

Peace Officer and Peacekeeper:

An Examination of Training Needs



First Nations Chiefs of
Police Association



Canadian Police College

D.F. Sunahara

June 2006
Ottawa. ON

Published by

The Canadian Police College
PO Box 8900
Ottawa, ON
K1G 3J2

Ph. (613) 998-0797
email dave.sunahara@rcmp-grc.gc.ca

Ce document est également disponible en français

© Government of Canada

The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or any government department.

Executive Summary

Project Partners

This study was undertaken by the Canadian Police College in partnership with the First Nations Chiefs of Police Association and the Aboriginal Policing Directorate of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada.

Goals

The study had two goals. The first was to identify the strategic learning needs of self-administered First Nations police services. The second was to make recommendations for training based on the identified learning needs.

Perspectives

The study looked at operational training from two perspectives. The first of these was that of the peace officer role that flows from Canada's common law tradition and the Judeo-Christian concept of justice. The second perspective was that of the peacekeeper, the traditional Aboriginal approach to public safety and order that focuses on the overall health of the community. The study also looked at the management training needs of First Nations police services.

The Policing Environment

The study identified a number of issues that have important training implications.

Many of the current chiefs of police will probably begin to leave their services in the next few years. Their likely successors are probably ill-prepared to assume more senior managerial roles. Indeed, many of today's middle managers have not received the training needed for their current duties.

The economic and social conditions in some First Nations communities have created a dual challenge for police. Police must respond to the many social problems found in First Nations communities and to the serious crimes, including organized crime, that these same conditions encourage.

There is a growing expectation that First Nations services will adopt more traditional approaches to public order and safety in response to the challenge of widespread social problems.

Many First Nations officers probably do not have the skills to address community public order issues using traditional peacekeeper methods.

In contrast to the findings of a similar study conducted in 1993, the police today are much more involved in the enforcement of drug and gang crimes.

Most officers have performed only general duty policing and do not have the skills to undertake the investigation of serious crimes.

Recommendations

The study makes the following three recommendations.

Develop a development program, including a formal course of study, for middle and senior managers. This development program should explicitly recognize the peacekeeper role in the internal management of the police service. This development program should also recognize the need to expedite the development of middle managers in anticipation of their assuming executive roles in their services.

To prepare officers to address public order issues such as domestic disturbances, suicide, child welfare incidents, minor *Criminal Code* offences etc., training should be developed to impart both peace officer and peacekeeper skills.

Two levels of advanced operational training should be developed. The first would equip officers to deal with serious criminal offences. The second would be to prepare officers to investigate organized crime.

Peace Officer and Peacekeeper: An Examinations of Training Needs

Introduction

Following a request from the First Nations Chiefs of Police Association, (FNCPA), the Canadian Police College (CPC) agreed to examine the strategic training needs of officers employed by self-administered First Nations police services. The study entailed a three-way partnership involving the FNCPA, the CPC and the Aboriginal Policing Directorate (APD) of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (PSEPC).

Policing is a labour intensive industry and the quality of the services delivered by a police service is shaped by the quality of the labour force. In turn, the quality of this labour is shaped by the material tools given to employees to work with, the direction they receive and their training and education. This report focuses on the issues of management development and the operational education and training provided to police officers employed by self-administered services.

This study is a follow-up to a similar study conducted in 1992-93 by the CPC for the FNCPA and the APD¹. The initial study led to the creation of domestic violence, mid-level investigative and management training for officers employed by First Nations services. Periodically throughout this report, reference will be made to this earlier study to highlight changes that have taken place and the problems that continue to face First Nations services. The goal of the current study is to provide recommendations that will address the strategic training needs of First Nations police services.²

¹ Sunahara David F. (1993) *Training Needs Analysis First Nations Police Officers and Supervisors*. Ottawa: Canadian Police College.

² Two questionnaires were developed for this study. The first questionnaire looked at the demographics, duties, experience and training of officers and was distributed to all ranks.. The second was distributed to the management ranks and collected data on their evaluations of the communities they police, their assessment of their communities' expectations and their evaluation of their subordinates' skills. Copies of the two questionnaires can be found in Appendix I.

Peace Officer and Peacekeeper

This study approached the identification of training needs from two perspectives. Not surprisingly, First Nations police officers must function in a divided world. The police officer role, as commonly understood, flows from the English common law and the Judeo-Christian view of justice. Thus the police officers are part of a legal tradition that is foreign, and at times in conflict with, a centuries-old Aboriginal philosophy towards order and safety.

The police officers' dilemma is reflected in the title of this study, *Peace Officer and Peacekeeper: An Examination of Training Needs*. The *Peace Officer* role reflects policing as enforcement that is based on statute law enacted by the Government of Canada and the case law created by the court system. The *Peacekeeper* role reflects the traditional approach to public order as passed down through centuries of First Nations history.

The peace officer and peacekeeper roles represent two very different approaches to ensuring community well-being. The peace officer role flows from the western sense of justice as symbolized by balanced scales. Justice from this perspective implies an impartial, and indeed in some representations, a blind weighing of wrongdoing and punishment. It is an eye for an eye balancing act governed by objective and neutral rules. It is personal in the sense that, for each wrongdoer, the scale must be balanced and typically this means diminishing the wrongdoer through punishment.

The peacekeeper role focuses less on the individual wrongdoer and more on the community. Its goal is to ensure the health of the community by raising up both the injured and the wrongdoer to the shared common healthy state that existed prior to the wrongdoing. The peacekeeper reconciles and restores where the peace officer enforces. There is a clear expectation that the police officers working for First Nations services remain respectful of both the peace officer and peacekeeper traditions and this is their dilemma.

While in the following discussion, the peace officer and peacekeeper roles are discussed as if there were no overlap, in reality each blends into the other. Peace officers do not function solely as enforcers of the law and peacekeepers do not focus solely on restoration and reconciliation. So while this report treats the two as if they were distinct, the reader should recognize that this black and white distinction was made primarily to simplify the discussion.

Management and Operations

The second perspective adopted by this study was to differentiate between the needs of operational officers and police managers. It is important to recognize that operational policing experience does not prepare police officers to assume responsibility for the direction of their organizations. Promotion to managerial ranks brings with it duties that require knowledge and skills far removed from those that make an officer operationally effective.

Demographic Characteristics

The following section provides a brief description of the officers who responded to the survey. It is important to recognize that some of these demographic characteristics have important implications for the training of police officers.

Age and Sex

In this study 88% of the respondents were male and 12% were female. In 2005, female officers represented 18% of the national police community.³ The average age of officers responding to this survey was 37 years. While comparable data for the national police population are not available, First Nations officers probably represent a younger population.

Language

The majority of officers in this study could not speak an Aboriginal language. Slightly over one in four officers (28%) reported being able to speak an Aboriginal language and 18% reported speaking a First Nations language regularly on the job. The proportion of officers able to speak an Aboriginal language remains well below the national picture. Data from the 2001 Canadian census reports that 56% of the adult, on-reserve population speak an Aboriginal mother tongue.⁴

Interestingly, the likelihood of being able to speak an Aboriginal language does not

³ Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. 2005 Police Resources in Canada, 2005. Retrieved 10 May 2006 from <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/85-225-XIE/0000585-225-XIE.pdf>

⁴ Statistics Canada. Selected Demographic and Cultural Characteristics (210), Registered Indian Status (3), Age Groups (6) and Area of Residence (7) for Population, for Canada, Provinces and territories, 2001 Census - 20% Sample Data. Retrieved 10 May 2006 from [http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/ RetrieveProductTable.cfm? Temporal=2001&PID=73644&GID=355313&METH=1&APATH=3&PTYPE=55496&THEME=45&AID=0&FREE=0&FOCUS=0&VID=0&GC=0&GK=0&SC=1&SR=1&RL=0&CPP=99&RPP=9999&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=0&d1=1&d2=0&d3=0](http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/RetrieveProductTable.cfm? Temporal=2001&PID=73644&GID=355313&METH=1&APATH=3&PTYPE=55496&THEME=45&AID=0&FREE=0&FOCUS=0&VID=0&GC=0&GK=0&SC=1&SR=1&RL=0&CPP=99&RPP=9999&D1=0&D2=0&D3=0&D4=0&D5=0&D6=0&d1=1&d2=0&d3=0)

appear to be a function of age. The average age of the officers in this study was 37 years and officers above this age were no more likely to be able to speak an Aboriginal language than their younger colleagues.

We can only speculate on why older and younger officers are equally unlikely to speak an Aboriginal language. But the answer to this question is very important for it has clear training implications. If the speaking of an Aboriginal language is relatively rare in the communities where these officers work, then the learning of an Aboriginal language does not create a training need. If, however, the prevalence of an Aboriginal mother tongue in these communities reflects the national picture, we must ask whether current recruiting practices may be causing a training problem. Are highly acculturated officers being recruited and is training in First Nations language and culture needed to compensate for their lack of knowledge? There appears to be some suggestion that this may be the case. Thirty-nine percent of managers in this study report that language training would be very useful. As a training challenge, this could prove difficult because of the multiplicity of Aboriginal languages and cultures present in Canada today

Education

The majority of officers employed by First Nations services have some form of post secondary education. Table 1 presents a breakdown of the educational achievement of First Nations officers.

Eighty-one percent of officers have received some form of post secondary education with 41% having obtained a community college or CEGEP diploma or certificate. An additional 23% have had some form of university education. Of this 23%, only a small fraction have received a bachelors degree or higher.

Table 1
Educational Achievement of First Nations Officer

Education	% (No.)
High school certificate or less	19% (25)
Some community college, CEGEP etc.	17% (21)
Community college, CEGEP certificate	41% (50)
Some university, bachelors degree or higher	23% (28)

Police Employment

The following section reviews the police employment and training history of the officers who participated in this study.

Prior Police Experience

For a large minority of the officers, their current service was not their first police employer. A large proportion of officers (36%) had previously worked for another police service prior to joining their current employer. A much smaller number, 6%, had worked for two services earlier in their careers.

Reflecting the fact that most of the services that contributed to this study were established after the creation of the First Nations Policing Policy (FNPP) in 1991, a significant portion (39%) of the management ranks have experience with a previous service. What came as a surprise was the fact that almost the same percentage of constables (35%) had been employed previously by another service. One quarter of all the officers had worked for another First Nations service, 16% had worked for a municipal service and 9% had worked for the RCMP. (These figures exceed the 36% reported at the beginning of this paragraph because a few officers had worked for more than one type of service.)

The data indicate that there is significant movement of officers within the First Nations police community. Twenty-five percent of the constables in this study had been previously employed by another First Nations service. This may contribute to the observations that 50% of managers feel that rapid staff turnover poses a serious problem. Movement between First Nations services and the larger issue of staff turnover may be worthy of further study.

Years of Service and Rank

Table 2 breaks down the officers' years of service by rank. As one would expect there is a pronounced relationship between years of service and rank with constables being the most junior in service and the chiefs of police having the most experience. Sixty-two percent of chiefs of police are concentrated in the 16+ years of service category.

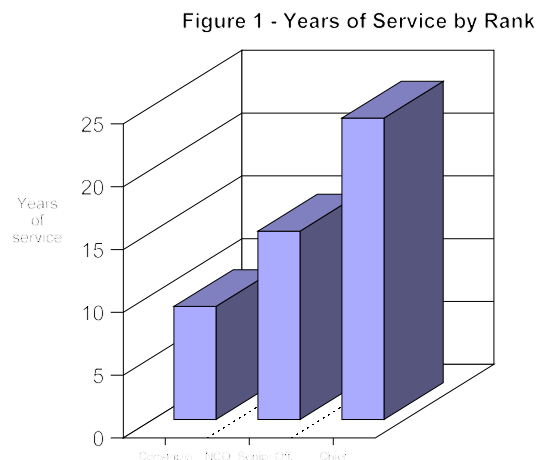
Table 2
Years of Service by Rank

Rank	1 - 5 years of service	6-10 years of service	11-15 years of service	16+ years of service
Constable	42% (34)	26% (21)	26% (21)	7% (6)
NCO or Senior Officer	4% (1)	21% (6)	39% (11)	36% (10)
Chief of Police	0% (0)	12% (1)	25% (2)	62% (5)

When we examine NCOs and senior officers, their years of service present a problematic picture. A relatively large percentage of the officers in these ranks (64%) have 15 or fewer years of service. And a quarter (25%) have ten or fewer years of service. The level of experience in these groups is lower than one would probably find in non First Nations services.

The gap in years of service between chiefs of police and the senior officer and NCO ranks is significant for the current discussion - Figure 1. Many of the future chiefs of police are likely to be drawn from this group of officers and there is a large gap in years of service between this group and the chiefs of police.

On average, chiefs of police have 24 years of service. Their immediate subordinates, however, have almost 10 fewer years of service. NCOs and senior officer average 15 years of service. This suggests that the likely successors to the current chiefs of police will probably be less experienced than the current cohort should the current cohort retire in the next five years. It must also be pointed out that NCOs and senior officers have been in their current positions for a relatively short period of time. They have held their current rank for an average of five years. Chiefs of police have held their positions for an average of eight years. More will be said about the implications of this experience



differential during the discussion on training needs.

While Table 2 presents a picture of a relatively young labour force, it also represents a significant maturing. In the 1993 study referred to earlier, only 28% of the officers had 10 or more years of service. In today's study, the figure is 47%. And given that many of the skills acquired by police officers are learned on-the-job, this jump in the number of officers with 10 or more years of service is a positive development. The fear that was once expressed that First Nations services would be in a perpetual state of development because of high turnover rates seems unfounded.

Training History

The following section looks at the training history of the officers who participated in this study.

Recruit Training

A relatively large percentage of officers (26%) do not appear to have received basic recruit training. In addition a large minority (46%) of police managers say that the recruit training that is available, does not prepare officers to work on First Nations communities. (The provincially operated training academies were the main sources of recruit training.) The absence of formal recruit training suited to the needs of First Nations constables and the presence of so many officers who lack any form of recruit training are problems that merit serious attention.

In-Service Training

Table 3 presents the percentage and number of officers who have received various forms of in-service training since starting their police careers. The purpose of Table 3 is not to highlight any particular type of training but rather to represent a training dilemma that appears to confront First Nations services. The types of training have been sorted according to their relative frequency. At the top of the list, computer crime training has been taken by only 2% of the officers while at the bottom of the list, 62% of the officers have taken first aid or CPR training.

Many, if not most of the forms of training that would support the peacekeeper role discussed at the outset of this report fall near the top of the list. That is, relatively few officers have received this form of training. This despite the fact that police managers overwhelmingly (90%) report that their communities expect them to respond to social problems where the peace officer or enforcement role is inapplicable. Similarly, when asked about the future role of police, 60% of these

same managers said that there was a growing demand for police strategies that “focus on the health and well-being of the entire community”. The responses to other questions exhibit the same pattern. For example, 55% of the managers expect that police will become more involved in mediating civil disputes and 40% report that they expect police to become more involved in social development projects.

Table 3
Per Cent and Number of Officers Receiving
Various Forms of In-Service Training

Type of Training	% (No.)	Type of Training	% (No.)
Computer crime	2% (2)	Media relations	10 % (12)
Explosives	2% (2)	Instructional techniques	10 % (12)
Worker health and safety	2% (3)	Vehicle theft	11 % (13)
Mediation techniques	2% (3)	Problem solving	12 % (15)
Working with volunteers	4% (5)	Case management	12 % (15)
Labour relations	5% (6)	Forensic interviewing	13 % (16)
Human rights	6% (7)	Testifying	13 % (16)
Counselling	6% (7)	Public speaking	13 % (16)
Hostage negotiation	6 % (7)	Dealing with mentally disturbed or suicidal people	14 % (17)
A First Nations language	6 % (7)	Coaching or mentoring	14 % (17)
Community or problem oriented policing	6 % (7)	Leadership	15 % (18)
Negotiation techniques	7 % (8)	Fraud	16 % (20)
Crime prevention	7 % (8)	Report writing	16 % (20)
First Nations cultural issues	7 % (9)	Accident investigation	16 % (20)
Intelligence	7 % (9)	Drug investigation	22 % (27)
Forensic identification	8 % (10)	Search warrant	25 % (31)
Computer literacy	8 % (10)	Sexual assault	28 % (34)
Indian Act or drafting band by-laws	8 % (10)	Breath alcohol testing	34 % (41)
Disclosure	9 % (11)	Domestic violence	35 % (43)
Drug abuse prevention	9 % (11)	General criminal investigation	41 % (50)
Harassment	9 % (11)	Radar	47 % (57)
Ethics	10 % (12)	Other use of force skills	47 % (57)

Stress management	10 % (12)	Less lethal weapons, e.g., Taser, pepper spray	50 % (61)
Decision-making	10 % (12)	First aid or CPR	62 % (76)

In contrast to the lack of training relevant to the peacekeeper role, with only a few exceptions relating to very specialized enforcement tasks such as computer crime and explosives, many officers have taken training that focuses on the enforcement or the peace officer role. For example, sexual assault training has been received by 28% of the officers. This, despite the fact that only 12% of officers report responding to sexual assaults with any regularity.

Similar results were obtained in the 1993 study referred to earlier in this report. Like the current study, officers surveyed in 1993 were more likely to have received enforcement related training than training that addressed the peacekeeper role. The lack of change in this area probably reflects the virtual absence of this form of training in the police community.

Access to In-Service Training - the Preceding 12 Months

On average, officers received seven days of training in the 12 months preceding this study. This figure is slightly below the results obtained by the author in a national examination of training.⁵ In that study, in 2003, police services reported that officers received an average 64 hours of in-service training annually, or approximately one day more training than was received by officers employed by First Nations services.

In the current study, a small, but significant number of officers (18%), reported that they received no in-service training in the preceding 12 months. The sources of in-service training for First Nations officers varied widely with police academies, the employing police service, other police services and work-related conferences and workshop being amongst the most important sources of instruction.

The in-service training that the officers do receive is perhaps best characterized as maintenance or refresher training. This class of training includes use of force refresher, firearms re-qualification and briefings on policy and law changes. In this study, 58% of the officers received use of force refreshers training, 88% completed their annual firearms qualification and 43% received regular information on changes in the law and policy. Only a small minority of officers (8%) reported receiving other

⁵ Sunahara, David F. (2004) *The Allocation of Resources to Police Training by First Nations, Municipal and Provincial Police Services Canada 2003*. Ottawa: Canadian Police College

forms of training in the preceding 12 months. If officers are to perform competently in a world of changing expectations and ever increasing complexity, they must receive training that does more than maintains their skills. They must receive training that expands both the breadth and sophistication of their skills.

Management Education

Previously, I mentioned that there was a potential succession problem looming. The likely successors to the current chiefs of police are relatively junior in both their years of service and years in their current rank. The likelihood of a problem developing is compounded by NCOs and senior officers in this study having received relatively little in the way of training that would equip them to assume more senior positions. For example, while most (61%) have received training in first line supervision, only 7% have received training in financial management. Eleven percent have received training in strategic planning; 14% have received training in project management, 0% in labour relations and 11% in human resources management. The lack of training in these traditional management tasks amongst NCOs and senior officers paints a problematic picture. Most do not have the training needed to assume executive roles. Indeed, it could probably be argued that many have not received the training to do their current jobs.

Managers in this study recognize that there is a need to give priority to developing senior managers. Over half the managers (56%) say developing senior managers should be a "very high priority". Indeed the priority given to management training in general exceeded the priority given to technical operational training such as forensic identification and accident reconstruction.

Capacity to Train

The ability of police services to train their own officers appears limited. Table 4 summarizes the sources of the in-service training received by officers in this study. Only 18% of the officers received in-service training from their own police service in the 12 months preceding this study. They were more likely to have received training from another police service (39%), a workshop or conference (32%) or a provincial police academy (27%). Even fewer (7%) received the specialized training provided by the Canadian Police College. The relatively low level of in-service training provided by the employing police service is mirrored by the virtual absence of role call training. Only 7% of officers reported receiving this form of training regularly.

Table 4
Sources of In-service Training in the
Preceding Twelve Month Period

Source of training	% (No.)
A provincial or regional police academy	27% (33)
The Canadian Police College	7% (8)
Employing police service	18% (22)
Another police service	39% (48)
A work-related conference or workshop	32% (39)
A community college or university course	3% (4)

Current Duties and Skills

Table 5 presents the managers' evaluations of their communities' problems and whether their officers have the skills to respond to them. The problems are sorted from the most to least common. Seventy-seven percent of managers agree with the statement "The level of social problems is higher here than in the surrounding communities" and 25% say their officers have the skills to respond to these problems.

Table 5
Managers' Evaluation of Community Problems
and the Skills of Officers to Respond to Them

Community Problem	% (No.) Agree	% (No.) Have the necessary skills
The level of social problems is higher here than in the surrounding communities	77% (27)	25% (9)
Drug crimes are a serious problem here	75% (27)	6% (2)
Officers from my service are regularly involved in investigating major crimes	69% (25)	20% (7)
Youth crime is a serious is a serious problem here	69% (25)	8% (3)
The level of violent crime is higher here than in the surrounding communities	61% (22)	50% (18)
Crimes against children are a serious problem here.	43% (15)	17% (6)

Local gangs are a serious problem here	40% (14)	0% (0)
The level of property crime is higher here than in the surrounding communities	39% (14)	42% (15)
Organized crime is a serious problem here	39% (14)	3% (1)
Crimes against the elderly are a serious problem here.	25% (9)	12% (4)
Fraud and other commercial crimes are serious problems here	17% (6)	3% (1)

Table 5 reveals several disparities that clearly undermine the First Nations police services' ability to deliver both peace officer and peacekeeper services. Over three quarters of the managers (77%) say that their communities experience higher levels of social problems than the surrounding communities but only 25% say their officers have the skills to deal with such problems. Similarly a significant majority of managers (75%) say that drug crime is a serious problem and only 6% say their officers are equipped to deal with it. Perhaps reflecting the same issue is the disparity (69% vs 20%) in major crime and the disparity (39% vs 3%) in relation to organized crimes. Eighty per cent of managers also reported that substance abuse was a serious problem. Similar disparities are apparent for local gang problems (40% vs 0%) and youth crime (69% vs 8%).

While not conclusive, the figures presented above clearly suggest that more must be done to ensure the skills of officers are sufficient to meet the challenges facing First Nations communities. On the enforcement side, police services must address crimes of increasing sophistication. Drugs, gangs and organized crime groups are a fact of life in many communities. And officers whose careers have been limited to general duty police work cannot be expected to respond to such crimes without receiving additional enforcement training. At the same time, many First Nations communities face longstanding social problems that traditional enforcement methods have done little to resolve. Indeed, some have argued that rather than contributing to solutions, the peace officer's focus on enforcement has added to the problem. Training in the peacekeeper role is an option that should be explored if change is to happen.

Operational Priorities

Managers were asked about the operational priorities they have for their police services. Table 6 presents their responses sorted from the highest to the lowest priority. Enforcing *Criminal Code* violent crimes is the operational priority for 97% of the managers. This should not be surprising given that violent crime poses an immediate and an unambiguous threat to any community and the observation of managers that violent crime is a relatively common problem in their communities. Thus, the very high priority given to this aspect of police work by managers working

for First Nations services.

What is somewhat surprising is the fact that managers give crime prevention a very high priority. Eighty-three percent of the managers said crime prevention was a high priority activity. Assigning such a high priority probably reflects the managers' recognition that reactive, enforcement responses do not provide a long term solution for their communities. This raises a question, and one that cannot be answered by this study, as to whether these managers feel their officers are equipped to undertake a crime prevention role.

Table 6
Managers' Operational Priorities

Duty	% (No.) High Priority
Enforcing <i>Criminal Code</i> violent crime	97% (33)
Crime prevention	83% (29)
Enforcing <i>Criminal Code</i> property offences	62% (20)
Traffic enforcement	53% (19)
Applying peace keeping methods that emphasize the health and well-being of the entire community	53% (19)
Solving social issues	50% (18)
Enforcing provincial laws	42% (15)
Enforcing band bylaws	35% (12)

Current Operational Duties

Table 7 presents the proportion and number of officers who respond to various types of incidents at least once a month. That is, it reports on how the police officers are spending their time and energy. The incidents are sorted from the most common to the least common.

Table 7
Frequency of Response to Selected Incidents

Respond to at least once a month	% (No.)	Respond to at least once a month	% (No.)
Assault - not sexual	71% (84)	Eviction of a person from a residence	21% (25)
Theft - not vehicle	69% (81)	Vehicle theft	18% (22)
Domestic dispute	66% (79)	Suicide	14% (17)
Break and enter	61% (73)	Missing adult	13% (16)
Impaired driving	50% (60)	Sexual assault	12% (14)
Motor vehicle accident	45% (53)	Removal of a person from the community	9% (11)
Assistance to a social worker	42% (50)	All terrain vehicle or boating incident	6% (7)
Child welfare incident	41% (49)	Seizure of property as part of a civil dispute	4% (5)
Drug offence	37% (43)	Fraud	4% (5)
Runaway or missing child	36% (43)	Robbery	2% (2)
Trespass	27% (32)	Hostage taking	2% (2)
Other band by-law offence	27% (32)	A roadblock, picket line or other demonstration	2% (2)

As was noted at the outset of this report, the current study is a follow-up to a similar study conducted in 1993. While a strict comparison is not possible because of changes in wording, it is informative to compare the results of that study with the results from the current one. The comparison reveals several changes and several instances of constancy. The level of domestic disputes remains consistently high. In the 1993 study, 76% of the officers reported responding to domestic disputes regularly. In the current study, 71% report doing so. Similarly, officers reported responding to sexual assaults regularly, 16% in 1993 and 12% in the current study. The frequency with which officers respond to by-law offences, robbery and hostage taking also remained relatively constant.

A comparison of the two studies also reveals several important changes. In 1993, only 8% of the officers said they responded to drug crimes regularly. In 2006, 37% reported doing so. This is a very large increase in the resources being spent on drug enforcement. Whether this increase reflects a change in the actual incidence of illegal drug use in the communities or a change in their police services priorities is unclear. What is clear, however, is that drug enforcement is a much larger responsibility today than it was in 1993. It is equally clear from the assessment

made by managers, that their officers are not up to the task. Only 6% of the managers said that their officers had the skills to respond to drug crimes.

Today's police officers are also more active in the area of child welfare. In 1993, 24% of the officers reported responding regularly to such incidents. Today, 41% report doing so. In the current study, 36% of the officers also report responding to runaway or missing children regularly. There is some indication that responding to suicides has also become a bigger challenge in the years between 1993 and 2006. In the first study, 6% of the officers reported responding regularly to such incidents. Today, the figure is 14%.

Responding to high frequency events such as those listed in the first column of Table 7, i.e., assault to band by-law offences, probably consume the bulk of an officer's time and effort. Incidents such as domestic disputes and child welfare incidents reflect the social problems facing many First Nations communities. Incidents of this kind reinforce the assessment made by 77% of the police managers that their communities face more social problems than neighbouring communities and the importance of police services being able to respond to such problems.

Reinforcing this picture of communities facing significant social problems is the regularity with which officers work with social workers and others with social development responsibilities - Table 8. Workers with such responsibilities form a normal part of most officers' professional network.

Table 8
Per Cent and Number of
Officers Who Work with Various
Community Groups

Work with . . .	% (No.)
Social workers	89% (108)
Child care workers	87% (106)
Medical personnel	80% (98)
School staff	71% (87)
Chief and council	57% (69)
Traditional leaders or elders	34% (41)
Recreation staff	33% (40)
A community crime prevention group	30% (36)
A traditional justice group	26% (32)
Environmental or natural resources staff	23% (28)

Economic development staff	7%	(9)
A community religious group	7%	(9)

Eighty-nine percent of the officers report having social workers as part of their professional networks and 87% of the officers report that child care workers are a normal part of their professional lives.

Before proceeding, it must be noted that only a small minority of the managers feel that their officers have the skills needed to respond in a restorative, or peacekeeper way to such social problems. Only 3% of managers felt that their officers had the skills to use a restorative approach to crime and 6% felt their officers had the skills needed to take such an approach to domestic disputes. A similarly small percentage, 3%, felt their officers had the skills to use a restorative approach to resolving community disputes.

Training Priorities

The following section addresses two issues: the utility managers assign to teaching certain specific skills and their training priorities expressed in terms of the major challenges facing their services. Table 9 presents the percentage of managers who say that training in certain skills would be “very useful”.

The first column in Table 9 reflects many of the same operational training needs that the 1993 report identified. In the earlier report, training in obtaining warrants, interrogation and interviewing and the preparation of reports were identified as important training needs. Looking specifically at Table 9, it is clear that there is still a need to train officers in a range of criminal investigation skills. Training in skills such as interrogation and interviewing and the paper work of criminal investigations, e.g., warrants, Crown reports, disclosure packages were described by managers as being very useful. It should also be noted in this regard that many of these same activities were amongst the most frequently performed by the officers. For example, 78% of the officers said that they prepared reports for the Crown a least once a month and 64% of the officers reported preparing a disclosure package at least once a month or more.

Table 9

Percent of Managers Reporting that Training in Selected Skills Would be Very Useful

Tasks	% (No.) Very Useful	Tasks	% (No.) Very Useful
Obtaining search warrants	81% (29)	Computer literacy	47% (17)
Sexual assault	75% (27)	Dealing with mentally disturbed or suicidal people	42% (15)
Interrogating suspects	74% (26)	Counseling crime victims	39% (14)
Briefing or preparing reports for the Crown	69% (25)	A First Nations language	39% (14)
Interviewing adults	69% (25)	Coaching	33% (12)
Interviewing children	61% (22)	Instructional techniques	33% (12)
Use of force	58% (21)	Hostage negotiation	33% (12)
Preparing disclosure packages	56% (20)	Community or problem oriented policing	31% (11)
Testifying in court	53% (19)	Making public presentations	28% (10)
Intervening in domestic disputes	53% (19)	Speaking to the media	25% (9)
First aid or CPR	53% (19)	Acting as a mediator	22% (8)
Stress Management	53% (19)	Conducting negotiations	22% (8)
Planning or managing a criminal investigation	50% (18)	Working with volunteers	22% (8)

Where Table 9 reports on what kinds of training would be useful, Table 10 focuses on the priority that should be given to training that would address specific community and organizational challenges. Table 10 reports on the percentage of managers who say certain types of training are a high priority.

Table 10

**Percent and Number of
Managers Who Assign a High Priority to
Various forms of Training**

Training in . . .	% (No.) High Priority
Developing investigative skills	94% (33)
Drug crimes	89% (33)
The management of major crimes files	86% (31)
Preparing front line supervisors	86% (31)
Developing senior managers	83% (30)
Developing major crime detectives	80% (29)
Community or problem oriented policing	75% (27)
Specialized technical skills, e.g., forensic identification, accident investigation	68% (24)
General policing duties	68% (23)
Organized crime	64% (23)
Peace keeping methods that emphasize the health and well-being of the entire community	58% (21)
Commercial crime	42% (13)

Clearly, there is a certain element of managers answering this part of the questionnaire as if it were a wish list. Substantial numbers treated all forms of training as a high priority. For the purposes of this study, however, if we look at only the top five priorities, we can see that managers give the highest priority to developing investigative skills. It is interesting to note that this was also identified as a priority in the 1993 study. Also identified as a priority in the 1993 study was the development of supervisors and managers and that priority remains today. The two additions to the priority list are training in drug investigations and the management of major crime files. This reinforces some of the observations made earlier in the report.

Expectations fo the Next Five Years

The managers were asked to estimate the likelihood of certain changes taking place in the next five years in their communities and in their police services. Table 11 reports the percentage of managers who feel certain changes are likely in the next five years. It also reports the percentage of managers who say that the change has

already occurred. For example, 57% say that they expect “A growing demand for public order strategies that focus on the health and well-being of the entire community “ and an additional 6% say that the expectation is already present in their communities.

Table 11
Managers’ Expectations Concerning
Changes Taking Place in Their Communities
and Police Services

Expectations for next five years	% (No.) Likely to Occur	% (No.) Already present
A growing demand for public order strategies that focus on the health and well-being of the entire community	57% (20)	6% (2)
A parallel Aboriginal criminal justice system that emphasizes the health and well-being of the entire community	44% (16)	9% (3)
Primary responsibility for investigating major crimes such as homicide and serious sexual assaults	43% (15)	31% (11)
Regularly investigating organized crime	42% (15)	14% (5)
Regularly enforcing federal statutes other than the Criminal Code	40% (14)	23% (8)
Regularly mediating civil disputes between community members	39% (14)	17% (6)
Stronger band bylaws that regulate such things as natural resources and residency	37% (13)	31% (11)
Regular joint forces operations	34% (12)	40% (14)
Self sufficiency in specialized areas such as forensic identification and collision reconstruction	33% (12)	14% (5)
Regular involvement in social development programs such as literacy and early childhood development	31% (11)	8% (3)
Regularly enforcing non-criminal laws such as natural resources and environmental regulations	30% (11)	6% (2)

Looking first at the expectations for change, over half of the managers (57%) clearly expect a growing demand for police to adopt practices that will promote “the health and well-being of the entire community” or the peacekeeper role. Similarly, 44% expect the emergence of a “parallel Aboriginal criminal justice system that emphasizes the health and well-being of the entire community”. Given that the managers accurately reflect their communities’ expectations, there is every possibility that police services will be moving towards a more balanced approach to service, an approach where the peace officer and peacekeeper roles are formalized

and seen as legitimate.

Several other patterns are evident in Table 11. There is a clear expectation, or an existing reality, that First Nations police services will become far more involved in major criminal investigations including multi jurisdictional investigations, organized crime and major crimes of violence. As was noted previously, involvement in such investigations requires a level of skill that most managers feel do not exist in their services - Table 5.

Discussion

A number of major challenges confront self-administered First Nations service. And these challenges raise clear and pressing training needs.

The first of these challenges is demographic. First Nations services are led by chiefs of police who have held their positions for lengthy periods of time. This, combined with their overall years of service and the inexperience and lack of training of their middle managers, makes developing the next generation of manager a priority. Given, as was said at the beginning of this report, that policing is little more than labour, good management and leadership loom large in ensuring that First Nations communities are well-served by their police services. Management development was identified in the 1993 study as a priority and it remains a priority today.

The second challenge facing First Nations communities pertains to the social and economic problems they face. This single challenge creates divergent needs with respect to the development of First Nations officers.

Historically, organized crime has arisen where poverty and estrangement from the larger society have taken root. The historic conditions of many immigrant groups provide a model of the crime that can emerge from these conditions. The immigrant ghettos of our urban centres have repeatedly nurtured organized crime groups. And the same now appears to be happening in First Nations communities. The conditions that gave rise to organized crime elsewhere characterize segments of the Aboriginal community today.

The current study reports that First Nations communities experience the social and economic problems that give rise to organized crime more than other communities. The study also reports a markedly higher levels of drug and gang related crime than in 1993, the year that the original training study was conducted. Realistically, there is every reason to expect that the economic and social problems confronting First Nations communities will persist. Therefore, it becomes incumbent on First Nations

services to prepare themselves for the complex crimes that thrive in such environments.

Compounding the challenge facing First Nations services is their own history of service delivery. Earlier, this report observed that most of the police officers in this study are relatively junior and have spent their time working as general duty police officers. This kind of experience does not provide sufficient background for police officers to engage in the more difficult work of organized crime and drug enforcement. There is a clear need to prepare police officers to deal with the complexity of drug and other forms of organized crime.

When the social and economic conditions of a community give rise to organized crime, the police must respond as peace officers. That is, enforcement becomes the preferred option. But the social and economic conditions of First Nations communities also give rise to other forms of disorder such as suicide, domestic disputes and child neglect. Others have commented on the inappropriateness of peace officer methods when dealing with such problems. These daily problems require competence as peacekeepers.

Few officers have received the kind of training needed to support the peacekeeper role. This probably reflects two conditions. The first is that First Nations services are dependent on others for their in-service training. The second, and perhaps more important cause, is the lack of formal recognition given to the role. While many have commented on the need for culturally appropriate training, these comments have not translated into the supportive policies and organizational development strategies, including training, needed to make the peacekeeper a reality. Working as a peacekeeper means acquiring a set of skills no less difficult to master than those required by peace officers.

Reinforcing the need for a strengthened peacekeeping approach is the political and social expectations of the communities that employ the officers in this study. There is a growing expectation that First Nations police will return to their historical roots and adopt an approach to public order and safety that emphasizes the restoration of the community's health rather than the strict interpretation of law and the punishment of the wrongdoer.

Recommendations

Management Development

There is a need to create an educational program that addresses the development of middle managers and executives. This program must recognize that there is an intimate connection between the nature of the services police provide to the community and how the service is managed internally. When police introduced community policing, they attempted to do so while maintaining the top-down paramilitary model that was part of “professional policing”. The conflict between consultative community-policing and command and control management soon became evident. With the move towards a combined peacekeeper-peace officer model, consideration should be given to a management development program that incorporates the peacekeeper philosophy.

This development program must recognize that many of the current middle managers are relatively junior in service and that the starting point for this program may have to be set at a point that explicitly recognizes this fact. The program must also accept that many of these same middle managers may soon be promoted into the executive ranks and will require an accelerated program of executive development.

Operational Training

First Nations services must strengthen their investigative capacity and must do so with some urgency. They must respond to two pressing forces: the First Nations pursuit of greater autonomy and the social and economic conditions facing some communities. These two forces combine to create a need for training in an operational approach that combines the peace officer and peacekeeper roles and they create a need to strengthen the investigative capacity to respond to serious crimes including organized crime.

Concretely, training should be offered in three distinct areas. The first would see operational training explicitly designed to combine the peace officer and peacekeeper roles to prepare officers to respond to social problems such as domestic conflict, sudden deaths and the myriad of relatively minor *Criminal Code* offences that occur in First Nations communities.

The second area is more explicitly peace officer in nature. With ever increasing operational responsibilities, First Nations services require greater investigative capacity to investigate serious crimes. And it should be noted that, because of the dispersed nature of some services, these skills may have to be more pervasive than would be the case for services that police only a single community.

The third area of operational training needed by First Nations services concerns organized crime. The social and economic conditions on some First Nations communities have given rise to indigenous organized crime groups with some members of these groups having criminal associations with outside criminal gangs. First Nations services have a very limited capacity to respond to organized crime and it is open to debate whether non First Nations services could respond effectively to organized crime problems in First Nations communities. Therefore, training must be provided to First Nations officer in the specialized investigative techniques designed to combat organized crime.

Conclusion

At the outset of this report, I commented that First Nations police officers must function in a divided world. On one side they must function as peace officers and on the other they must work as peacekeepers. This duality is matched by the disorder they face in First Nations communities. On one side they must respond to the domestic conflicts, suicide, substance abuse and minor *Criminal Code* offences etc., that are often commonplace in First Nations communities and that are amenable to a combined peacekeeper-peace officer approach. On the other, they must address the serious crime, including drugs and organized crime for which the peace officer role comes to the fore.

There is a natural correspondence between the operational tasks that First Nations officers must perform and the policing methods being advocated in this report. In turn, these policing methods require the support of an ongoing development program, one component of which must be training.

Also at the outset of this report, I commented that policing, as an industry, is extraordinarily labour intensive. Policing often entails little more than one police officer talking to one member of the public. The outcome of such interactions is dependent upon the officers' skills and the leadership they are given. An industry that is so heavily dependent on skilled labour requires managers equally skilled in ensuring that their subordinates perform to the best of their ability. They must provide the leadership and the organizational framework that allows this to happen.

Appendix I
Questionnaires