario and Quebec are policed under First Nations Contracts by band-based systems which are affiliated with the respective provincial policing system. These particular policing arrangements are subject to dramatic and imminent change and the breadth and depth of the affiliation varies considerably in different locales; at present there is often a large disparity between formal authority and actual involvement on the part of the provincial police. Finally there is the band constable system, found largely in New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba and Alberta, where largely aboriginal officers perform policing functions but have quite limited formal policing powers.

In 1991 the federal government developed the First Nations Policing Policy and initiated the First Nations Policing Program under the authority of the Department of the Solicitor General of Canada. The aim of this program is to improve the level, quality and cultural sensitivity of policing services for First Nations communities. Noting the absence of any systematic empirical data and information on First Nations police officers, the Aboriginal Policing Directorate of the Ministry commissioned the first comprehensive national survey of First Nations police officers in Canada. The primary objective of this survey was the creation a national data base describing the socio-demographic characteristics, the attitudes, concerns and needs of First Nations police officers. This data base allows the examination of current policy initiatives and objectives and explores the identification of new policy directions and concerns. The information derived from this study is also intended to provide First Nations police officers and their organizations with a valuable descriptive and analytical overview of the First Nations policing experience and a solid empirical basis on which to develop and plan for the future of First Nations policing in Canada.

STUDY OBJECTIVES:
The following were the specific research goals established for the national survey of policing in First Nations communities.

1) Develop a reliable and comprehensive data bases which would accurately represent the range and diversity of First Nations police officers and band constables policing in First Nations communities throughout Canada.

2) Provide a systematic socio-demographic and occupational profile of First Nations police officers in Canada which would include information on age , gender, education, cultural background, occupational experience, training, and rank.

3) Provide an accurate assessment of First Nations police officers' attitudes towards, police work, police organization, the community, the criminal justice system and different policing styles and strategies

4) Identify particular policing concerns and problems that may uniquely affect First Nations police officers (i.e., community expectations, role conflict, occupational and personal stress etc.)

5) Identify First Nations police officers' training needs and priorities

6) Provide an analysis of the survey findings and discuss their policy implications for future discussion and consultation and where warranted make research based recommendations.

To accomplish these research objectives the Solicitor General Department commissioned Dr.Christopher Murphy and Dr.Donald Clairmont of the Atlantic Institute of Criminology at Dalhousie University to develop and conduct the survey and to provide subsequent analysis of the findings. Dr. Murphy has broad police research and policy experience especially in police officer surveys and community based policing. Dr. Clairmont has an extensive background in aboriginal criminal justice research and policy development as well as in police research and survey analyses.

The following report present the findings of the research project in the following manner:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview of research project.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Provides a brief review of the literature on First Nations policing in Canada.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Outlines the methodology the researchers used to develop the survey, access and identify their sample and describes the nature and distribution of the final survey sample.

Chapter 4: Findings

Presents a description of the survey responses findings by presenting them first in summary tables and written text for the total or combined sample. In addition tables are provided where response are significantly different for the different sample sub groups (R.C.M.P., Surete, O.P.P., First Nations, and Band Constables).

Chapter 5: Discussion and Policy Implication

Based on the survey findings the authors develop some of the general policy and research implications of the research. Where relevant, policy and research recommendations are made.

Appendices:

The appendices contain a complete copy of the questionnaire used in the research and separate copy of the response to the survey for each of the following sub groups: Autonomous First Nations Police Organizations (Stand Alones), O.P.P-affiliated First Nations police forces, Surete-affiliated, First Nations police officers, First Nations members in the R.C.M. P. and Band Constables.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review

Aboriginal Police and Policing

The literature on natives and policing has been largely one of describing and assessing specific programs or policing alternatives (see for example Social Policy Research Associates, 1983; Depew, 1986). Apparently few in-depth studies exist of programs such as various band constable systems; there is virtually total dependence upon key informant interviewing with almost nil community surveying and very little 'hard' data. More in-depth evaluative research is available on the RCMP '3B' program (see sources cited in Havemann, 1984; also God's Lake Review, 1986 and Head 1989). The academic literature is also scarce. Griffiths and Yerbury (1984) provide a useful overview of the natives and policing literature and add the very good observation that the great diversity of native communities is not taken into account in treatments of policing arrangements and options. There are several significant position papers on policing native people, most notably Indian Affairs' Task Force on Policing (1990) and the Head report (1989). Of course there have also been several public inquiries in recent years.

One of the main issues that has emerged from academic research concerns the simultaneous under and over policing of native people; that is natives are over-arrested for social disorder crimes because of visibility and high police-to-population ratio etc while significant under-reporting of serious violence among native people also exists. The combination of the external police-court system and the internal control system has usually been shown to deal poorly with social disorder problems in the native communities (see for a recent example Auger et al, 1991). Studies have generally shown that natives have much less favorable attitudes to police even when residential patterns and broad socio-economic differences are controlled for (see Skoog et al, 1980). Little contact has usually been reported between police and natives apart from 'incidents' and generally researchers have found that the common images each have of the other are 'the drunks and the aliens' respectively (Depew, 1986, p.36). Consistent with this difference of perspective it has been reported that "most studies [up to the mid-80s at least] done for or by indigenous organizations approve of autonomous policing while those done by or for government agencies appear to prefer policing by special constables" (Harding, 1990 p.7).

A common policy advocated in recent years has been community-based policing and policing which emphasizes problem-solving more than reactive enforcement. This has been usually seen as especially appropriate in native communities partly for cultural reasons and partly because they presumably still are meaningful communities (see Depew, 1986). Virtually all inquiries, commissions and reviews have emphasized that perspective and its associated policies. With the recent emphasis on native self-government these latter policies have been simultaneously reinforced and rendered ordinary rather than radical agenda items.

Perhaps the two most influential policy documents in recent years have been the Head report and DIAND's 1990 Indian Policing Policy. Head (1989) undertook a major assessment of native policing arrangements and issues for the RCMP. He emphasized that the RCMP had to adjust to native realities or else: "we will either adapt or we will be out of the policing business as we now know it" (p.52). He emphasized the need for communication and feedback and for native input on objectives, adding "community-based policing with local police advisory committees must be considered a necessity" (p.79). In the offreserve, observing that there was little native input and lots of stereotyping, he recommended special programs be developed in concert with friendship centres, summer student programs etc. Also he urged police flexibility with respect to possible diversion programs.

The 1990 federal Task Force Report, Indian Policing Policy, has indicated the federal government's position, basically that Indian communities must have a say in how they are policed, must be assured comparable quality and level of policing services as in the broader society and must be allowed to generate innovative models of policing that are appropriate to their circumstances; all this is to be accomplished within the parameters of the Canadian justice system and without political interference in the delivery of policing services by band governance authorities.

The Law Reform Commission in its 1991 report on natives and justice reiterated most of the above points about accountability, community-based policing and autonomy (see recommendations 8(1) to 8(7) p. 98). The 1991 Alberta Task Force on the Criminal Justice System makes similar points while emphasizing too the preference among native people for a community-

based policing style. This report calls for the RCMP to fully effect this style of policing, to have workstations on reserves that want them, to ensure that all officers, not just native ones, are involved in the native communities and to give attention to the enforcement of band by-laws. Recommendations also applicable to the offreserve include the adoption by police forces of protocols such as the Anunga Rule (mentioned as well in several inquiries) when questioning native suspects, more recruitment of natives into policing and more effective cross-cultural training. It was acknowledged that this "enhanced policing is costly but it's worth it" (Alberta, 1991, p. 2-61).

Commissions and Inquiries such as the Marshall Inquiry (1989), the Blood Inquiry (1991), the Manitoba Inquiry (1991) and the Osnaburgh-Windigo Report (1991) have usually been sharply critical of police bias and have stressed the need for more native collaboration in, if not direction of, policing. The Marshall Inquiry explicitly decried a two-tiered justice system in Nova Scotia and held that police racism was behind Marshall's wrongful prosecution. Over half of its 82 recommendations dealt with policing where themes bearing on sensitivity training, anti-racism and minority contact, recruitment and promotion were highlighted. These supplemented other specific recommendations for a greater presence of and sensitivity to native persons (and Blacks) throughout the justice system. The Blood Inquiry reported limited positive contact and sharp differences in perceptions and perspectives between police and native people. It noted a lack of knowledge of protocol on the part of the police and like other inquiries (e.g., Head, 1989) reported the finding that RCMP performance evaluation criteria are focused too much upon crime control activities. The report emphasized that native people rejected the 'response to complaint' style of the RCMP and wanted a genuine community-based policing style which was said to be more consistent with tribal culture. The Osnaburgh-Windigo Report emphasized the need for innovative police response to the problems of family violence and alcohol abuse. It too talked of more community control and generally supported the direction of the 1990 Indian Policing Policy Review. The Manitoba Inquiry's report has recommended quite sweeeping changes in native policing but these while presented with more force and urgency do not appear inconsistent with the general directions of 1990 Review. They call for greater and immediate aboriginal control of policing including a regional aboriginal police force and a province-wide aboriginal police commission.

With the recent self-governing thrust the policy emphasis has swung more to community input and control and this means more attention gets directed to the culture and structure of native communities. An example of this change in focus is the recent work of LaPrairie and her associates (1991) in collaboration with the James Bay Cree. Perhaps the greatest relevance of the extant literature on this score is with respect to the issue of favoritism and policing in the context of strong, pervasive family ties and political interference in the day-to-day opoerations of policing rather than in setting policy and direction. The 1990 Policing Review called for the independence of policing practice from band governing authorities and this concern about reconciling 'local' and 'unbiased' policing has been commonly raised in both the academic and the policy literature (Havermann, 1984; Depew, 1986; Blood Inquiry (1991), Osnaburgh-Windigo, (1991)). Head's research also indicated that RCMP commanders in the field were not supportive of native policing autonomy on these grounds (e.g., too much social pressure, conflicting interests, the limits of professionalism in a small village). The position of native persons is less clear though the few studies that have been done suggest that for the present at least there is widespread support for some continuing presence of provincial/state police as a backup at the minimum (Gibson Group, 1991). Still, despite the potential for 'political interference' associated with the concentration of power at the chief and band level, this problem would certainly not be unique to native communities and, as in these communities, 'training, defined authority and suitable recruitment' will be crucial ameliorative strategies as Grant (1990) has suggested. In any event few commentators doubt the trend for autonomous native policing will reverse itself.

Recent literature has indeed focused more on issues that arise as native people or native societies assume greater participation and control in the policing of their communities. While self-government and the 'native perspective' are the larger programmatics, the major advantages of such a situation in the eyes of native policing leaders (Silverman and Nielsen, 1992) are defined more pragmatically as being more effective role models ("seeing Indians in uniform builds respect for the law among the young and proves natives can prosper in mainstream society"), more effective policing ("native officers can defuse explosive situations involving individuals who may not trust a

non-native officer") and more sympathetic policing ("the band police tend to be more flexible in their approach and are more likely to give a guy a break").

A major issue focuses on the extent to which a different policing style, one informed by native traditions and 'communitarianism' (see LaPrairie, 1992) can be developed and autonomously sustained in native societies. While most researchers emphasize the compatability of current native social problems and expectations of policing, as well as 'traditional responses', with the community-based policing perspective pervasive now in policing circles, they often suggest that in native societies there is much erosion of community and limited requisite community resources (e.g., Brodeur, 1991; Depew, 1992). Clearly a lot of community development is deemed to be required (LaPrairie, 1992). In that regard it is interesting to note that most studies have reported a high police to population ratio on the reserves, something that Hyde and others (Hyde, 1992) contend results in overpolicing and putting resources into policing that might better be spent on other services.

CHAPTER THREE: Methodology

The methodology utilized in this project was a mail, survey sample with a largely 'forced-choice' questionnaire format. The strategy of using the mail survey was adopted since it was the only cost-effective way of sampling the views of those policing in the many aboriginal communities across Canada and in the five quite different types of policing arrangements, namely the R.C.M.P., O.P.P.-affiliated, S.Q.-affiliated, Stand-Alone First Nations Police, and Band Constables. The major flaw in mailed surveys has usually been a low response rate since in the absence of face-to-face contact and/or clear incentive, potential respondents accord low priority to answering such mailed forms. By providing a letter of introduction and other information on the survey to each potential respondent, by guaranteeing confidentiality and anonymity, by providing a stamped envelope for returning the questionnaire, and by striving to ensure that local police leaders know about the project (and hopefully will encourage their members to participate), the researcher tries to ensure a high rate of return. All these things were done in this project and the results as indicated in Table 1, yielded considerable success, namely a return rate of 53% and an adjusted return rate of 60% (adjusted for the actual, available population).

TABLE 1: SURVEY SAMPLING RESULTS

Policing System	Estimated Population	Survey Respondents		
		Number	**%**	**Adjusted %**
R.C.M.P.	190	128	67%	75%
O.P.P. Coached	165	76	46	55
S.Q. Coached	52	27	51	60
Stand Alones	270	144	54	58
Band Constables	130	56	43	50
Overall	807	431	53	60

NOTE: The adjusted percentages assume that the population estimates for aboriginal policing in the five different policing systems were excessive by between ten and fifteen percent.

In general researchers have found that mailed surveys work best (i.e., yield the most useful information and the highest return rate) when the questionnaire has a fixed format structure whereby the questions and answer categories are detailed and standardized. This format was followed in this project. In order to improve the likelihood of the survey's validity, that is to ensure that the questions so standardized are understood and considered appropriate by the potential respondents, it is important to pretest the instrument. For similar reasons, and also to allow for creative input and more elaborate response, it has been found useful to have some unstructured, 'open-ended', question/answer components. This latter strategy would seem to be especially appropriate where subcultural differences could exist between researchers and respondents as could have been the case in this particular survey. In this project there was some pretesting of the survey questionnaire (i.e., ten persons from the population of interest responded to earlier drafts) and the instrument did contain a significant number of questions allowing for a 'free' or 'open-ended' response (see the appended questionnaire). A major way in which the instrument was rendered substantively valid and culturally meaningful was through elaborate discussion of its content and form with officials in the various policing systems.

The initial objectives of the project as defined by the research contract led to the development of key research themes and the specification of detailed questions. Elaborations were made as a result of discussions with leaders in the five policing systems (i.e., there was some negotiation of the research's thrusts) and from a detailed review of the appropriate literature. As well the researchers were sensitive to the possibilities for comparison of the survey results with findings available on policing in non-aboriginal communities in Canada. Accordingly, to facilitate comparison some themes and even questionnaire items were utilized from these other projects, primarily from the researchers' own previous research on policing. Draft versions of the survey instruments were circulated to officials or members in the different policing systems and a major meeting was held with officials of the Aboriginal Policing Directorate of the Solicitor General Department to assess the penultimate version. The final questionnaire was translated into French for use by appropriate R.C.M.P. officers and a number of French-speaking police officers affiliated with the Surete Quebec.

Since no master list existed of officers policing in aboriginal communities in Canada a major effort in the project involved dealing with officials in the R.C.M.P., O.P.P., S.Q., approximately 20 'Stand-Alone, First Nations Police Departments, and the many Band Constable systems. The project had to be explained, some of its thrusts negotiated, and lists of officers' names and addresses obtained. While extensive effort was required this interaction was very meaningful and the researchers learned much about aboriginal policing from these discussions. The researchers endeavoured to generate a list of names and addresses so that each officer could be directly contacted, informed of the project and assured of confidentiality and anonymity. This strategy was largely successful; only in the case of band constables systems and the Amerindian Tribal Police in Quebec did the researchers have to resort to the less desirable strategy of sending questionnaires and stamped, self-addressed envelopes to leaders to pass on to the police officers. Though no especial examination was made of the latter situation to determine possible bias, perusal of the relevant questionnaires did not reveal any problem.

As indicated above the mail survey was successfully carried out. There were two waves of questionnaires sent out and many follow-up phone-calls to chiefs and band councils. The estimated population of officers policing in aboriginal communities was 807*. The overall survey response rate was 53%. When the population estimates, derived from the information provided by the policing organizations, are adjusted to take into account only the actually available officers, the response rate is 60 percent. In addition it can be noted that the quality of the returned questionnaires was quite good; virtually all questionnaires were usable and in many instances the officers added useful comments with respect to open-ended questions and in appendices to their questionnaires.

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* One ambiguity and indeed ambivalence in the project concerned the desirability of including non aboriginal officers policing in aboriginal communities. The researchers basically worked from lists provided by the different policing organization and especially in the case of the R.C.M.P. there was uncertainty about whether to include non-aboriginal members; given that, it is likely that the population estimate may underrepresent that category of officer.

The response rate varied somewhat by the policing system involved. The highest rate was among the relevant R.C.M.P. officers where about 75% of available officers responded; a conservative estimate was made that 10% of the original estimated population was unavailable due to disability, stress leave, reassignment etc. There was no obvious pattern or special characteristic among the officers who did not respond to the survey. Among the O.P.P.-affiliated the response rate among available officers (unavailable officers were estimated, on the basis of phone calls and other information, to constitute about 15% of the initially listed police population) was about 55%. There was significant difference in the response rate by geographical zone since in some areas the response was very high and in a few cases very low. Among the S.Q.-affiliated officers the response was very slow but finally yielded a return rate of 60% when adjusted for availability of the potential respondents (deemed to be 10% less than the original estimates). Among this grouping the response rate was lowest among Inuit officers.

The response rate among stand-alone police forces was 58% when adjusted for availability (deemed to be 10% less than original population estimates). These police forces provided the largest absolute number of police respondents in the sample, namely 144, a fact of pride for the researchers since considerable effort went into talking with police chiefs and creating a sampling frame. Of course there was some variation of response by police force; in general the response rate was less among police forces west of Manitoba.

By far the most difficult group to contact was the band constable grouping. Repeated phone calls, letters to the policing service and to the band chiefs finally secured a return rate of 50% but it was tough sledding all the way. At least 15% of the initially estimated officers were not available because of disability, quits and so forth. Individual names could not be secured in most cases so questionnaires had to be sent care of the band council. The response rate in Atlantic Canada was almost 100%, testimony perhaps to the advantages of the researchers' living there. Among band constables in Manitoba and Alberta, the areas where the largest number of band constables are located, the return rate hovered around 30 percent.

CHAPTER FOUR: Research Findings

A)   SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

The average age of the police officers sampled was 32 years. The average age of the sample suggests a younger than normal age distribution versus the typical Canadian police department. While this is to be expected given the recent expansion of aboriginal police forces and First Nations representation in non-aboriginal police forces, it is a finding that has potentially serious training and career development implications. There was little variation in the age profiles of officers in the different policing systems though band constables on the average were several years younger than the other police respondents (See Figure I).

Gender

The sample was 90% male (N = 375) and 10% female (N = 42) which is very close to the national police averages of 91% and 9% respectively. There was little variation among the different policing systems as regards gender composition. Subsequent detailed analyses should shed some light on whether the percentage of female First Nations police officers is increasing. Information contained in the survey does suggest that a larger female participation rate among aboriginal officers could be an important policy issue.

Marital Status

The distribution of marital status in the sample is 76% married or common law, 19% single and 4% 'other', The overall frequency distribution of married/common-law, single and 'other' is similar to the distribution reported by Murphy and Griffths (1994) for the Edmonton Police Service and is fairly consistent across policing organizations represented in this study. Only the S.Q.-affiliated officers are quite different with less than half of the officers there being married.

Ethnocultural Identity

Status North American Indian	77%
Non-Status North American Indian	3%
Metis	7%
Inuit	2%
Non-Aboriginal	10%

Overall the sample distribution was 77% Status, 3% NA Indian, 7% Metis, 2% Inuit and 10% non-aboriginal. The fact that 10% of those responding to our survey report that they are non-aboriginal indicates that there remains a significant number of First Nations policing positions filled by non-aboriginal people. There is much variation here. Band constables are overwhelmingly Status (94%) though 4% are non-aboriginal. Among those officers affiliated with the S.Q. 42% are Status while 29% are Inuit and 25% non-aboriginal. Among the Stand Alones, 88% are Status while 7% are non-aboriginal. Among the RCMP 70% are Status, 15% are Metis, 7% Non-Status, 2% Inuit and 6% non-aboriginal while among those respondents affiliated with the OPP, 71% are Status and 24% non-aboriginal.

Education

Less than High School Diploma	20%
Diploma or Equivalency	33%
Some University of Community College	44%
University Degrees	4%

The sample responses indicates that 20% of the respondents had less than a high school diploma and that 53% had no post-secondary education in (university or college), 44% had some university or community college, and 4% have a university degree. The figures suggest a relatively low level of educational attainment, lower than would be typical for the non-aboriginal police population. For example the Edmonton police force report only 1% of their force had less than high school and 74% has at least some university, or college education. While these figures

may be higher than the national pattern, the comparison nevertheless suggests that lower levels of formal education may be a significant issue in relation to a number of training, and development policies that should be explored further in aboriginal policing (See Figure 2).

There was some variation in education levels by force type. The Surete-affiliated officers have on the whole the least education while the First Nations and the OPP-affiliated have the largest percentage (circa 60%) with at least some university or community college.

First Nations Background

	% **Yes**
Raised in aboriginal family	80%
Raised in aboriginal community	66%
Speak an aboriginal language	54%

Most survey respondents (i.e., 80%) reported that they were raised in an aboriginal family. About two-thirds of the sample grew up in an aboriginal community and a little over half of the sample could speak an aboriginal language.

Table 2: Upbringing and Language Facility by Policing Arrangement[1]

	R.C.M.P. %	O.P.P. %	First Nations %	Band Constable %	Surete %	Overall %
Raised in Aboriginal Family	79	71	85	92	65	80
Raised in Aboriginal Community	45	52	59	72	52	66
Speak an Aboriginal Language	56	35	53	74	58	54

1   The sample sizes were 124, 138, 75, 55 and 25 for the R.C.M.P. First Nations, O.P.P. and Band Constables, Surete respectively.

Clearly policing in aboriginal communities, whatever the policing arrangement, is being primarily carried out by aboriginal officers raised in aboriginal families. Of course not surprisingly this pattern is greatest among the Band Constables and the Stand Alone police

systems but the R.C.M.P. situation is quite similar at the field level. The reader should take note here that this survey may underrepresent the number of non-aboriginal R.C.M.P. members policing in aboriginal communities and also note that the aboriginal dominance may be much less at the supervisory and middle management NCO levels.

About two-thirds of the sample respondents indicated that they were raised in an aboriginal community; the variation followed the above patterns with band constables and 'stand alone' officers being more likely to give that response. Ability to speak an aboriginal language is less widespread in the sample (about 54%); a smaller percent - roughly 40% of the respondents - reported that they were highly fluent in the aboriginal language that they could speak.

Language Fluency						
Low	1	2	3	4	5	**High**
	24%	16%	20%	18%	22%	

B)   OCCUPATIONAL CAREER

This section of the survey was designed to develop an occupational profile of First Nations police officers.

Policing Experience

	Average
Years in police work:	6 years
Years with current force:	5 years
Years spent policing aboriginal community:	5 years

The overall, average length of police experience for the survey respondents was 6 years, virtually all of which (i.e., 5 years) had been spent with their current police force and policing in an aboriginal community. There is significant variation among the different groupings. The R.C.M.P. members reported the most policing experience (i.e., 8 years on average) while the Surete-affiliated reported the lowest average, namely 2 years. Stand-Alone officers and R.C.M.P. members had spent roughly the same numbers of years, on average, policing in aboriginal

community, namely 6 years. The level of reported policing experience is well below those common in Canadian policing services and reflect the recency of the stand-alone policing systems and the aboriginal recruitment policies recently put into place by policing organizations.

It may be noted too that the vast majority of the survey respondents have the rank of constable in their policing organization. By policing arrangement, the %s constable in this survey were O.P.P. 88%, R.C.M.P. 92%, Stand Alones 62%, S.Q. 76% and Band constables 70%. Clearly the 'Stand Alone' subsample is quite different from the other subsamples in having a wider rank distribution.

TABLE 3: Policing Environment by Policing System*

Trait	Overall	R.C.M.P.	Stand Alone	O.P.P.	Surete	Band
# of Co-officers	4	4	8	2	2	4
# of Communities Policed	1	3	1	1	1	1
% Policing a Village	36	20	41	39	72	42
% Policing a Rural Area	23	26	14	37	--	32
% Policing an Isolated Area**	24	24	14	31	64	18
Population Policed	1700	2600	2700	875	1000	1400

*   The figures given here are the average (median) values for officers in each of the five policing arrangements.

**   This figure represents the percentage of officers in each of the five policing arrangements who considered their policing area to be isolated, that is a "fly-in" or "boat-in" community.

Table 3 presents data on the policing environment for survey respondents. Overall the typical officer worked with 4 other police officers in a single community whose population averaged 1700 persons. Most of the areas policed were accessible by road and a significant minority were villages. The table also clearly shows that there was much variation among the different groupings. The typical R.C.M.P. respondent policed 3 different communities in a mixed rural area/small town format, with a comparatively low officer to population ratio. O.P.P., S.Q. and Stand Alone systems were quite comparable in policing usually single communities and having similar police to population ratios. The Stand Alone policing complement was typically

larger but then it policed a correspondingly larger population. The S.Q.-affiliated officers were by far the most likely to police isolated areas, usually villages, accessible only by boat or airplane.

Policing One's Home Community

The rural and small community context for aboriginal policing is further underlined by the survey finding that fully 47% of all the officers are currently policing in the very community where they grew up. The corresponding figures for the sample's subgroupings are RCMP 15%, Surete-affiliated 46%, the O.P.P.-affiliated 47% and the Stand Alones and Band Constables about 69%. Clearly the RCMP respondents while mostly aboriginal and raised by aboriginal families and in aboriginal communities typically are not working in the communities where they grew up. On this variable they make a nice contrast with the Stand Alone subsample.

Policing in Aboriginal Communities: Advantages and Disadvantages of Policing your own Community (open ended responses)

Survey respondents were asked to indicate in their own words what they considered to be the advantages and the special problems of policing in a small community where he or she grew up. Most respondents did indeed have a viewpoint on this issue. The most common special problem, cited most frequently by officers in all five organizations, was having to deal with family, relatives and friends; because "they will expect you to take their side" and "people take things personally", the officer has to deal with stresses and pressures related to bias and favoritism and with associated community expectations and perceptions; even if there is not bias, actions may be subject to that definition.

Among officers associated with the O.P.P. an additional special problem, commonly cited, was being subject to intense public scrutiny; as one officer observed, "everybody knows you and they watch what you do very carefully". Band Constables suggested that the strong social linkages between police and other community members can create disillusionment; as one Band Constable noted, "everyone expects a break; it becomes harder to be objective in your own view and you tend to get very cynical." Among officers in 'stand-alone' police services, a frequent

observation was that reprisal was a special problem; the reprisal reportedly could be directed at the officers' family members or material property or could be a loss of friendship; small-minded local politicians could be especially vengeful. Several of these officers also cited off-duty stress. suggesting that "you can't get away from it all [the police role]" and that an officer may lose the freedom to attend local social functions. R.C.M.P. members cited the difficulty of being impartial and avoiding bias and several commented that political interference may be rampant because "usually there are only a few different families in the community."

At the same time most officers also believed that there were some advantages to policing in the community where one grew up. In general the advantages were deemed to spring from the likelihood that an officer would know virtually all residents well and accordingly could identify 'the bad guys' or likely culprits more readily, could anticipate situations better and more readily obtain peoples' trust and cooperation.

It was possible to identify the chief two or three advantages by police organization. Among officers affiliated with the O.P.P. the three chief advantages in order of frequency were:

1. People trust you

2. It facilitates a better understanding of local culture and tradition and this may produce insight when dealing with certain individuals

3. "You know people very well and who would of committed the offences."

Among officers associated with the S.Q. the three most commonly cited responses were variants of the following quotations:

1. "You know everyone and you know what you are getting into"

2. "By the fact that he is well-known by the people he can be a good link between the justice system and the population"

3. "No special advantages."

Band Constables generally cited one of the following two types of advantage:

1. "You have a common interest in the good of the community and access to the 'moccasin   telegraph'"

2. "People will listen to you before listening to a stranger and be willing to assist in any given situation."

Officers from 'stand-alone' organizations cited the following three kinds of advantage:

1. "The officer tends to know all the people in the community better and can approach them differently, knowing their capabilities"

2. "People trust you more, will listen to you before listening to a stranger, are willing to approach you in confidence and will help out"

3. "The officer knows the community's values and norms so it's easier to assess a situation that may otherwise be potentially dangerous."

Among R.C.M.P. members the most frequent responses to the issue of advantages, were in order of their frequency:

1. "None"

2. "You know who the bad guys are and where to find them"

3. "The ability to provide a service to your people; community policing would greatly benefit from this if the member is comfortable policing his own; not all will be but the opportunity should be provided as it was in the past with the special constables."

In sum then survey respondents could readily identify both disadvantages and advantages associated with policing in the community where one grew up. There was much consensus about the disadvantages with the officers in all systems stressing the central problem of policing one's family, relatives and friends. At the same time there was some variation. O.P.P.-affiliated officers highlighted the disadvantage of always being under public scrutiny while band constables pointed to disillusionment springing from everyone expecting a favour and 'stand alone' officers emphasized the possibility of reprisals. R.C.M.P. officers highlighted the difficulty of being impartial and the danger of political interference. It seems to be the case that most officers of all stripes could readily recognize all these diverse disadvantages.

Virtually all officers who cited advantages from policing one's small home community agreed that it provided special knowledge which can facilitate strategy, cooperation and access. Perhaps the only significant aspect of the variation in responses by policing system was that R.C.M.P. respondents were by far the most likely to be skeptical about whether there was any advantage.

C)   TRAINING AND MOTIVATION

A large minority of the survey respondents, 43%, reported that they had close relatives or in-laws, older than themselves, who had been police officers. That percentage figure was quite consistent across all subgroupings save the S.Q.-affiliated where it reached 56% of those respondents. Clearly many officers in this survey were likely to have been exposed to the work and the expectations associated with policing in aboriginal communities.

Almost all the R.C.M.P. and O.P.P.-affiliated officers, 95% or more, indicated that they had received the regular recruit training required for a regular officer in the police organization with which they were involved. Among the 'Stand Alone' officers that percentage declined to 80% while less than half the Band Constables reported having received regular recruit training. In the case of both the Band Constables and the S.Q.-affiliated constables the data are ambiguous since it is not clear how an officer would have understood 'the regular recruit training for the police organization to which you are attached';   it would seem safe to assume that the percentage receiving anything equivalent to RCMP or provincial police recruit training would be low.

A strong majority of the officers apparently have received training beyond or subsequent to the recruit level. Fully 70% of all the respondents reported such training and upgrading. While the figure for most subsamples reasonably mirrored this overall average, the Stand-Alone members reported the most upgrading, namely 81%, while the S.Q.-affiliated reported the least, namely 42%. It should be recalled however that the latter officers had on average only been in policing for two years (see Figure 7: Appendix).

Special Training Obtained by Officers

All officers were asked what formal police training and upgrading courses they had obtained beyond the recruit level and also how adequate overall was their police training. It appears that the bulk of the special training for officers in all five organizations has been related to traffic (including marine operations, radar, breathalyzer) and firearms. There was however some variation in special training by police organization. The most frequently cited special training among O.P.P. affiliates were in order, marine operations, firearms, suicide prevention/intervention, and sexual assault programs. S.Q. affiliates reported little upgrading beyond training at Nicolet on arrest and the criminal code and a significant proportion claimed to have received no special training. Band Constables cited in order of frequency, radar, firearms, and suicide prevention courses; a significant number indicated that they had received no special training. Among 'stand-alone' officers the special training experience featured in order of frequency, traffic (radar and breathalyzer), firearms, family violence, and management/supervision programs. R.C.M.P. officers reported a wide range of special post-cadet training; in order of frequency these were aboriginal culture (including the Shield Program), traffic, investigative courses, drugs, and public presentations/relations.

The majority of survey respondents, indeed a large majority of them, reported that the training they received was very good and quite appropriate for their police work. This pattern was especially evident among officers associated with the O.P.P., the 'Stand-Alone' forces and the R.C.M.P. where in each case roughly 75% of the respondents gave that positive assessment.

Among the O.P.P. affiliates 73% of the survey respondents rated their training 'very good and appropriate' while 18% rated it 'fair' and 9% 'poor'. The shortfalls noted by these officers related to the incorporation of First Nations content (culture, reserve life, Band Bylaws); as one officer observed "it was good on the part of general police duties but you need to look at policing on the reserves". R.C.M.P. officers' responses followed the O.P.P. pattern but they were more likely to note the shortfall in areas of specialized skills such as major crimes, family violence, and management training. 'Stand-Alone' officers were the most positive about the training they

had obtained; here the infrequently cited shortfalls focused on the perception that the training was 'non-aboriginal orientated', and that 'you can't beat 'on-the-job' experience."

Officers affiliated with the S.Q. and Band Constables were significantly less positive about their training. The former were as likely to assess their training 'mediocre' as 'good' and commonly stressed the need for more upgrading. Band Constables while twice as likely to rate their training 'good and appropriate' compared to 'fair' or 'poor', also commonly indicated that more upgrading was required; as one officer commented, "we do not have enough depth to deal with the public."

In sum then most police officers did report some special training or upgrading subsequent to recruit training. That additional training especially dealt with traffic issues and use of firearms. The main differences by policing system were that the S.Q.-affiliated officers and Band Constables reported little upgrading and the R.C.M.P. respondents were much more likely to report training in cultural matters, special investigative areas and public relations. The large majority of officers in the O.P.P., R.C.M.P. and 'Stand Alone' policing systems evaluated their upgrading very positively while band constables and those affiliated with the S.Q. basically thought their training and upgrading too skimpy.

Reasons for Choosing Police Career

A series of questions were asked to determine the chief motivational factors underlying the respondents' opting for a policing career. What were their expectations and in what ways has the policing experience lived up to and/or fallen short of these expectations? Understanding these factors can be helpful not only in the recruitment of new police officers but also in appreciating job dissatisfaction, stress and turnover.

Table 4: DECISIONS TO BECOME A POLICE OFFICER

Description	Not Important %	Somewhat Important %	Very Important %	Unsure %
a) family/friends encouraged	45	29	23	3
b) way of getting respect	68	18	9	4
c) secure well paid job	21	37	40	2
d) opportunity to travel	27	36	34	3
e) always wanted to be	15	28	51	6
f) change aboriginal justice	28	36	28	8
g) best job available	52	30	13	4

The overall findings are reported in table 4. It may be noted there that the factor cited most frequently (51%) as 'very important' was 'I always wanted to be a police officer'; this finding is typical in police research and while it masks underlying reasons, it does to some extent represent the view that opting for the police job was not a matter of happenstance but rather a conscious, planned action. Clearly, as table 4 shows, most respondents opted for policing at least partly because of extrinsic factors such as security, good pay, opportunities for travel and the like. At the same time a significant number of officers indicated that changing the way the justice system operates in aboriginal communities was either a somewhat important (36%) or a very important (28%) consideration in their decision to become police officer. Somewhat surprisingly, in light of the large number of officers who reported having close friends and/or relatives who were police officers, the encouragement of family and friends was only a modest factor in the officers' decision to join the police.

Table 5: MOTIVATION FOR BECOMING A POLICE OFFICER BY POLICE SERVICE TYPE

% Saying "Very Important'				
Reasons	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other[1]**
Obtain a Secure Well-Paid Job	39	38	48	36
Change the Justice System	34	25	24	27

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Comparison of the different subsamples of officers revealed little variation in their responses to the standard questions. This commonality despite diverse organizational affiliation is evident in Table 5 where officers' responses to 'materialist' and 'ideological' motivators are shown. There is a clear and consistent trend for officers in all subgroupings to cite more often the 'materialist' factors as 'very important'; at the same time about 25% of the officers in each grouping (34% among the R.C.M.P.) did report the 'ideological' factor as being very important for them. It should be noted that while organizational affiliation may not account for much variation in officers' responses it can be expected that other attitudes and values as well as socio-demographic factors (e.g., age, gender, and aboriginal status) will be important causal factors; these analyses will be carried out later.

Police Work and Officers' Expectations

For a variety of reasons such as the reportedly high level of stress and turnover among those policing in aboriginal communities, the researchers deemed it significant to explore how their actual policing experience had lived up to the officers' expectations and hopes about being a police officer, and on the other hand the ways in which it had not. All survey respondents were asked to respond to these two questions in their own words and most officers did express a view.

On the positive side, describing how their actual experience had lived up to and even exceeded hopes and expectations, the survey respondents generally cited intrinsic job satisfaction

(e.g., the work has been exciting, challenging, autonomous), being enabled to contribute to the community and help others, and achieving successful policing (e.g., crime rate has declined, drug arrests etc.).

There was interesting variation in the responses depending upon the organizational affiliation of the respondents. Among officers affiliated with the O.P.P. the most frequently cited response was that their actual policing experience lived up to or exceeded hopes in yielding much intrinsic job satisfaction - "use all my skills," "being able to work unsupervised," "challenging," etc. Other common responses were that the job enabled them to contribute to the community and help people, and that they had obtained the respect and trust of the people. A number of officers, especially female officers, noted here that they had become positive role models in their area.

Among the S.Q. affiliated respondents the most common positive assessment focused on the successful policing (e.g., drug arrests, crime prevention) that the officers in their view had been able to effect. Several officers cited their positive impact as role model; one respondent observed: "I was the first Inuit Chief Constable able to make decisions for my people. I help my people understand about the white justice system".

Band Constables considered that their experience lived up to or exceeded expectations chiefly in the following three ways, by order of frequency: helping people and my community (e.g., "show we can control our nation"); personal growth (e.g. "it has made me a stronger individual"), and successful policing (e.g., the crime rate and alcohol abuse has gone down).

Among 'Stand-Alone' officers the principal way in which policing experience has measured up to if not exceeded expectations was in the area of intrinsic job satisfaction. Here the respondents pointed to the challenge and excitement of their work. One officer commented that "it's enabled me to meet many people and help many people. It has challenged me by forcing me to use all my skills, physical and interpersonal, to do my job to the best of my abilities." Another officer wrote "being a police officer is everything I envisioned it to be - challenging, satisfying, and exciting at times. I've learned life skills and gained experience I would not otherwise have had."

R.C.M.P. members gave such diversified responses that no one view could be deemed representative.   Still the most common responses were, in order of frequency, the following:

1. 'Being a role model for youths and assisting in the recruitment of other aboriginal members'; one officer wrote simply "I am a role model and actively encourage native persons to apply for the R.C.M.P."

2. Extrinsic job satisfaction (e.g. pay, career, travel).

3. Helping people; here one officer wrote, "I have to say that when I actually help an individual and see the security in their attitude that I did help them it makes this policing part of it worth it! That's what a police officer is." Another member commented, "I am able and have helped many aboriginal people to understand the functions, use of the white man's justice system."

4. Intrinsic job satisfaction; here for example one officer wrote about gaining, "self-confidence in dealing with people and certain experiences that worked out have exceeded my expectations on what I could do."

Survey respondents also identified areas wherein their policing expectations fell quite short of their hopes and expectations. Here officers' responses varied considerably by the police organization to which they belonged. Perhaps the only common theme running across all groupings was the perception of a lack of community support.

O.P.P. affiliated officers' most frequently cited shortfalls were, in order of frequency: community expectations have been too high (e.g. "we are often called upon to go beyond policing and act as fire fighter, doctor, mental health worker etc."); local political interference in policing; poor working conditions (e.g., poor promotion prospects, poor pay), and excessive paperwork. S.Q.-affiliated officers gave somewhat similar responses such as "I'm always on call," and "we do not get enough support and respect."

Band constables tended to give one or more of the three following responses in writing about how their hopes and expectations have not been met:

1. Low extrinsic job satisfaction (e.g., poor pay, poor infrastructure); one officer commented that "we are appointed as peace officers in Manitoba but the government

treats us like security guards; we can't get police equipment other police have"; several officers expressed the view that "payroll should be distributed from the federal Solicitor General's office."

2. Frustration at the limits on their performing the police role; here several officers pointed to an, "inability to perform at higher levels due to lack of training and essential skills."

3. Low prestige in the community and vis-à-vis other police; some officers echoed the views of one respondent who wrote of being, "ridiculed by members of other police organizations" while others pointed to community disrespect, contending that "people always see us as a joke because of poor training and no equipment."

Stand-Alone officers cited a variety of shortfalls ranging from poor community support (e.g., "many First Nations people believe that the law is not applicable to them") to considerable personal stress. A number of these officers cited lower than expected extrinsic rewards, especially poor promotion prospects associated with policing in a small department. While political interference and poor management were also decried, the comments on personal stress were more elaborate. As regards the latter, attention was called to the negative implications stemming from a loss of privacy and the 'requirement' of always being 'on duty' as it were; one officer wrote how "the stresses of the job as well as the commitment required, have taken me away from my family"; another officer wrote that "a lot of people I grew up with, I no longer associate with. My life has changed a lot, mostly for the better but there are some things I wish I could still do such as go to social gatherings on the reserve"; a female officer expressed particular dissatisfaction, noting that "there is a loss of privacy and anonymity is destroyed by me being a lone female to six males on my shift; the rumours that tend to go with it makes the job seem more a headache than it's worth."

R.C.M.P. respondents had a quite distinctive response pattern. By far the most frequent shortfall was considered to be discrimination and racism from non-aboriginal fellow officers and reflected in the policies and practices of the organization. It was widely contended that "native police officers are not recognized or treated equally". Officers frequently claimed that supervisors

and middle management officers exhibited racism in their promotion practices and in the assignment of responsibilities. One member observed "white superiors use policy to go against native members yet they break policy and get away with it" while another claimed "the RCMP has a two-tiered system, one for regular members in non-aboriginal positions while condescending to those in aboriginal positions."

R.C.M.P. respondents, with much less frequency, also cited other shortfalls, such as excessive paperwork, poor community support and local political interference, an ineffective justice system (ineffective in general and ineffective in responding to native concerns) and a non-consultative management style.

In sum there was much similarity among all officers, whatever their organizational affiliation, as to the ways in which their policing experience had lived up to or even exceeded their hopes and expectations. As a grouping they reported much intrinsic job satisfaction and they appreciated the opportunity to help others and their communities. They saw themselves often as role models in the aboriginal community and considered that they had made a difference in dealing with crime and some related problems. Insofar as the survey respondents identified shortfalls in their policing experience the most frequently cited problem was the lack of community support. There were significant differences among officers as to other identified shortfalls. R.C.M.P. officers alone highlighted issues of discrimination and racism within their organization. Band constables identified shortfalls in the prestige they received and with respect to the limited policing powers they possess. Stand alone officers were especially likely to point to problems of personal stress emanating from their police role in the community.

Policing Role and Style Preferences

Table 6: THE POLICE ROLE IN SOCIETY: PERSPECTIVES

Statements	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) police restricted to enforcing law/crime	8	19	43	29	2
b) arrest not always best way to solve problem	24	59	12	3	3
c) talking to citizens is good police work	74	24	1	1	0
d) highest police priority is community problems	23	57	16	1	4
e) peace & order as important as catching criminals	40	56	3	1	1
f) police involved community problems not just crime	37	44	14	2	3
g) enforcing law most important police job	11	44	39	3	3
h) police efficiency best measured by crime statistics	2	14	59	23	2
i) police time is wasted on petty citizens problems	6	25	54	12	4

Tables 6 and 7 describe responses to a series of questions designed to elicit attitudes and preferences regarding different styles and strategies of policing. The two strategies or styles of focus can be described as community-based or law enforcement in orientation. Agreement with statements B to F in table 6 would suggest a community-based policing orientation while agreement with statements A, G, H and I, would indicate that a respondent may have a strong law enforcement perspective. It can be noted that there is a significantly higher level of agreement with the 'community-based' statements than with those emphasizing law enforcement. There is very little disagreement that 'talking to citizens is good police work', that 'arrest is not always the best way to solve a problem', and that 'peace and order is as important as catching criminals'. In

many ways these statements reflect the current consensus in policing and not necessarily a commitment to a pervasive community-based policing. Still when respondents so overwhelmingly agree that 'the highest priority for police is whatever problem disturbs the community', and 'police should be involved in all community problems not just crime-related problems', then one has more confidence that officers policing in aboriginal communities are supportive of community-based policing values such as citizen involvement and a broad community policing role. These findings suggest philosophical broad agreement with non-traditional approaches to the policing role.

At the same time it can be seen in Table 6 that the officers support as well the idea that 'enforcing the law in society is the most important job of the police'; but here there is significant disagreement and that level of disagreement climbs rapidly when other more narrow statements reflecting traditional 'law and order' perspectives are considered (e.g., police efficiency is best measured by detection and arrest rates). These findings suggest that police in aboriginal communities may well be open to, if not practicing already, a different style of policing than their policing colleagues elsewhere in Canada.

Table 7 indicates that there is much similarity across the policing subsamples in the percentage of officers agreeing with statements that emphasize a 'law enforcement' perspective. Among the R.C.M.P. and Stand Alone members there is much consensus though the former appear more likely to consider that community involvement may be carried too far and trivialized.

TABLE 7: PERSPECTIVES ON POLICE ROLE BY POLICE SERVICE

% Saying Agree				
Role Activity	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other**[1]
Strictly Crime and Law Focus	28	29	14	31
Enforcements Key Focus	51	57	48	63
Too Much Time Wasted on Petty Problems of Citizens	41	24	27	32
Police Work Makes Normal Life Difficult	59	66	65	73
Policing Always Caught up in Local Politics	48	51	61	72

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Police Work Qualities

Another dimension of the police role in society concerns how police work may be viewed as a work activity. A series of questions (see table 8) were asked dealing with different aspects of police work and issues dealing with the attractiveness of the police role.

Table 8: POLICE WORK QUALITIES

Description	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) Police work is exciting	10	51	35	2	1
b) Difficult to lead normal life	18	47	28	3	4
c) Can use all talents and skills	21	55	17	1	5
d) Solidarity and loyalty with other police	20	54	19	4	3
e) Get citizens respect	10	66	19	3	3
f) Good way to help people	34	62	2	0	0
g) Results in local politics	13	43	36	5	4

It can be seen in Table 8 that virtually all officers indicate that 'police work is a good way to help people.' The large majority of officers also agree that 'police work enables you to use all your talents and skills' (a good indicator of intrinsic job satisfaction), and that it yields both solidarity and loyalty among one's police colleagues and respect from the public (two good indicators of extrinsic job satisfaction). The majority of officers (61%) also agree that 'police work is exciting most of the time'.

It was also common (65%) for the officers to agree that "police work makes it difficult to lead a normal life" and (56%) agreed that, "police work often results in the officer getting caught up in local politics." As Table 7 shows this downside perception of policing is shared by officers whatever their organizational affiliation. It is particularly commonplace among Band Constables and S.Q.-affiliated officers who have less professional credentialism to fall back on.

Overall the officers policing in aboriginal communities have a generally positive view of policing and police work and this suggests a solid basis for further development despite acknowledged problems.

Doing Police Work

Table 9: POLICE ACTIVITIES: TIME PER MONTH

Description*	None/Little %	Moderate %	A Lot %	Unsure/N.A. %
e) Doing paperwork	3	22	74	1
i) Investigating crimes	10	43	46	1
a) Motorized patrol	16	43	39	2
h) Answer calls for service	10	51	38	1
f) Court preparation	15	51	32	2
c) Informal minor disputes	10	59	29	2
d) Providing information	20	58	21	1
g) Traffic enforcement	37	43	17	3
l) Dealing with political leaders	45	36	16	3
k) School liaison	54	41	12	2
j) Public talks/presentations	45	44	9	2
m) Providing non-crime service	60	28	8	4
b) Foot patrol	74	18	3	4

* Items are rank ordered.

A number of questions were asked to get at the actual nature and level of work-related activities performed by the officers in the survey. Preliminary research indicated that it would be unwise to ask for specific time amounts allocated to various tasks, so the questions incorporated response categories such as none, little, a moderate amount and a lot. Accordingly these findings are presented as general indicators rather than as precise measures of First Nations police activity.

As is evident in Table 9 the survey respondents report a rather conventional allocation of their time, with emphasis on paperwork, investigation and law enforcement and responding to incidents or complaints. Dealing informally with minor disputes, providing information to the community and interacting with local political leaders and officials were indicated to be moderately time consuming activities. Community activities such as school liaison, giving public talks, providing non-crime community services and doing foot patrol received relatively little time from the officers.

Table 11: DOING POLICE WORK BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying 'A Lot'				
Police Work	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other[1]**
Dealing informally with minor disputes	31	29	21	33
Paperwork	89	73	75	50
Investigative Crime	65	43	36	32
Dealing with local leaders	14	11	20	27
Community Contact (Crime Prevention)	23	11	9	14
Peacekeeping Informally	47	41	32	52

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Table 11 shows that there was both commonality and diversity in the officers' responses by police subsample. R.C.M.P. members, not surprisingly, were most likely to report spending a lot of time on paperwork and doing investigations. In general the R.C.M.P. members report themselves spending a lot of time on many problems, including also community contact and informal peacekeeping. Band Constables and S.Q.-affiliated officers more frequently reported spending a lot of time dealing with local leaders and trying informally to resolve minor disputes. Overall the R.C.M.P. and Stand Alone officers were most comparable in their time allocations.

The responses suggest overall a relatively traditional allocation of police time and conventional execution of the police role. While it is not surprising that doing paper work, investigating crimes, doing motorized patrol and answering calls for service consume the bulk of police time, this time budget description does not readily support the existence of a pervasive alternative community-based policing model in the aboriginal communities. The responses may

of course reflect the communities' priorities regarding its demands or need for a primarily reactive law enforcement oriented policing service.

Table 10: POLICE TIME: KEY TASKS

Description	None/Little %	Somewhat %	A Lot %	Unsure/N.A. %
a) Patrol	10	35	54	1
b) Office	6	36	58	1
c) Investigation/law	10	43	45	1
d) community contact	39	45	15	1
e) peace keeping	6	50	43	1

Table 10 provides a picture of time allocation over a condensed set of categories. Its data are consistent with the results described above. The three chief areas for consuming officers' time are, as they reported them, office/administrative work, patrol duty, and investigation and related law enforcement. The category receiving the least amount of time was community contact (e.g., school liaison, crime prevention talks etc). Community contact, interpreted in this more formal way, appears to be more likely to be carried out by the R.C.M.P. (see Table 11).

Personal Observations on How Work Time is Spent

Officers in all five policing systems widely held that their work time should be reallocated in order to reduce paperwork - office work in general - and increase preventative patrol and community based policing. Among the O.P.P.-affiliated grouping there was a call for professional staff to prepare reports and court briefs since "officers should be on the road not in the office." Some respondents called attention to a 'too large' patrol area which limited proactive policing while others questioned the value of general patrol (e.g., " a large part of my time is doing general patrol and I'm not sure how effective this is in preventing crime or in time management"). The wide police mandate held in the community (e.g., "we fill in the gaps for all other services") and the limited manpower resources were seen as aggravating factors in causing a less than ideal allocation of work time. At the same time some officers have been able to engage increasingly in proactive, problem-solving policing; one officer noted that "we have

begun to work with the other social services in our community... excellent... gives us a better understanding of why some people behave the way they do;" another officer observed, " I do a lot of community policing, just sitting around with people and talking. I also check out a lot of back roads ... I find people like seeing the presence of an officer in these areas."

Officers working within the S.Q. system stressed that excessive paperwork and travel demands confound their policing efforts. One officer commented that preventative patrolling may have its limits -"patrolling is important but if we patrol too much the people are complaining that we spy on them". Band Constables too referred to having to spend time on the 'wrong things,' in one instance "a considerable amount of time is spent making sure everyone shows up for work; when they work, they disappear and won't answer the phone; they are not interested in this job, however hopefully we can change this by fall."

'Stand-Alone' officers stressed principally the need to streamline the paperwork in order to release time for other policing tasks such as "follow up and non-investigative community contacts"; one officer summed up this viewpoint in the following way: "preferably less time report writing and more proactive work, more visible community work. It is very important to reach the kids while they are young". There was a clear concern about having the time to do community policing and a perception that a lot of unnecessary services are hindering that effort. One officer reported that "a lot of time is spent doing dog calls, mail delivery calls, inter-office paper shuffle; this could be time used more effectively." Another officer commented that "people often rely on police to solve every minor problem they have; a lot of time is spent dealing with people who should spend more time helping themselves." It was considered by several officers that "day shift is usually very hectic, answering and dealing with minor complaints, running errands, servicing patrol cars, meetings etc."

Among R.C.M.P. respondents by the far the most common comment concerned too much paperwork and administrative work, deemed to take away from other valuable police duties and to show the need for more effective management. One officer opined that "there needs to be a change in RCMP management procedures, a streamlining of paperwork, so that more time is spent on proactive police work: another member simply wrote "too much damn paperwork takes

us away from being involved in the community." R.C.M.P. respondents frequently also cited time wasted on minor complaints, travelling over large areas and mere 'p.r.' work. The officers did indicate a desire to do community policing as evidenced in the following remarks: "the community I work in is quite large in population and very busy. I would personally like to get into the community based policing aspects of the job but it is difficult because of the overload of investigative files."

Policing Style Description

A series of statements were developed based on discussion with First Nations police officers on various aspects of their current policing style. The statements tried to focus on aspects of policing First Nations communities that might be distinctive and unique. Positive or negative responses to these statements allow an assessment of the extent to which our sample agreed or disagreed with particular policing values or preferences.

Table 12: POLICING STYLE

Statements	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) Freedom to make own decisions	10	59	24	4	3
b) Time getting to know people	18	69	9	1	3
c) Prefer methods other than arrest for community problems	16	62	16	2	4
d) Physically/verbally aggressive is helpful	6	17	49	27	2
e) Styles minimizes need for backup assistance	20	61	14	2	3
f) Get assistance from community	13	59	22	3	3
g) Work alot with community agencies	15	68	13	1	3
h) Give breaks for minor crimes	9	62	22	3	4
i) Important for police to stick together	28	39	20	6	7
j) Detain without charge useful	8	29	43	16	4
k) Policing style different from non-aboriginal	28	39	20	6	7

The majority of First Nations respondents (67%) agreed that they had a distinctive aboriginal policing style. This style may be reflected by a preference (78%) for alternatives to arrest for dealing with community problems, such as giving breaks for a minor offense (71%), working a lot with community agencies (83%), spending time getting to know people (87%) and getting community assistance (64%). This table suggests preference for a highly discretionary style of policing which emphasizes extensive use of informal or non-arrest options to deal with community disputes. Aboriginal officers say they know their communities, work with community agencies and get assistance from the community.

Table 13: POLICING STYLE BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying Agree				
Styles	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other**[1]
Freedom to police my own way	69	73	79	55
Aggression useful in Policing	24	19	22	28
The community helps out	81	68	68	67
I give second chances	77	63	79	72
Detain with charging	34	34	25	55
Policing different in Aboriginal communities	66	68	69	60

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

This communicative, discretion-oriented, community based police officer is the basic style advocated by community policing and suggests that an alternative policing style is desired by many First Nations police officers. Though perhaps based partially on tradition and partially out of necessity, the informal dispute resolution style of First Nations police officers, differs from the more legalistic and formal style of non-aboriginal urban police officers. Whether these findings reflect reality or a desired reality, they suggest a positive basis for developing an alternative First Nations policing style. However they may also raise concern given the risks associated with the extensive exercise of individual police discretion without suitable training and experience.

Organizational Assessment

This set of questions focuses on the attitudes and feelings that First Nations police officers have towards their police organization.   A police organization creates the working environment of individual police officers and plays a critical role in all aspects of their work. Therefore it is important to know how First Nations police officers feel about their respective police organization.

Table 14: POLICE ORGANIZATION

Description	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) Good working relations with nearby policing organizations	29	58	6	1	6
b) Would take very little to leave police force	6	16	43	27	7
c) Rules and regulations hamper ability to do a good job	7	20	58	12	4
d) Organization protects members from external pressures/criticisms	6	35	37	14	9
e) Feel very loyal to policing organization	29	55	8	1	6
f) Policing organization has good working relations with local governing authorities	21	55	13	6	5
g) Organization is helpful to members regarding personal problems	11	44	27	8	10
h) Performance evaluation of officers is usually carried out in a fair manner	11	53	18	8	10
i) Feel trapped in this police organization	6	27	49	11	7
j) Believe that nowadays there is too much community direction in police organization	6	26	52	8	8

A general positive attitude toward their police organization is reflected in the 84% rate indicating loyalty to their organization. Most respondents also agreed that their organization is

helpful (55%) to its members regarding personal problems, and 64% agreed that it was competent in evaluating their performance. Most (87%) respondents see their organization as having established good working relationships with nearby police organization and (76%) with local governing authorities.

Table 15: ORGANIZATIONAL ASSESSMENT BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying Agree				
Criteria	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other**[1]
Little commitment	21	20	24	32
This organization protects its members	35	41	42	47
I feel trapped in this organization	31	29	35	42
Too much community input in the organization	23	37	23	48

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

While generally positive about their policing organization, the officers were not without their criticisms. A minority (22%) agreed that it would take very little for them to leave their police force and 33% reported that they sometimes felt 'trapped in this police organization'. A larger percentage (51%) disagreed that 'this organization protects its members from external pressures and criticisms' and 32% contended that, "nowadays there is too much community direction and input in my police organization." As indicated in Table 15 these negative assessments while not uncommon in any of the police subsamples were most likely to be found among band constables and S.Q.-affiliated police officers.

In summary then the survey respondents display mixed views in their assessments of their policing organizations. While generally positive, committed and satisfied, a significant number of officers also are dissatisfied with their organization as regards the limited opportunities it provides them and the limited extent to which it insulates them from external social and political pressures.

Job Satisfaction

Table 16: JOB SATISFACTION

Description	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) Work satisfying overall	24	68	6	1	1
b) Life satisfaction from job	8	32	48	7	4
c) Trouble figuring job performance	5	28	53	9	4
d) Amount of work make job difficult	10	26	54	7	4
e) No enthusiasm for work	2	15	62	14	6
f) Pay and benefits give job satisfaction	12	40	34	8	6
g) Solidarity with fellow police - job satisfaction	15	52	21	5	8
h) Positive impact on aboriginal justice - job satisfaction	20	53	14	2	10

Given the complexities, recency of major changes and unique challenges of policing in aboriginal communities it is important to get a good understanding of the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction associated with police work there. As indicated in table 16 a high proportion (92%) of the sample agreed that 'on the whole I find my work satisfying' and 24% strongly agreed with that statement. Fully 40% of the sample agreed that 'the major satisfaction in my life comes from my job". Most officers (62%) rejected the idea that they have trouble figuring out how well or poorly they are doing on their job or (61%) that the amount of work they have to do is excessive and especially (76%) reject the proposition that 'none of the work I do stirs up my enthusiasm'.

Aside from intrinsic considerations, the respondents were also asked how important several extrinsic factors were in accounting for their job satisfaction. Most respondents (67%)

agreed that the solidarity and loyalty of fellow officers 'is a big factor in my job satisfaction' while 52% gave a similar response with respect to pay and fringe benefits. Interestingly the largest proportion, almost 75% of the sample, indicated that 'having a positive impact on aboriginal justice problems is a big factor in my job satisfaction."

Table 17: JOB SATISFACTION BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying Agree				
Criteria	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other[1]**
My major life satisfaction is my job	36	41	35	51
It's hard to know how I am doing at this job	37	26	26	49
Expectations of Work are too high	38	33	30	44
Making a difference is important for my job satisfaction	74	76	67	76

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Table 17 shows that there is a high level of similarity on job satisfaction across the policing subsamples. On the whole the R.C.M.P. members were somewhat more likely than Stand Alone and O.P.P.-affiliated officers to report too high expectations and work load and to express concern about assessing their performance.

While a majority of the sample appears to be relatively satisfied with their job and link that satisfaction to both intrinsic and extrinsic factors, the results do not exhibit a particularly enthusiastic pattern, especially when compared with patterns typically found in police research.

Stress/Conflict and Problems

Stress has long been established as a particular occupational hazard of policing. For a variety of reasons, First Nations police officers may be in particularly stressful positions and the

survey attempted to understand the level and source of such stress. To establish the relative importance of different stress factors the respondents were asked to rate a list of items that have been established as sources of policing stress. The results are reported below and are listed from the most to least stressful items.

Table 18: WORK ACTIVITIES AND STRESS

Description*	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) Work schedules	25	41	29	3	2
n) Political pressures	19	43	32	2	3
j) Emergency response	15	48	33	2	2
k) Home life	9	28	51	8	4
m) Personal financial affairs	8	29	53	6	3
o) Police work in general	8	39	46	4	4
i) Promotion procedures	8	29	50	4	10
c) Relations with supervisor	8	29	57	3	3
l) Personal health	7	27	54	8	4
h) Contacts with criminals	6	49	40	2	2
b) Relations with liaison officers	6	24	58	3	9
f) court appearances	4	36	49	4	6
e) Relations with non-aboriginal officers	4	23	61	7	5
d) Relations with aboriginal officers	3	18	65	9	5
g) Citizen contacts on the job	2	26	64	6	2

* Items are rank ordered.

The number two source of police stress cited (62%) by respondents was "political pressures on policing". This is a unique source of stress item for First Nations policing, and is typically not a source of stress for non-aboriginal police officers. Its high ranking as a stressful

item ahead of more conventional police "stresses" make it an important issues worth exploring in more detail.

The other items listed as being most stressful are: (1) work schedules, (2) personal financial affairs, (3) emergency responses, and (4) home life. The relatively high stress rating given personal financial affairs and home life and personal health differs significantly form the non-aboriginal officers survey in Edmonton (see below) and may suggest a unique source of stress for aboriginal police officers.

Table 19: Percentage of Strongly Agree Responses

Description	First Nations Survey	Edmonton Sample
Political Pressures	19%	N/A%
Work Schedules	25	13
Personal Finances*	8	4
Emergency Response	15	15
Home Life*	9	1
Personal Health*	7	3
Criminal Contact	6	2
Relations Supervision	9	2
Court Appearances	7	9

In addition some work related items such as criminal contact, and relations with supervisors are more stressful for the First Nations sample than the Edmonton comparison group.

In general the average level of stress recorded for all comparable items was higher for the First Nations sample than non-aboriginal comparison. Though other groups of a more comparable nature (non-urban) would be preferable, the findings suggest that First Nations police officers may perceive and experience levels of stress more than non-aboriginal police officers. Of particular interest in these responses is the role of personal finances, health, and home life as

sources of stress. These non-occupational stressors appear to be far more prominent as "stressors" for First Nations police officers than in non-aboriginal police officers.

Table 20: STRESS BY POLICING SERVICES

% Saying Agree				
Factors	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other[1]**
Work Schedule	68	65	61	71
My Supervisors	45	34	34	35
Court Appearances	42	42	36	41
Contacts with Criminals	54	55	56	58
Responding to Emergencies.	61	69	60	60
Political Pressures	69	66	65	58
Police Work in General	46	47	44	47

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Table 20 indicates a remarkable level of similarity among the five police grouping in this sample in officers' assessment of stress.

In summary the findings reveal a significant personal and occupational stress for a number of First Nations police officers and that this stress comes form both traditional aspects of police work (work schedules, emergency response) and unique aspects of First Nations police work (political pressures).

Work Related Problems

In order to identify some of the unique and potentially problematic aspects of First Nations police work, a series of problem statements were developed to gauge respondents' perception of their "problematic" significance. The findings are reported in Tables 21 and 22.

Table 21: WORK PROBLEMS

Description*	No Problem %	Somewhat a Problem %	Big Problem %	Unclear/NA %
c) Lack of policing programs and materials	31	38	28	3
d) Inadequate policing - lack of 'back up'	37	35	26	2
j) Dealing with mostly unsolvable social problems	20	53	24	4
b) Community factionalism or in-fighting	23	51	20	6
f) Community mistrust of police	36	43	19	3
g) Dealing with community politicians	38	41	18	3
e) Unreasonable expectations of police	44	36	16	4
m) Policing many personal friends and relatives	44	36	15	5
i) Inappropriate community expectations of policing	30	53	12	4
h) Isolation from other police officers of policing	58	28	10	3
l) Incorporating aboriginal tradition into policing	52	34	6	8
k) Rules and policies of my police organization	57	33	6	4
a) Language and communication difficulties	65	30	4	1

* Items have been rank ordered.

Two general response patterns appear to emerge from the findings in Table 21. The first set of responses focus on the recurring theme of the problematic nature of First Nations police officers role and relationship to the communities in which they operate. Thus 69% of the respondents cite as "big or somewhat of a problem"; dealing with community politicians, (51%) policing personal friends and relatives, (62%) community mistrust of the police, and (71%) community

factionalism. These responses suggest that many First Nations police officers find policing small communities personally and occupationally difficult.

Another group of responses suggest that many First Nations police officers feel isolated and frustrated by their position. Thus our sample agreed that it was "somewhat a problem" or a "big problem" that they (63%) did not have enough police programs, 61% had inadequate policing backup, and 38% felt isolated from other police. These responses suggest a sense of isolation and insecurity which may be unique to First Nations police officers given the overwhelming rural nature of their police work and the often isolated small organizational context in which they have to operate.

Table 22: PROBLEMS BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying 'Big Problem'				
Factor	RCMP	First Nations	O.P.P.	Other[1]
Community Factionalism	20	22	19	17
Lack of Programs and Materials	15	25	22	18
Dealing with Unsolvable Social Problems	29	20	22	25

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Table 22 shows that there was little variation by police affiliation though RCMP respondents were more likely to agree that they deal with unsolvable social problems and less likely to agree that they lack programs and materials.

Occupational Conflicts and Pressures

The questions in this section develop further the unique problems and conflicts of First Nations police work. Many of the items were generated from discussion with First Nations

police officers about the "special" problems of aboriginal policing. The responses provide more detailed information on the feelings and attitudes of First Nations police officers to various aspects of their unique police role.

Table 23:   OCCUPATIONAL CONFLICT

Description	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
a) Little opportunity for my promotion or being hired by another police organization	16	25	40	12	8
b) My supervisors understand the special nature of my job as an aboriginal officer	12	56	19	5	8
c) Freedom to use whatever policing strategies and practices I think are appropriate	14	62	19	2	3
d) Feel conflict between expectations of police force and native community residents	10	46	36	4	5
e) Worry aboriginal community think I have lost my aboriginal loyalty	6	27	43	13	10
f) Many non-aboriginal police officers don't see me as an equal	22	34	29	7	8
g) Courts deal with aboriginals offenders in my police district in culturally sensitive way	4	35	37	11	12
h) Purely aboriginal justice system have a positive impact on the crime and order	19	31	23	11	17
i) Criminal code prevents dealing with policing problems in a appropriate way	6	25	54	8	8

Unique characteristics of First Nations police role are reflected in the 41% of the respondents who agreed that they" had little opportunity for promotion or transfer to another police organization". This response may be a reaction to the limited size and structure of many small independent First Nations police organizations. Many respondents (57%) agreed that they

are "not seen as an equal by non-aboriginal police officers" a significant finding given the importance of police status and peer solidarity.

Criticism of the non aboriginal criminal justice is reflected by the 41% who agree that the criminal code prevents dealing with policing problems in more appropriate ways and the relatively few (39%) who agree that courts deal with aboriginal offenders in culturally sensitive ways.

Two items reflect First Nations police officers concerns about community perceptions of their policing role and cultural identity. Thus 56% agreed that they felt conflict between expectations of the community and their police organization, while 33% worry about the communities' perception that they have lost their aboriginal identity. Though 40% indicated they did not worry about this perceived loss of identity, the responses to both questions do suggest a level of conflict over role and identity that is unique to First Nations policing.

Table 24: GENERAL VIEWS BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying Agree				
Item	RCMP	First Nations	O.P.P.	Other[1]
Little opportunity for Me	29	39	49	52
Face conflicting expectations	61	48	60	58
Policing Threatens my identity	38	36	34	23
Non-Aboriginal officers don't see me as equal	54	59	56	51
Courts are culturally sensitive here	37	39	46	38
A purely Aboriginal justice system is desirable	49	57	32	55

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Table 24 reveals some differences among the various officer groupings. RCMP officers were more likely to perceive opportunities for advancement and also to perceive themselves facing conflicting expectations in their policing.

Training Needs

The following table summarizes responses to a series of items that respondents asked to establish the level and priority of training needs. The responses are arranged from highest to lowest.

Table 25: FUTURE TRAINING NEEDS

Description*	None/Little %	Moderate %	A Lot %	Unsure/N.A. %
g) Sexual assault	12	36	51	1
k) Supervisory and management skills	9	43	45	2
a) Criminal investigation	13	44	42	1
i) Youth programs	12	46	41	2
e) Family violence	14	46	38	1
j) Public speaking	24	39	36	2
l) Indian Act/Band By-Laws	23	43	31	3
f) Community policing	23	46	30	1
h) Mediation and dispute	15	51	30	3
b) Community relations	19	49	29	3
c) Traditional peace keeping techniques	26	42	28	4
d) Paperwork and case preparation	33	44	23	1

* Items are rank ordered.

With the exception of criminal investigation the top priority training needs identified are focused on problem areas than can be seen as "social" as well as legal problems. The following areas were identified as requiring "a lot" of training: (1) 51% sexual assault; (3) 38% family

violence; (4) 41% youth programs. These strong responses suggest that these problems are perceived to be both priority policing problems and also priority training needs.

More traditional policing skills were also identified as requiring a lot of training: (3) criminal investigation, 42%; (12) paperwork/case preparation, 23%; (2) supervisory/management training (45%). The high ranking given criminal investigation suggests a lack of confidence in their existing level of training and perceived need for more. In addition the strong desire for more/better management/supervisory training is an understandable priority as First Nations police organizations grow and mature.

Community oriented skills areas were given relatively low priority as a training need but nevertheless still were identified by a significant proportion the sample. Public speaking (36%), community relations (29%), traditional peace keeping (28%), mediation and dispute (30%), community policing (30%) were seen as areas requiring a lot of training. Though rated lower than other skill areas, they were seen as requiring a moderate to a lot of training by more than 60% of the sample. As these skill areas are possible alternative responses to traditional non-aboriginal law enforcement strategies, these findings suggest there is a desire for more training in alternative community policing methods. These community based skill areas may also be critical in responding to the priority social and community problems identified by the sample as the most important training areas of need.

Table 26: TRAINING NEEDS BY POLICING SERVICE

% Saying 'A Lot'				
Training	**RCMP**	**First Nations**	**O.P.P.**	**Other**[1]
Criminal Investigations	24	44	48	65
Family Violence	27	37	41	55
Sexual Assault	37	49	57	69
Supervisory and Management Skills	44	44	42	50

[1] The sample sizes were 124, 138, 74 and 80, for the RCMP, First Nations, Ontario Provincial Police and Other respectively. The 'Other' category includes officers coached by the Surete and band constables throughout Canada.

Table 26 indicates that while officers in all police groupings equally emphasized the need for supervisory and management training, non-RCMP respondents were more likely to request other training.

In summary it should be pointed out that the overall level of perceived need for all of the training needs was extremely high (averaging 17% little, 44% moderate, and 34% high). These findings indicate that First Nations police officers perceive a need for training of all kinds. This is an issue that needs to be explored more fully through research and consultation (see conclusions).

Important Changes that could Improve Policing Effectiveness

All survey respondents were asked to comment about 'what important changes could be made which would improve your policing effectiveness.' It was common for officers in all five policing systems to suggest more and/or better training, and the need for more resources, both manpower and infrastructure. At the same time there was variation which was systematic and understandable. Among those officers in the O.P.P. system, beyond the usual suggestions for training and greater resources to facilitate community policing, there was the view that better, more appropriate local direction of policing was required (especially an effectively functioning police advisory group or local police board). A few officers suggested the need for better police supervisors and managers.

Officers in the S.Q. system essentially called for more training and more police resources. Among the band constables there were additional suggestions for better direction from chief and council and from the community in general; as one such officer noted, the need is for "a community and leaders who know what they want in a police service"; another band constable called for "a strong police commission and a strong youth justice committee and less political

interference in these two programs". Not surprisingly some band constables advanced the suggestion that full policing powers be given to the band constables.

Apart from training and resources, officers in stand-alone systems called for a more efficiently run/better managed police force; several suggested the need for a consensus mission statement while others proffered strategies such as "reorganize our shift schedule and the way our members work, [make] more efficient use of resources". A number of these officers also called for better police-community collaboration and more appropriate local direction, advancing suggestions such as "education of community members to let them know what an officer can and cannot do", "full autonomy of the police service from government interference, full autonomy of governance by First Nations Police board", and "get close to the people you work for ...". A few officers suggested a need for a more native-based justice system.

The principal suggestion for improving their policing which was advanced by R.C.M.P. members in this sample focused on a more culturally sensitive R.C.M.P. organization and management (especially supervisors and middle managers). Some officers pointed to the need for better contact with the community (e.g., people are scared to come in and visit me; they think that they do not belong here"; "policing is seen as the white man's law and rule"). Other suggestions included improved working conditions (e.g., travel, opportunities for special postings such as 'drugs'), more First Nations officers and, not surprisingly, less paperwork.

In sum then while there were some organizationally-specific suggestions for improving policing effectiveness the three main suggestions were for more and better training, more resources including manpower, and better, depoliticized local direction of the policing effort.

Changes to Improve the Community's Assessment of Policing

Overall the police respondents in this survey highlighted three factors as likely to effect a more positive community assessment of their policing, namely actually doing community-based policing, educating community residents about the role and the limits of policing, and providing more resources (including manpower) so that police may become more visible and more proactive in their policing. O.P.P.-affiliated officers for example commented that "one way

would be to have the political persons see exactly what we do and have to put up with", "more accountability of the police to the community", "more manpower for referral for victims", "more community involvement', "more community education - give them opportunity to see our job description", and "visible support from chief and council."

S.Q.-affiliated officers stressed community education and especially community policing tactics. School visits and appearances on community radio were deemed to be useful ways to establish consensus about the policing role and to implement police-community collaboration. Band constables offered a number of suggestions to improve the community/police partnership and do community policing including "encourage ride-alongs with police service members [giving them] a front seat view of the world of police work", "have local workshops dealing with the problems which inhabit and surround the reserve", and "create a community police advisory group". A few band constables suggested that what is needed would be full native policing based on native traditions!

Among the officers in stand-alone systems the chief suggestion was to educate the community about the police role, its limits and possibilities. Clearly many officers believed that community expectations were too high and somewhat unrealistic; as one officer noted "in this community they would like 24 hour policing which is not a realistic goal given the budget restraints placed on police departments across the country". Another officer observed that "[what is needed is] a realization through education that the powers of a police officer are limited and community expectations should realize that we are still community members under the uniform". The educative function of the police is considerable since in the officers' view there has to be "more community awareness of problems faced by officers concerning courts, laws, charter rights vs. holistic views, cultural expectations and traditional justice". A number of 'stand-alone' officers pointed to the need for related developments such as a mission statement for policing, establishing local tribal police commissions and generally the 'depoliticization' of policing (i.e., "removed from the control of local government").

R.C.M.P. respondents advanced a number of suggestions to improve community appreciation of policing. They too emphasized the educative function of policing (e.g., "[convey]

what police really do and how since t.v. has given an Americanized perception of policing") as well as doing more community-based policing; it was claimed that by setting up auxiliaries and spending more time and resources speaking with the community and addressing their needs much could be accomplished. Other suggestions included more cultural sensitivity being exhibited by all sides and better ties with chief and council.

In sum the survey respondents did have a number of suggestions for how to improve their community's assessment of their policing. Chiefly they called for doing community-based policing with a variety of tactics and emphasizing the educative function of policing to achieve a more realistic community set of expectations about policing. The respondents held that more resources would be required to achieve greater visibility and a more proactive policing style. Officers commonly called too for a more effective, participatory but less politicized local direction over the policing effort.

CHAPTER FIVE: Discussion and Policy Implications

The previous section presented the responses of First Nations' police officers in this national sample. Overall the sample indicated that police at the field level in the aboriginal communities across Canada are relatively young in age and inexperienced in policing. They are themselves aboriginal and have aboriginal background and upbringing. The distribution by gender and marital status is comparable to the larger police community in Canada and among the RCMP and Stand-Alones the education levels are also comparable (though less) to elsewhere in Canada. Mostly constables in rank, sample respondents police in small communities with a small number of colleagues.

Almost half the police respondents also police in the community in which they themselves were raised; here the RCMP pattern is quite different as only 15% of the latter police in their home community. It is interesting that analyses have not identified many differences in stress levels, job satisfaction, and perception of local problems and of police-community issues, that can be related to whether or not one is policing in their home community. Clearly though the officers themselves readily identified potential advantages and disadvantages of such an arrangement. There was a high level of consensus as to the disadvantages but less consensus regarding possible advantages. It would appear that the major policy issue would be how to deal with the disadvantages; here presumably the buffer role of an active local police board and perhaps the public participation of local advisory councils may be quite significant in dealing with these disadvantages.

The survey has indicated that a large number of officers policing in aboriginal communities did have close relatives who were police officers. Their own motivations for entering police work were basically extrinsic reasons (e.g., the pay, security, and opportunities for travel) and the sense that "I always wanted to be an officer." A significant minority did express more ideological motivations. In addition to the fair level of consensus across police arrangements on the motivational considerations, most officers in the RCMP, OPP-coached and

Stand-Alones shared appropriate cadet-level training and had experienced some training beyond and subsequent to the recruit level. Usually the latter training dealt with traffic-related matters and the use of firearms. The RCMP officers were especially likely to have received training in cultural matters, special investigative areas and public relations. The large majority of officers in the three policing arrangements (RCMP, Stand-Alones, OPP-coached) evaluated their upgrading quite positively. At the same time the officers did readily identify areas where in their view a lot of further training is required. The overall level of perceived need across all identified training areas was quite high with 48% and 34% of the officers saying that, respectively, moderate and high levels of training were required. First Nations and OPP/SQ coached officers indicated a strong wish for training of all kind while the RCMP officers especially called for training in management and supervisory skills.

In general, the officers policing Canada's aboriginal communities considered that police work had lived up to their expectations. It was especially in the area of intrinsic factors such as the challenge, the autonomy, the ability to be deal with crime and so forth that the officers reported that their expectations had been met. In areas such as community support and expectations or in the way their policing organization operated, they were more likely to report shortfalls. RCMP officers in particular called attention to issues of discrimination and racism within their organization. From a policy point of view then it would appear that there should be more focus on the organizational and institutional context of policing.

There was a very high level of consensus among the respondents concerning general issues pertaining to the role of police in society. Officers clearly had a strong disposition towards what might be called the community-based policing philosophy, at the same time, though with decidedly less consensus, the officers expressed a law enforcement orientation. As will be discussed below these dual orientations must form the basis for a strategy of research and development in aboriginal policing.

Officers also expressed much consensus concerning how they considered the police role itself. The large majority considered that the job enabled them to use all their talents, generated strong bonds and loyalty among policing colleagues, got citizens' respect and was a good way to

help people. There was significant variation among them as to whether police work made living a normal life difficult, how exciting it was and the extent to which it engaged officers in petty politics. There was in sum a clearly positive picture of police work presented by the officers.

In terms of actual time spent on various aspects of police work the principal time consuming activities were deemed to be paper work, patrol, investigation and court-related responsibilities. Comparatively little time was spent on beat patrol, traffic, school liaison and dealing with local political leaders and community organizations. There was little formal community contact (outside the RCMP) but more informal community relations. In general the RCMP officers reported having spent a lot of time on a wide range of policing tasks. In their written comments the respondents emphasized the need to reorganize their time in order to allow them to do more community policing. Clearly this is another important policy issue, namely whether more police resources are needed or whether the existing level can be more efficiently managed to facilitate the kind of policing that the officers apparently want to engage in.

The policing styles of aboriginal officers show much commonality whatever the specific policing arrangement they are associated with. The officers emphasize that they spend a lot of time getting to know people in the community, that they use methods other than arrests to deal with policing problems, that they do not find being verbal or physically aggressive helps their law enforcement, that they work in ways to minimize the need for backup, that they do get much assistance from the community, and do liaise with community agencies. There was less consensus regarding the amount of autonomy they can exercise, whether they 'give breaks', how important they think not discussing police business with outsiders is, and whether they sometimes employed preventative detention practices. Overall too the respondents considered that their style of policing is different than that found in the non-aboriginal society. This latter point raises again the issue of a distinctive aboriginal policing thrust as a policy consideration.

Officers policing the aboriginal communities typically indicated quite positive assessments of their policing organization. But while generally positive, committed and satisfied, a significant number of officers are also dissatisfied with their policing organization as regards the limited promotional opportunities it provides them and the limited extent to which it insulates

them from external social and political pressures. The policy issues here then would appear to focus on the institutional context of policing in aboriginal communities and, also the trade-offs and alternatives with respect to perceived truncated job ladders and limited opportunities for specialization and transfer.

The officers expressed a reasonably high level of job satisfaction on the whole and in relation to intrinsic work considerations (e.g., enthusiasm, impact). There was more diversity concerning the extrinsic factors and a significant minority reported dissatisfaction concerning the expected amount of work and the lack of feedback and evaluation they get regarding their performance.

The areas of stress most frequently noted by respondents were work schedules, contact with criminals, emergency response and political pressures on policing. More moderate areas of stress were court appearances, promotion procedures and police work in general. Areas of comparatively low stress included relations with coaches, colleagues and other police, citizen contacts on the job, home life, and personal health. It would appear that the patterns are reasonably typical in policing circles though perhaps the level of stress overall is higher than in these latter milieus. There were no striking differences associated with the organization with which the officer was affiliated. Among the respondents there was an indication of differential stress by years of experience in policing. Those officers with less than five years experience had a slightly higher stress score (2.6 to 2.5 averaged over all items) than the other officers; surprisingly though the highest stress scores were found more frequently among officers with more than five years policing experience.

Asked about more general problems associated with their police work, the respondents principally identified the lack of policing programs and materials to do the job, the lack of police backup and the fact that they dealt with mostly unsolvable social problems. RCMP respondents were most likely to indicate the latter and least likely to cite the first problem. Clearly from a policy perspective these findings point to a need for better availability and distribution of appropriate materials and for more interchange and collaboration among police organizations, especially of course those serving in the contiguous geographical areas.

Respondents reported other problems in their police work such as lack of promotional opportunities, conflicting expectations between the police organization and the community residents, non-aboriginal officers' not perceiving them as an equal, and even more, the constraints of a criminal code which is sometimes 'inappropriate', and the potentially negative implications of the way they police for their aboriginal identity. On the whole they were rather optimistic concerning the potentially positive impact of a more aboriginal justice system. Clearly then there are some issues in policing that are more or less singular to policing in aboriginal communities especially their status vis-à-vis police non-aboriginal colleague, and the possibilities for a more 'aboriginal policing style. This two-fold focus-respected conventional policing and aboriginal identity - are reflected in respondents' written suggestions about how to improve the situation; they simultaneously call for more and better conventional training, and more intensive community-based policing.

Overall then there are some major policy concerns and issues that should be addressed, including the following:

1) The youth and inexperience of officers at the field level in aboriginal communities

2) Role conflict among aboriginal officers and in aboriginal policing (e.g., policing in their home communities, different expectations from the police organization and from the community, policing style and aboriginal identity)

3) Institutional context (the buffer of police boards, and the accountability to and in local advisory councils)

4) Collaboration and interchange with other policing systems and organizations (backup, exchange of materials, exchange of officers)

5) Management and supervision (issues of time management, local governance, a quality work environment in the face of limited promotions and transfers)

6) Resources (materials, exchanges and if necessary, manpower increments)

7) Training and upgrading (the dual approach as defined below)

CONCLUSION

The Evolving Model of Aboriginal Policing: The Two Path Model

Aboriginal policing in Canada has evolved dramatically in the last few years. Since the commitment to indigenization of policing in aboriginal communities most of the attention and effort has been focused on obtaining the right to self policing, accessing the necessary technical and financial resources and developing basic policing skills.

The progress from being policed by non-aboriginal police officers and police forces to being policed by aboriginal police officers and or police forces is an impressive accomplishment and one that has taken place in a relatively short time. Therefore it is not surprising that our survey identifies some problems with the current situation, and also a desire for improvement and some policing alternatives. Though the situation varies by region, police force and indeed even police officer, there appears to be two clear sets of interrelated problems that need to be addressed at this stage in the evolution of aboriginal policing.

Most of the police officers we surveyed exist in police organizations where their basic resource and training needs have been met. However many officers still indicate a desire for more and better police training in order to consolidate and enhance their basic operational and management policing skills. This appears to be important to many officers because these skills not only allow them to do their job more effectively but also because they must interact and deal with a non-aboriginal criminal justice system and non-aboriginal police officers. Therefore enhancing the conventional policing role of the aboriginal police officer remains an issue of considerable concern to many of the respondents in our survey and needs to be addressed as a serious research and training issue.

Although expressing a desire for more training in basic conventional policing skills, officers also have an equally strong desire and need to develop "alternative" policing skills and strategies to deal with policing problems in ways that are more compatible with community values and not easily addressed by conventional law enforcement. However, despite evidence that many

aboriginal police officers appear to value and favour informal community oriented, alternatives to conventional law enforcement, their survey answers nevertheless indicate that much of what they actually do is conventional policing in practise and orientation. Thus while recognizing that many of the problems they deal with are fundamentally social and not conventional legal crime problems, they continue to deal with these problems using conventional law. As a result, the First Nations police officers in our sample indicate considerable frustration over the limited effectiveness of conventional police response and express a strong desire to use more community based, alternative strategies to deal with the many social conflicts and problems they must contend with. However, while recognizing that there is a need for an alternative to the conventional model of policing, there appear to be lack of clarity on what this model should be and there is little training and support for its development.

This confusion is understandable if one recognizes that until recently there has been only one established model of policing, from which aboriginal police officers and organization could develop. The modern "conventional" policing model has developed largely as an urban (suburban) alternative to the conventional, crime focused, technology based and legalistic approach to policing. This model has been the basic framework for the development of the training and organization of aboriginal policing. While obviously an important element of aboriginal policing, the conventional policing model may also create policing problems and provide a limited set of policing strategies for the aboriginal police officer policing in an aboriginal community. So while there is a desire and a need for alternatives to the conventional policing model, aboriginal policing remains largely influenced by the conventional policing paradigm and its officers are rather exclusively trained in conventional policing techniques and philosophies. The resulting tension and imbalance between the conventional law enforcement model and the evolving but relatively undeveloped alternative community based model, needs to be addressed in ways that recognise the essential duality of the aboriginal policing role, a policing role that is both community and criminal justice based, and that must ultimately harmonize them in one truly unique aboriginal policing model. The current situation finds many First Nations police officers not confident about their conventional policing skills and even more uncertain about the alternatives. On one path the officers in our sample

suggest that they need more conventional police training in order to enhance their basic policing skills. They desire this to enable them to be more effective conventional police officers, it will also allow them to be confident in their interactions with the non-aboriginal criminal justice community. The other path, though less defined, is a developing desire for alternative and somehow more community compatible policing strategies, that would assist them to more effectively meet the unique policing needs of First Nations communities. Developing both of these policing paths and harmonizing them within one unique aboriginal policing model would seem to be a difficult but worthwhile destination.

A National Aboriginal Policing Research and Development Initiative

The problems identified and the issues raised by the aboriginal officers in this survey will not resolve themselves without some initiative by policy makers. The data and information provided by this survey suggest that the ongoing development of aboriginal policing requires a coherent and active program of research and policy development. While we recognize that the progress of aboriginal policing can be accomplished in a number of ways we restrict our recommendation to the role of policy, research and training. The following outlines a general plan and process for the development of research and training to assist in the development of a model of policing appropriate to aboriginal communities.

POLICY GOAL: A national research and training initiative aimed at supporting the development of a distinctive policing model for aboriginal police officers policing aboriginal communities. This aboriginal policing model should be focused on developing and harmonizing through research and training the dual requirements of conventional law enforcement and alternative community based policing philosophies and strategies, in order to better meet the policing needs of First Nations communities.

This initiative must be based on a partnership between First Nations police officers and their organizations and federal and provincial governments. The rational for such an initiative comes

from the responses of First Nations police officers in this survey indicating their dissatisfaction with certain aspects of their current policing role and a strong desire for alternatives. The rationale for the federal government involvement lies in its current commitment to funding and supporting the development of aboriginal policing. Therefore the next step in the development of aboriginal policing lies in investing in research and training to promote the evolution of an aboriginal policing beyond its current impass.

STAGE 1: COMMUNICATION, DISCUSSION AND CONSENSUS

This stage of the initiative should focus on communication and discussion of the various issues raised in this survey with aboriginal police officers and police executives. The point of this stage would be develop an understanding of the issues and problems and develop some consensus of the priority issues that need to be addressed by aboriginal police community.This could take variety of forms such as a national consultation, and discussion of the survey report, regional workshops etc. This consultation could be the basis for a national research, development and training agenda.

STAGE 2: RESEARCH, TRAINING AND DEMONSTRATION

The next stage focuses on doing things that address the needs and issues identified in stage one. Some of these strategies could be as follows:

* Research on priority issues of national concern;

* Documentation of aboriginal and non aboriginal programs of merit and interest, (shame and reintegration policing, etc.);

* Regional and national conferences and workshops on training and development issues (i.e. problem oriented policing, crime prevention, dispute mediation);

* Demonstration projects: document and evaluate innovative policing project such as problem solving to be used as possible model for further development;

* Communication strategies aimed at keeping aboriginal policing informed (national) news letter.

In conclusion policing aboriginal communities is an expensive and resource dependant enterprise. The task is vitally important for the safety and health of native communities. The job is both difficult and unique. Therefore it would seem reasonable to advocate a modest research and development policy to support the development of necessary organizational and operational skills and strategies to meet the needs of aboriginal police officers and their communities.