ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND THE POLICE: ATTITUDES, PERCEPTIONS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL REALITY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines police-Aboriginal (Indian and Metis) community relations in Saskatoon during the fall and winter of 1992. Aboriginal perceptions of, attitudes towards, and experiences with, police are examined. While this is not a comparative study, 'race' is theorized to be an important variable governing police treatment of Aboriginal peoples as citizens, suspects, offenders and victims of crime. The interactional processes of encounters are regarded as essential to understanding police-Aboriginal relations. This study also seeks to reveal perceptions of differential treatment; pertinent factors which contribute to the construction and maintenance of attitudes held by urban Aboriginal peoples towards police, and what Aboriginal peoples feel can be done to improve the current state of police-Aboriginal relations.

Theoretically, a synthesized left realist criminological /agency tradition of racialization perspective is developed for it focuses on accumulated knowledge and lived experiences of subjects as a basis for the social relations to be studied. The argument is made that Aboriginal people are perceived by police to be a population of 'moral concern' and as such, are more apt to be regarded as troublesome and treated as criminals.

The data were gathered via questionnaire which asked Aboriginal respondents a wide variety of questions pertaining to their perceptions of, attitudes towards, and experiences with, Saskatoon police. The questionnaires obtained background information about respondents, responses to a 5 point Likert scale of attitudinal statements pertaining to police-Aboriginal relations, and responses to specific questions which requested written responses.

Analysis of the quantitative data involved descriptive presentation, factor analysis, reliability analysis, difference of means tests, Pearson's correlation procedures and regression analysis. Qualitative data were thematically coded and examined.

Importantly, the study revealed two primary factors pertaining to attitudes towards the police. These are conceptualized as 'Persecution' and 'Marginalization' and they are useful in arguing that police perceive Aboriginal peoples to be a population of 'moral concern'. It was also found that many respondents had experienced trouble with police, and that physical or verbal abuse by police is not uncommon.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Aboriginal peoples in Canada, as with other 'racial' and ethnic minority groups, have historically been and continue to be the victims of the social, economic and political injustices which characterize capitalist society. Aboriginal people are frequently perceived as "drunks", "criminals", "mentally unstable", and "morally degenerate" (Hylton, 1982:125). Historically and currently, these socially perpetuated 'common-sense' perceptions have been, and continue to be, used to categorize Aboriginal people as a 'race' of culturally and biologically inferior beings. Mitigating social, economic, political and historical factors--which critical sociologists argue are causally related to the 'lived' reality of aboriginal people--are omitted from these 'grassroots' understandings. The marginalization of Aboriginal people from mainstream Canadian society has placed many of them in conditions of perpetual poverty (cf. Frideres, 1988; Adams, 1989; Wotherspoon and Satzewich, 1993) that permeate all aspects of their lives, substantially diminishing their quality of life. While Aboriginal peoples are marginalized from mainstream social, economic and political activity, they are simultaneously blamed for this exclusion. Furthermore, critical criminology

acknowledges that poor social and economic conditions are realities associated with crime and delinquency (Lea and Young, 1984; Currie, 1985).

It is a well established fact that Aboriginal (Indian and Metis) people are overrepresented in the Canadian prison population (Schmeiser,1974; Hartman, 1976; Irvine, 1978; Hylton, 1980; 1981a; 1982; Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991). Disproportionate rates of Aboriginal incarceration fuels public perceptions and opinions, thus perpetuating negative stereotypes such as those noted by Hylton (1982). In this way then, I suggest that Aboriginal peoples are often thought to resemble Spitzer's (1975) conceptualization of a "problem population," primarily as 'social junk,' but recently also as 'social dynamite.' To the extent that the people perceived Aboriginal peoples as unmotivated, unproductive and dependent, they will be regarded as 'social junk'. But as Aboriginal peoples have become more organized politically, the Canadian public may come to view Aboriginal peoples as 'social dynamite', more willing and able to engage in militant activities to assert their rights as they see them.

The treatment of Aboriginal people by the Criminal Justice System has received much critical attention in the last two decades. Most recently, the Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba (1991), Justice on Trial: Report of the Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its Impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta (1991), and the dual Report(s) of the Saskatchewan

Indian/Metis Justice Review Committee(s) (1992) all examine the treatment of Aboriginal people by municipal police and the RCMP. While Forcese (1992:73) notes that the Aboriginal population is over-policed and perhaps mis-policed, Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:552) point out that, "high rates of arrest alone cannot be taken as conclusive evidence of discriminatory treatment by police officers." Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:552) also note that the states of police-Aboriginal relations "vary appreciably" within and between rural and urban jurisdictions, and may change over time.

Much early research has examined Aboriginal criminal court case outcomes and early prison release chances (Hagan, 1974; 1975a; 1975b; 1975c; 1976; Hartman, 1976). This research has concluded that 'race' has not consistently been an influential variable in determining guilt, length of sentence or eligibility for parole. Still, researchers (from Canada, Britain and the United States) examining interaction between police and citizens in general, and between police and minorities more specifically, have noted 'racial' biases in policing practices. Evaluating the dimensions of potential racial biases in police practices is thus a controversial and important criminological concern. It should be particularly important in understanding disproportionate Aboriginal incarceration. Even if decisions by the court are based upon the criteria relevant to each case (i.e., offence, prior record), the 'clientele' of the criminal courts may be disproportionately Aboriginal due to

the attitudes (if negatively biased) and activities (who, why and where policing occurs, especially pro-active policing) of the police.

In a study which examined both public and police attitudes towards Aboriginal people in Regina, Saskatchewan, Hylton (1981b:361) found that while both the public and the police have negative attitudes towards Aboriginals, such attitudes were more common among the police. Hylton (1981b:360) states,

> The findings suggest that many police officers have negatively stereotyped the Native community and that negative attitudes are more prevalent among the members of the department who are likely to come into contact with the Native community on a daily basis. Younger, more junior officers, who would be most involved with problems "on the street", were most likely to hold negative attitudes. The nature of police-Native contacts would appear to be a contributing factor.

In his concluding remarks, Hylton (1981b:362) qualified his findings, stating that based on,

> information...currently available, it is impossible to know whether attitudes have gotten better or worse over time. Moreover, it has not been possible to assess the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. These are important questions for future research.

Bienvenue and Latif's (1974) study of arrest patterns in Winnipeg found that Natives are charged 9 times more frequently than their numbers (as a proportion of the population) would warrant, but they were unable to determine whether this reflects police discrimination. Boldt et al. (1983:269-70) raise the question that given the importance of discretionary decisions in police work, do negative social

stereotypes of Natives translate into "discriminatory" treatment of Natives?

The role played by the police remains inadequately addressed for the connections between attitude and action, more specifically, the connections between racialist ideology and action orientations, have not been adequately explored as they may pertain to police work. Furthermore, greater attention must be paid to interactional processes and situational factors involved in police-Aboriginal encounters. The research proposed here seeks to address the concerns voiced by researchers such as Hylton (1981b), who was unable to determine the relationship between attitudes and behaviour on the part of the police, and Boldt et al. (1983) who sought to examine whether discretionary decisions result in discriminatory treatment of Aboriginal peoples.

This research examines the attitudes and perceptions Aboriginal peoples have towards police and their experiences with police in Saskatoon. This will generate important insight into Aboriginal peoples' perceptions and experiences with racialist ideology and action orientations on the part of the police. Such an analysis must be theoretically grounded in debates concerning racism and crime and the processes by which they occur. Police-Aboriginal community relations are most likely 'shaped' by processes of evaluation whereby police and Aboriginal people come to hold views about one another. Perceptions and attitudes held by the parties involved likely influence actions and reactions of both

police and Aboriginal peoples. Assessment of interactional processes and motivational ideologies are particularly important as Canada seeks to develop better alternatives to traditional policing and 'correctional' policies and programs than have been utilized, and heavily criticized, in the past.

Specifically, this thesis examines the state of police-Aboriginal community relations in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Data were gathered during the fall and winter of 1992. This analysis is theoretically grounded in debates concerning 'race', racism, crime, and social control via policing. The analysis must be grounded within the social, economic, political and historical context in which the interaction occurs. The over-policing, mis-policing, and under-policing of Aboriginal peoples must be understood in this complex context. Of particular importance are dimensions of how Aboriginal peoples view their treatment as citizens, suspects, offenders and victims by police. As Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:70) point out, "attitudes toward the police do not exist in isolation from other attitudes and larger value systems or separate from the larger socio-political context." The corollary undoubtedly also holds true, that police attitudes towards and perceptions of Aboriginal people are tied to social value systems and to social, economic, political and historical contexts in which they exist.

In this thesis, I argue that police perceive Aboriginal

peoples to be a population of 'moral concern', and as such, policing of and for Aboriginal peoples differs fundamentally from the policing experienced by non-Aboriginal people. The research question which addresses this issue is multidimensional: How do Aboriginal people in Saskatoon view police-Aboriginal relations generally, and the treatment of Aboriginal people as citizens, suspects, offenders and victims of crime by the Saskatoon police specifically? How do Aboriginal people perceive their treatment by police compared to non-Aboriginal people? Do Aboriginal people perceive themselves as a racialized 'Other' by city police? Finally, do socially constructed representations of both Aboriginal people and police by each other play an influential role in 'shaping' and perhaps escalating the interactional processes and hence outcomes of encounters between police and Aboriginal people? (i.e., decision by officer to lay criminal charges, or at most extreme: verbal and/or physical abuse).

My hypothesis is that the state of police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon is generally poor and that Aboriginal people perceive themselves as subject to higher unjustified levels of suspicion and surveillance by police compared to non-Aboriginal people. To the extent that police officers and Aboriginal people possess negative attitudes and stereotypes of one another, they should act and react accordingly during interactions with one another. Thus the possibility of confrontation with negative consequences for

Aboriginal people and the entrenchment of reciprocal negative attitudes will be increased perpetuating the poor state of police-Aboriginal community relations. (i.e., apathy where intervention is needed, increased chances of verbal and physical abuse, accusatorial and hostile interaction, increased chances of arrest, possibility of increased number of charges laid and more severe charges).

An overview of the content and organization of this thesis is necessary prior to proceeding. Chapter two is theoretical and overviews the Agency tradition for examining processes of racialization, and left realism as a criminological orientation. I argue that a synthesis of these positions yields a useful theoretical perspective with which to study police-Aboriginal community relations. Chapter three overviews literature, both theoretical and empirical, which examines police-public relations and interactions in general, and police-minority relations specifically. Chapter four discusses the research methodology. The research instrument is a survey questionnaire designed to obtain information about the state of police-Aboriginal relations. Data analysis, the subject of chapter five, relies upon SPSSx procedures and thematic analysis of the questionnaire. Two dependent variables (Persecution and Marginalization) pertaining to attitudes toward police were created via factor analysis. T-test and Pearson's Correlation procedure are used to reveal pertinent variables for a Regression model. The conclusions of the

study are given in chapter six where findings are overviewed and related to the research questions and thesis theoretical orientation.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

2.1 OVERVIEW

The theoretical orientation of this study examines debates pertaining to 'race', racism, crime, and social control. These debates, as they pertain to police-Aboriginal community relations, will be contextualized within the historical, social, political, and economic reality of Canadian society. These structural factors constitute the context within which such social relations, including police - Aboriginal relations, are produced and reproduced.

The 'social action' tradition of sociology (cf. Blumer, 1969; Strauss, 1978; Rock, 1979a) accords humans the ontological status of producer. The interactional process is deemed important in that it reveals both the nature of the reality produced by actors and the influence of this reality upon those involved. Giddens (1976:122) argues that,

> The proper locus for the study of social reproduction is in the immediate process of the constituting of interaction... every interaction bears the imprint of global society; that is why there is a definite point to the analysis of "everyday life" as a phenomenon of the totality.

Understanding what occurs in the interactional encounters between police and Aboriginal peoples provides insight into 'the social construction of reality' (Berger and Luckman,

1966). Berger and Luckman (1966:3, 15) argue that the social construction of reality is predicated upon whatever passes for knowledge (regardless of the validity or invalidity of that knowledge) in a society. Commonsense knowledge as opposed to theoretical knowledge thus forms the basis for conduct in everyday life (Berger and Luckman, 1966:19-23). Here, the 'reality' of concern is that of Aboriginal peoples regarding their 'commonsense' knowledge about, attitudes toward, perceptions of, and experiences with, city police.

This study will combine a political economy theoretical approach involving the Agency tradition of racialization with a Left Realist critical criminological perspective. This perspective allows for the examination of micro-sociological phenomena while acknowledging the importance of structural constraints and larger social processes. Independently, each approach acknowledges the dynamic interplay of social structure and human agency. The theoretical discussion which follows in this section will elaborate on the Agency approach to political economy and on Left Realism as a criminological perspective. It then draws connections as to why these positions are compatible (especially since the Agency tradition of racialization illuminates a theoretical weakness in Left Realist theory). The quest for substantive social justice has led left realists to advocate a number of positions pertaining to policing. Realists argue for democratic control and accountability of the police to the communities they serve and a minimalistic policing policy

(that is, policy not based on "law and order" politics) based upon a consensus model of policing (cf. ch7 Lea and Young 1984; ch8 Kinsey et.al., 1986.). The alienation of minority groups from the police in inner-city areas has led to the very poor state of police community relations.

> ...only if there is a general public debate concerning policing priorities in which all sections of local community feel that they have an incentive to participate, will community representatives, as properly elected delegates, come to represent the community. And all sections of the community will only have an incentive to participate in the democratic process if they know that the police themselves are accountable to that process. (Lea and Young, 1984:249)

Democratic accountability and a responsive police force could counter the alienation experienced by minority populations such as Aboriginal people and improve police community relations. By responsive, I refer to policing which is neither excessive nor negligent. Indeed, community input into policing is essential independent of the state of relations existing between the police and sections of the community.

> Whereas the negative stereotype exaggerates the iron fist of policing, and deters the consensual and collaborative citizen response upon which effective policing depends, the positive stereotype also has undesirable consequences. It deters public participation and awareness of the limitations and the flaws of police operations and personnel. The affirmative stereotype, like the negative extreme, encourages opting out, in the view that there is no need for public discussion (Forcese, 1992:66-67).

The level of support for the police in Canadian society will undoubtedly vary depending upon the geographic location and characteristics, such as 'race', class, gender, and age,

of the respondents. This study can be regarded partially as a response to the call by Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:71) who assert that, "further research is required on the relations between police and specific groups, including native Indians, Inuit, and blacks."

Establishing the historical character of 'race' relations, requires researchers to comprehend the complex interplay among relevant political, ideological, and economic factors (Gilroy, 1987:27). It is to the historical character of police-Aboriginal relations that we now turn.

2.2 HISTORICAL POLICE - ABORIGINAL RELATIONS IN WESTERN CANADA

Adams (1975) gives an Aboriginal account of western Canadian settlement in the late 19th century and in so doing, discusses police-Aboriginal relations and the role of the police at that time. Adams's account of the historical role of the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) is quite different from popular history.

> According to popular explanation, the Mounted police force was established to prevent whiskey traders from buying Indian furs, which the Hudson's Bay Company claimed as its exclusive right. However, it is not just a coincidence that the Mounted police were established during the development of Indian reserves to ensure the "success" of the treaty negotiations with the Indians and "help" relocate Indians and halfbreeds to their reserves and colonies. The Mounted police had the responsibility of patrolling the reserves and Metis communities but proved instead to be a source of oppression and agitation much disliked by the native people. ...Indians suffered brutality under the Mounties, who frequently paraded through native settlements in order to intimidate the people and remind the natives they

had to "stay in their place." (Adams 1975:78)

Hamilton and Sinclair (1991:592-3) note the difficulty involved in obtaining reliable documentary evidence regarding Aboriginal views of the NWMP. Contrary to Frideres's (1988:73) contention that the NWMP "had come to be trusted and recognized as representatives of the Queen's good faith," Adams (1975) portrays the Mounties in a far different light.

> The Mounties were not ambassadors of goodwill or uniformed men sent to protect Indians; they were the colonizer's occupational forces and hence the oppressors of Indians and Metis. The volumes written about how helpful and understanding the Mounties are towards the native people are sweatheart myths written by "WASP"s who have never experienced insults, beatings and bullets from a Mountie. (Adams 1975:78)

In the 1869-70 period, with the impending entry of the North-West Territories into Confederation, the control of Aboriginal peoples was an important issue for the federal government (Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991:592). The NWMP were involved with treaty negotiations and enforced repressive government polices which dealt with Indian affairs (such as the Indian Act of 1876 and the pass system)(ibid. 1991:592).

> ...the fact that the force represented the interests which were rapidly destroying the Indian economy and way of life, and the fact that the force was frequently called upon to protect those same interests, led to a state of ongoing tension between police and Indian nations across the West. (Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991:593)

Hamilton and Sinclair (1991:593) acknowledge that current police-Aboriginal relations must be understood as arising from this historical reality.

Stories and memories are a basis of knowledge. Berger

and Luckman (1966:33) argue that knowledge which "guides" interactional relations is not solely based in the "here and now" (1966:22) but is also historically based as people relate to their predecessors. The "typificatory schemes" which Berger and Luckman (1966:30-31) argue guide face to face encounters are also most likely historically grounded. Theoretically, this is the historical context in which current police-Aboriginal relations must be understood.

2.3 POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE AGENCY TRADITION OF RACIALIZATION

The study of racism and racialization, as informed by a Marxian political economic perspective, need not be restricted to analyses at a structural level. The writings of Antonio Gramsci have provided the theoretical basis upon which the Agency tradition of political economy has been developed and this perspective presents itself as an alternative to a structuralist approach. As Vic Satzewich (1990:258) summarizes Stuart Hall,

> ...Racism is not a homogeneous ideology that has been imposed by capitalists 'from above' on groups of people in order to achieve certain predefined ends, but rather is a form of ideological representation that has emerged 'from below'. Racism is one of the ways in which people attempt to make sense of their lived experience, to interpret and to explain the world.

Phizacklea and Miles (1980) relegate 'race' and 'race relations' to the realm of phenomenal forms which although appearing natural and even inevitable to human agents, constitute merely "the surface appearance of the way in which

the world is organized," and may actually obscure the real underlying relations (Miles, 1984:31; 1988:430). Agency theorists use Marxist political economy to explain processes of racialization within specific class and production relations (Stasiulis, 1990:272). While racial antagonisms cannot be accounted for solely in terms of economic relations, Hall insists that racial antagonisms cannot be adequately understood outside the framework of specific sets of economic relations (Hall, 1980). Solomos et.al.,(1983:11) argue, "that the links between racism and capitalist development are complex and conditioned by the specific socio-political circumstances in which they function."

Hall argues that racisms are historically specific and thus knowable through historical analysis.

> Racism is always historically specific ... [despite]... whatever common features it may appear to share with other social phenomena. Though it may draw on the cultural and ideological traces which are deposited in a society by previous historical phases, it always assumes specific forms which arise out of the present-not the past-conditions and organization of society. (Hall, 1978:26)

Similarly, Solomos et.al., (1983:35) argue that "we need to analyze race in terms of its specific forms at different periods of time in order to see how it articulates--or not--with other social relations." Gilroy (1987:11) contends that, "Racism does not...move tidily and unchanged through time and history. It assumes new forms and articulates new antagonisms in different situations." Miles (1989:99) concurs with Hall (1978), Solomos et.al. (1983) and Gilroy

(1987) by asserting that historically specific articulations of racialization and racism need to be understood within political and economic relations. Simply stated, 'race' cannot be properly understood if it is separated or abstracted from other social relations (Gilroy, 1987:14). Agency theorists are in basic agreement that the many different racisms which have existed and currently do exist, have been or are historically specific and articulated specifically in relation to social and structural relations of particular societies. Gilroy (1987:38) asserts that we should consider racism not in a singular but in plural sense --as racisms--and that these racisms "are not only different over time but may vary within the same social formation or historical conjuncture."

A relationship between 'race' and class also exists. Hall (1980:341) states that, "Race is the modality in which class is 'lived,' the medium through which class relations are experienced." For Canadian political economists to understand the articulation of 'race' and 'class' today requires an examination of how racial and ethnic categories are used to insert people into the relations of production. Satzewich (1990:262) posits that,

> Race, ethnicity and gender can be regarded as particular types of mechanisms by which categories of people are incorporated into the labour market and the relations of production. ...'race,' ethnicity and gender can constitute the substance of class relations.

Agency theorists attempt to escape the economic determinism and class reductionism which has plagued earlier

Marxist accounts of racism. Stasiulis (1990:276-77) argues that early Marxist accounts incorporate inadequate theorizations of both class (e.g., defined only by economic relations) and the state (the state is not given interests beyond those of capital accumulation).

2.4 PHENOTYPICAL DIFFERENCES AS BASIS OF 'RACE' FALLACY

While the science of genetics demonstrated that 'race,' as defined by scientists from the late eighteenth century, had virtually no scientifically verifiable referent (Montagu, 1964; 1972), this has not prevented the use of the term in everyday language. As Miles (1989:38) observes,

> ...People have continued to identify the Other by reference to phenotypical features (especially skin colour) which therefore serve as indicative of a significant difference. Moreover, they have continued to use the idea of 'race' to label that difference. As a result, certain sorts of social relations are defined as 'race relations,' as social relations between people of different 'races.' Indeed, states legislate to regulate 'race relations,' with the result that the reality of 'race' is apparently legitimated in law (Guillaumin,1980). Thus the idea of 'race' has continued to be used in common-sense discourse to identify the Other in many societies, but largely without the sanction of science.

Also problematic is the fact that there is not agreement upon the meaning of racism at a theoretical level (Miles and Phizacklea, 1979:95).

> ...The concept of racism is contested. In essence, the debate concerns the scope of the concept...First, for those who define the concept as referring to a particular instance of ideology, there is disagreement about the form and content that ideology must possess to warrant categorization as racism. Second, some writers have claimed that the concept should be used to

> refer to not only ideology but also to intended and/or unintended processes or consequences. There has been, therefore, a process of conceptual inflation whereby the concept has been redefined to refer to a wider range of phenomena. (Miles, 1989:41)

Regarding the concept of ideology, Miles (1989:42) states that "it is generally used to refer to any discourse which, as a whole represents human beings in a distorted and misleading manner." Miles argues that conceptual inflation has occurred and that this is problematic for social scientists who defend the use of the concept. He argues that the concept of racism should only be used to refer to what can broadly be called an ideology. Solomos et.al., (1983:21) consider ideology to be a material relation which is both determined by and reacts upon wider social relations. In this conceptualization, then, ideology is accorded dialectical status.

Miles (1989) argues that to understand racism in the contemporary western world, we must possess an understanding of the history of human interaction. Miles states that,

> In the course of interaction, imagery, beliefs and evaluations about the Other have been generated and reproduced among all the participants in the process in order to explain the appearance and behaviour of those with whom contact has been established and in order to formulate a strategy for interaction and reaction. The consequence has been the production of 'representations' of the Other, images and beliefs which categorize people in terms of real or attributed differences when compared with self.(1989:11)

A dialectic between Self and Other exists and despite the fact that historical "scientific" assessments of 'other races' were mistaken, a great deal of the ideas they gave

rise to continue to structure common-sense discourse about the Other (Miles, 1989:12). As far as modern biological and genetic sciences are concerned, 'races' do not exist (see Montagu, 1972). This truism is, however, overridden by the social meanings attributed to observed phenotypical and cultural differences.

2.5 SIGNIFICATION AND RACIALIZATION

Two very important concepts utilized in this Agency approach are signification and racialization. Signification is the process whereby meanings are attributed to particular objects, features and processes which in turn are given special significance and convey additional meanings (Potter and Weatherall, 1987:24-28). Miles argues that the use of the word 'race' to label the groups identified by phenotypical features (such as skin or hair colour) "is an aspect of the social construction of reality: 'races' are socially imagined rather than biological realities" (1989:71). The signification of phenotypical features has as its purpose, exclusionary or inclusionary practices. Which one of these occurs is contingent upon the situation in question. For example, while Aboriginal people may be refused employment opportunities (exclusionary) due to the process of signification, by the same process they may well be considered to be a population requiring increased social control (inclusionary) by authorities like the police.

Racialization is an ideological and dialectical process

which refers to instances where social relations among people have been structured by the signification of human biological characteristics, in such a way as to define and construct differential social collectivities. Racialization refers to a process of categorization, a representational process of defining an Other, usually somatically (Miles, 1989:73-77).

Miles (1989:79) argues that racism should be identified by its ideological content rather than by its function. This has direct relevance for the research question which asks, "What significance do police attach to Aboriginal people as a racialized 'Other' in their encounters with...[them]." The primary defining characteristics of racism as an ideology are, first of all, its signification of some biological characteristics as the criterion by which a collectivity may be identified. The collectivity is represented as having a natural, unchanging origin and status, and therefore, as being inherently different. Second, the group so identified must be attributed with additional, negatively evaluated characteristics and/or must be represented as inducing negative consequences for others. Those characteristics may be either biological or cultural (Miles, 1989:79).

The ideology of racism possesses a number of additional characteristics. Because it presumes a process of racialization, it has a dialectical character regarding representations of Self and Other. Racism is a representational form which functions as an ideology of inclusion and exclusion. Unlike the process of

racialization, however, the negative characteristics of the Other mirror the positive characteristics of Self. Racism thus presupposes a process of racialization, but is differentiated from that process by its explicitly negative evaluative component (Miles, 1989:79).

Second, Miles (1989:79) notes that racism may take the form of a relatively coherent theory, exhibiting a logical structure and citing evidence to support it, but it may also appear in the form of a less coherent assembly of stereotypes, images, attributions, and explanations which are constructed and employed to negotiate everyday life. Representations of the Other have also been created and reproduced in the daily life of the working class. 'Race thinking' is a product of dialectic relationship whereby both individual beliefs and collective consciousness perpetuate this phenomenon. 'Race thinking' is reinforced via common-sense assumptions and has both a political and ideological basis. Both Adams (1975) and Hylton (1982) have shown that Aboriginal people are regarded as 'Others', perceived in many ways to be inferior beings.

Within the Agency Tradition, there also exist differences of emphasis regarding the origins of racisms. Whereas Miles (1989) focuses on ideology as the basis of racisms, Gilroy (1987) argues that racisms arise out of a political struggle. Gilroy (1987:38) takes the position that "'Race' has to be socially and politically constructed and elaborate ideological work is done to secure and maintain the

different forms of 'racialization' which have characterized capitalist development." Miles argues that racism is ideologically produced for political reasons of inclusion or exclusion. Regarding racism in Britain, Gilroy critiques Miles's contention that this arises as a result of processes which distinguish superiority and inferiority. Gilroy (1987:40) considers this simplistic and argues that British racism is rooted in national decline. This argument follows from his involvement with Solomos et. al., (1983:11) who argue for an organic understanding of the nature of crises as resulting from the combined effect of economic, political, ideological, and cultural processes. They argue that in making sense of the crisis, 'race' is used to construct explanations. Solomos et.al., (1983:23-6) develop the case of blacks in Britain being viewed as 'enemies within'--an alien presence within British society. Miles notes how nationalistic sentiments operate in the same way as racist sentiments--for exclusionary purposes.

Racism directed against Aboriginal people in Canada differs from that against blacks in Britain for the 'enemy within,' that is foreign presence, theme found in the British context is inapplicable to the Canadian experience except in a very limited sense. That limited sense may be the view that Aboriginal people belong on reserves. The "Go back to where you came from" mindset is unlikely to form the basis of an operative 'racist' platform against Aboriginal peoples. The struggles, new or renewed, of Aboriginal peoples to gain

control in political, economic and criminal justice spheres may form the basis of hostility against Aboriginal people but this hostility may not be racially motivated. Aboriginal peoples are experiencing successes provincially and federally in pursuing issues of self government. Shifting power relations may, in times of economic crisis (i.e., high unemployment and high government deficits), form another basis of hostility against Aboriginal peoples.

The theoretical position of the Agency perspective of political economy is instructive regarding what should be the focus of investigation when studying racism. This theoretical perspective allows for the complex interplay of human agency and social structure in the examination of social reality; thus, theoretically it is a perspective analytically strong in both descriptive and explanatory potential. It provides a strong theoretical foundation upon which to base empirical research. Theory in itself is insufficient, for we must test theory in order to fully gauge its explanatory potential. The utility of a perspective must be assessed by its ability to account for social reality.

In summary, the theoretical framework of Miles (1989) emphasizes the importance of including an individual's, or social agent's interpretive process in the analysis of social phenomena. Signification and racialization are important interpretive processes. Similarly, Husband (1987:318) argues that in reality, racism exists as a complex interaction of consciousness and structure, and therefore, must be

understood as being simultaneously an individual and social phenomena. Following Gilroy (1987:13), it is important to understand how 'race' and racism articulate various forms of action. Importantly, unlike the Symbolic Interactionist approach, Gramscian Agency theorists explain 'lived relations' by acknowledging the undeniable importance of also examining the political, economic and historical context in which social relations, and hence, interpretive processes occur.

2.6 LEFT REALISM

As a criminological perspective, Left Realism developed from a rethinking of the theoretical and political inadequacies of earlier critical criminological positions and in response to managerial-administrative criminology which currently, and unsuccessfully, attempts to deal with increasing crime rates in Britain, the United States, and Canada (Lea and Young, 1984; Young, 1986; Young, 1987; Matthews, 1987; Cohen, 1988; Dekeserety and Schwartz, 1989; Lowman and MacLean, 1992; Matthews and Young, 1992).

Young (1986:21) argues that Left Realism strives to reflect the reality of crime in terms of its origins, nature and impact. Left realism rejects tendencies to romanticize, pathologize, underestimate, or exaggerate crime, and it avoids analysing crime exclusively from the positions of 'controllers' or those 'controlled'. Young (1987:337) argues that realism is not empiricism for it does not reflect the

world of appearances which conventional criminology and conventional public wisdoms do. Instead, realism demystifies the phenomenon of crime to display the hidden relationships and dynamics which are operating, but not readily apparent if one simply views crime as an incident in time detached from motivational and contextual factors (Young, 1987:337). Realism views crime as a process and therefore seeks to place it in a fully social context thus capturing its motivational forces (Young, 1987:337). Realists argue that, **"Crime is a social relationship"** (Young,1987:344).

Realism examines crime related problems as people experience them (Young, 1986:24) and acknowledges that there is some rational basis to public concerns and images about both crime and policing for these are partially constructed out of the material experiences of people (Young, 1987:337).

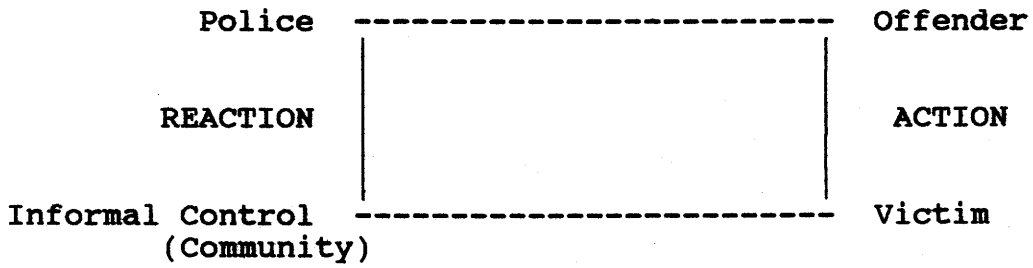
Realists employ a political economic analysis of crime, arguing, "Crime is a potent symbol of the antisocial egoism which permeates the totality of behaviour and values within capitalism" (Lea and Young, 1984:55) and that, "Crime is a potent symbol of the antisocial nature of capitalism and is the most immediate way in which people experience other problems, such as unemployment or competitive individualism" (Lea and Young, 1984:264; Young, 1986:24). Crime is therefore considered to be an epiphenomenon--a result of fundamental structural problems of capitalism (Lea and Young, 1984:59).

Realism argues for four central things: the need to

properly contextualize crime amidst existing social and structural relations; relating micro and macro levels of analysis (Lea and Young, 1984:84); studying action and reaction; and situating the discipline of radical criminology within the context of wider social theory (Young, 1986:26).

Young (1987:339) argues that deviance is a product of action and reaction, of actors and reactors, of behaviour and rules. Realists argue that these relations can be displayed as follows (figure 2.1) and that this configuration is at the heart of understanding crime (Young, 1987:340; Young, 1992a:48; Young, 1992b:27).

FIGURE 2.1 - THE SQUARE OF CRIME



Prior criminological theories have tended to focus on one aspect of this square to the exclusion of the others.

Realists argue that properly contextualizing crime involves integrating a micro sociological focus (bodily presence, possibilities of victimization and offence commission, spacial possibilities, formal and informal social control and surveillance: the square of crime) and macro sociological levels of analysis (Young, 1987:344-45).

The macro-context of crime involves placing the criminological square above in the context of the wider

social structure. More specifically, as the square pertains to Aboriginal peoples, realist criminology must consider structural realities and material conditions which impact the lives of Aboriginal people while not simply accepting these as complete explanations. A number of important factors are: mobility patterns such as urbanization; higher unemployment relative to the Canadian population as a whole; lower annual income and welfare dependency; unstable family situations with histories of physical and sexual abuse; and alcohol and substance abuse problems. These social problems are of course by no means solely experienced by Aboriginal peoples.

Realism invokes what Young (1987:347) terms the principle of specificity. Young (1987:347) contends that criminologists must avoid making universal laws regarding crime. While critical criminology draws the connections between crime and wider material factors, these connections must be grounded in the social, economic, political and historical contexts in which they occur. In examining the criminal process over time, realism insists that human behaviour is to be understood in terms of human consciousness grounded in material circumstances. People's beliefs about crime and policing are a product of the day-to-day knowledge and predicaments faced by groups of people (Young, 1987:348; Matthews, 1987:374). Realism is thus concerned with both subjective and objective reality.

Realists argue that attitudes and perceptions held by police officers are a product of experiences and difficulties

which officers face day to day on the job. Police practices and behaviours, their occupational culture, and attitudes must be understood within the context of lived-experiences (Young 1991:28). As this relates to the state of police and Aboriginal community relations and the treatment of Aboriginal people as citizens, suspects, offenders, and victims, we must accept that the knowledge each has of the 'Other' is a product of 'lived experience' and/or of the accounts of others that become widely known.

2.7 DECONSTRUCTING CRIME

Realism notes how crime is geographically and socially focused. Inner-city Saskatoon, for example, is often considered to be a high crime area. The notable presence of Aboriginal people in this area contributes to common-sense explanations which link an Aboriginal presence and culture to a causal explanation of crime in that area. This is a common and incorrect stereotype for cultures are not criminogenic (Lea and Young, 1984:40). Realism seeks to dispel incorrect stereotypes of the criminal area and of those considered criminal. In actuality, a number of factors contribute to the likelihood of an individual being an offender and/or a victim. To be male, adolescent, and lower working class all increase the possibility of being an offender and/or victim. Lea and Young (1984:42) argue that poor housing, unemployment, bad education, poor leisure facilities--relative deprivation on all these levels are

criminogenic for adaptations are developed to deal with these.

Lea and Young (1984:44) contrast the distorted stereotypes of crime with the reality of the situation as follows,

FIGURE 2.2 - STEREOTYPES AND REALITIES OF CRIME

Criminal Area	Stereotype	Reality
-Commitment to crime	Control *	Drift
-Style of crime	Professional	Amateurish
-Organization of crime	Planned	Spontaneous
-Time spent on crime	Continuous	Sporadic
-Impact of crime	Serious	Spectrum: pre-criminal to serious
-Criminals in the population	Homogeneous	Heterogenous
-Criminal values	Alternative	Conventional

* Note: I interpret Control as referring to the stereotype that commitment to crime is beyond the control of individuals and as such is "determined" or their nature. Control deals with issues of consistency regarding commitment to crime .

Kinsey, Lea and Young (1986:7) state, "Today's offender will be law-abiding tomorrow and a victim the day after." This observation describes the sporadic and amateurish reality of most criminal activity. Two relations are important: first, that crime is intra group, that is intra-class and intra-'racial' (involving those 'like' one another) (Lea and Young, 1984:27,38-44,72; Matthews, 1987:375), second that beyond this first relation, crime is inter-group meaning it affects those 'around' them, those who are most vulnerable to crime. These are important relations which contribute to the construction of attitudes and perceptions of one another

held by police and Aboriginal persons for this reality of criminal activity and victimization "sets the stage" for police intervention. Attitudes and perceptions held by police are directly or indirectly a product of whom they deal with, where, and why.

2.8 THE USE OF RACIAL STEREOTYPES IN POLICING

Certain sections of the public may, as a result of past collective experiences with the police, be less willing to give information to the police about crime. This is the beginning of a vicious circle of alienation from police. Kinsey et.al., (1986:39) note that:

> Where information flow declines, instead of reacting to public information the police act proactively according to their own hunches and generalizations....So if the police take to stopping and searching 'likely' candidates in the street for a particular offence, they are almost certain to stop a vast number of innocent people. Precisely because of this innocence, anger with and alienation from the police is the very likely result.

Tactics like stop and search are aimed at the community. 'Dragnet' - type operations involve a blurring of distinction between offender and non-offender resulting in the apprehension (if only for questioning) of people regardless of their own actions (Kinsey et.al., 1986:40). The stereotyping of a category of people as potentially guilty sets the stage for a degeneration of police-community relations. Lea and Young (1984:100) contend that police react differently to different categories of people. Realists argue that in Britain, targets of proactive policing

are frequently dictated by racial prejudice (Kinsey et.al., 1986:76).

Lea argues that there may well exist an interrelation between normal police work and racism:

> Necessary generalizations about group involvement in specific types of crime provide an organizational framework in which racist stereotypes, derived from the wider society and reproduced in police occupational culture, can function in particular ways. These, it has been suggested, concern the exaggeration and distortion of, and creation of self fulfilling prophecies concerning, ethnic minority crime rates (Lea, 1986:164).

Problems encountered in the day-to-day practices of police officers often lead to generalizations that certain types of people are likely offenders (Young, 1987:348). Realists note how determining circumstances create people who fit the images of stereotypes and that we encounter such people from time to time who may reinforce these. Preconceived stereotypes are hard to dispel (Young, 1987:350).

In examining theories of police racism and their policy implications, Lea (1986:149) argues that it is useful to classify 'types' of racism as shown in figure 2.3.

FIGURE 2.3 - CLASSIFICATION OF POLICE RACISM

	INDIVIDUAL
Individual racist acts consciously intended (the psychology of prejudice - the 'bad apple' approach)	Individuals behaving in ways which have racist consequences (defending the occupational culture)
DIRECT----------	----------INDIRECT
Policies of institutions directly geared to racism (state racism - the political role of the police)	Institutional practices having racist consequences (occupational stereotypes and crime control)
	INSTITUTIONAL

The categorization proposed by Lea is guilty of what Miles (1989) terms conceptual inflation. Overall, Lea is speaking of the role of ideology in the creation and maintenance of racist attitudes and actions by the police. Categorization therefore serves to mask the actual processes that transpire between the police and non-whites in Britain. As noted previously procedures such as stop and search serve to alienate exactly those sections of the public that possess the most information about crime (Lea and Young, 1984; Lea, 1986:165; Kinsey et. al., 1986; Jones et. al., 1986). When we consider how heavily reliant the police are upon the public for both information and testimony, it becomes apparent how contradictory and self-defeating differential policing is to 'fighting crime'. Given the research that this is the situation in Britain, we can examine the extent to which this is occurring in Saskatoon and the impact it has on police-Aboriginal community relations.

A realist perspective examining Aboriginal attitudes and perceptions of the police, locates perceptions as arising out of the day to day lives of the Aboriginal population in Saskatoon. Similarly, police attitudes and perceptions towards the Aboriginal community in Saskatoon arise out of their 'lived experiences' of contacts with them.

Realists do not shy away from the 'race' and crime debate but seek to point to connections therein. In so doing, Realists have engaged in debates with the 'race' and politics group of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies--authors of The Empire Strikes Back. Realists argue that subcultural theory is innocent of accusations of racism. Lea and Young (1984:131) argue:

> For subcultural theory, the behaviour of a particular group relates to its specific history and the opportunities and constraints which that brings. Subcultural theory is opposed to any notion of 'natural' criminal tendencies of a particular group whether this be established in a genetic, racist fashion or by means of a cultural essence transmitted relatively unaltered over time.

Realists emphasize that cultural legacies and traditions are constantly changed, reinterpreted and reworked over time and in response to changing circumstances (Lea and Young, 1984:133).

Lea and Young (1984) critique Gilroy (1983), a contributor to the 'race' and politics group, for utilizing an 'either-or' approach when dealing with racial minorities and crime. Lea and Young (1984:135,165) state this position is such that "Either young inner-city blacks really do have

a higher rate of street crime, or the difference is a result of police activity." In contrast, Realists argue that it is the dual process of assimilation and rejection that results in the growth of street crime. Lea and Young (1984:165) assert that it is important to understand the connection between 'race' and crime as involving the following three elements. First, the effects of racial discrimination and the denial of opportunities (marginalization) can lead to the sense of frustration and relative deprivation. Subcultural adaptation may take the form of criminal activity (Lea and Young, 1984:166). Secondly, whereas racial prejudice of police may be high it need not relate to actual crime. Britain in the 70's saw a substantial increase in the association of race and crime in such a way that 'race' was portrayed as causing crime. The police hierarchy tried to make this association. Lea and Young (1984:166) note that "...for the average policeman on the beat, already equipped with racist stereotypes, the niceties of the connections between 'race', discrimination and deprivation, and crime rates are lost...[and]...In the popular police consciousness 'race' becomes a cause of crime." The third point involves the intersection of the first two. These reinforce each other in a way such that the increased rate of black crime and the police predisposition to associate blacks with crime become part of a vicious spiral which criminologists have termed 'deviancy amplification' (Lea and Young, 1984:167). Realists argue that the real increase in crime is amplified

as a result of **both** police action and police prejudice. Deviancy amplification illustrates the connection between 'race' and crime in a way that is neither racist nor culturally deterministic. This is the reality of the connection. The process of deviancy amplification may arise in Canada as a result of the dyadic interaction of police-Aboriginal relations.

2.9 ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AS A POPULATION OF 'MORAL CONCERN': POLICING AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF STEREOTYPES AND STIGMATIZATION

Hall et. al., (1978) in their work Policing the Crisis utilize the Agency perspective for criminological inquiry. What is of importance to them is the relationship between action and societal reaction. The media, the police and the judiciary react to socially construct and amplify a 'moral panic' of mugging whose central themes involve 'race', crime and youth. Hall et al. (1978) draw on Stanley Cohen's Folk Devils and Moral Panics (1972) arguing,

> The important features of the 'moral panic' as an ideological process are these: it represents a way of dealing with what are often unorganized social fears and anxieties, not by addressing the real problems and conditions which underlie them, but by projecting and displacing them onto the identified social group. That is to say, the moral panic crystallizes popular fears and anxieties which have a real basis and by providing them with a simple concrete identifiable, social object, seeks to resolve them. (Hall et al., 1978:33)

The Agency tradition examines common-sense interpretations of phenomena by the public. This usage of common-sense refers to the understandings and meanings which people

attach to social phenomena encountered in the course of their day to day lives. As noted earlier, public perceptions and stereotypes of Aboriginals are, for the most part, negative (Hylton, 1981:358-360). Aboriginal people have been labelled as 'drunks,' 'lazy,' 'criminal' or other socially undesirable terms. These widely used labels, while not creating a full blown 'moral panic', perhaps produce a milder form of panic, perhaps a 'moral concern'. As a population of 'moral concern' then, Aboriginal people are perceived as lacking responsibility, a strong work ethic, self discipline, and deference to authority and the law.

Negative attitudes and perceptions of Aboriginal people held by the police could, through escalating confrontation and/or through the use of discretionary powers, be an important factor in explaining Aboriginal treatment and disproportionate representation in the criminal justice system. Hall et al. (1978:33) argue that "'moral panics' can sometimes provide the basis on which a kind of authoritarianism can be constructed." The police may come to see Aboriginal persons as a potential threat to law and order, potentially hostile, and potential criminals. They may be equated with 'social problems' and targeted for suspicion and surveillance, a 'preferred clientele' for social control operations of the police. As Hall et al. note,

> ...We must also take into account the role which criminalization--the attachment of a criminal label, to the activities of groups which the authorities deem it necessary to control...There

> is something appealingly simple about the 'criminal label'" it resolves ambiguities in public feelings (1978:190).
>
> Hence the 'criminalization' of political and economic conflicts is a central aspect of the exercise of social control. The use of labelling and criminalization as part and parcel of legitimizing social control is clearly not confined to the past (1978:190).

Following Hall et al. (1978) and an Agency perspective, I suggest that the police may react to urban Aboriginal people as a population of 'moral concern' and as a result, Aboriginal persons may be differentially treated as citizens, suspects, offenders and victims. As Miles (1989) notes, there is a complex duality between cognition and practice. Negative imagery, beliefs and evaluations of Aboriginal and police towards one another likely lead to a poor state or a deterioration in the state of these community relations.

Since this thesis is concerned with the many possible scenarios of police-Aboriginal encounters (i.e., police-citizen/suspect/offender/victim), with the processes involved, and the outcomes of such interactional situations, the selection of a criminological perspective capable of analysing these dimensions is of utmost importance. Left realist criminological theory is capable of this and is largely compatible with the theory and methodology used by Agency theorists studying racism and processes of racialization. Left realism critically examines the causes of and impact of working class 'street' crime and how the police act and react with the public in the course of their day-to-day activities.

2.10 THEORIZING CONNECTIONS: ANALYSING POLICE ABORIGINAL RELATIONS WITH AN AGENCY - LEFT REALIST PERSPECTIVE.

The Agency approach to racialization can be used to fill a theoretical weakness in realist theory regarding the treatment of 'racial' minorities by the police. As was argued previously, Lea (1986) engages in conceptual inflation of the concept of racism in examining police-minority relations in Britain. While arguing that the starting point for the examination of social phenomena must begin with everyday experience, Lea seems to abandon this idea in order to account for racism in all forms and levels. The result is the mystification of the true processes involved. Racisms should not be conceptualized as Lea (1986) has done, but should instead be historically grounded and articulate the unique social relations that generate and reproduce them, as Gilroy (1987) and Miles (1989) argue. Racisms are more complex than the direct-indirect and institutionalized-individual model as proposed by Lea (1986).

While Realists note the problems which arise from racism, they have not engaged in specific research which draws connections between cognition, action and reaction regarding racist ideology. An Agency theory of racialization can be useful in this endeavour. Since both Realism and the Agency approach to racialization both profess to deconstruct and demystify their focus of study, crime and racism respectively, Realism should be flexible enough to allow a rethinking of an aspect of its subject matter, since the

current conceptualization is in need of revision. To rethink one dimension of a perspective should strengthen its theoretical basis.

The theoretical orientation of this study must be sensitive to theoretical shortcomings of existing perspectives and must strive to address these before the study is undertaken. As Matthews (1987:398) states regarding the status of realist criminology, "...the very existence of a plurality of criminologies does not preclude the possibility that one approach might offer a closer approximation to reality than the others." A similar point could also be made with regard to theories of racism. Some theories are more capable of dealing with their subject matter than are others. It is my contention then, that to supplement realist criminology with a Gramscian Agency approach to the political economy of racialization, will yield a theoretical base most capable of addressing the complex forces which underlie and shape the interaction between Saskatoon City Police and the Aboriginal population in this city.

From a criminological perspective, the use of a four way model by realists which includes examining the police, the community, offenders, and victims ensures that no dimension of the crime process is omitted. But just as this model is necessary to explain the dynamics of the crime process, so is it necessary to account for the state of police-Aboriginal community relations. The police deal with the community,

with offenders and with victims on the basis of their training and experience with them. The use of this model provides realists with a starting point (a theoretical 'edge') when examining any subject matter related to crime.

In summary, the Agency perspective of racialization and the left realist critical criminological perspective should be viewed as compatible for the following reasons:

1) both contain an emphasis on examining the subject matter at both micro and macro sociological levels of analysis;
2) both seek to demystify and deconstruct the subject of concern and they posit processual models for understanding their respective social phenomena;
3) both emphasize consciousness, choice, human agency and examine motivational forces while contextualizing these in the material conditions of existence (utilizing neo-Marxian political economic analysis);
4) both acknowledge the importance of examining their area of sociological concern by class, gender, 'race' and age as variables which impact the way life is experienced;
5) both draw upon 'lived experience' data in analysing their subject matter;
6) Both acknowledge, in realist terminology, a 'principle of specificity' such that crime and racism are each to be examined in specific contexts of occurrence.

In chapter 3, literature concerned with policing, police-public, and police-minority community relations and interactions is examined.

CHAPTER 3. POLICE AND PUBLIC INTERACTIONS

Over the past three decades, research in the United States, Britain, and Canada has examined policing practices and interactional processes between the police and their communities. This chapter reviews five central areas of importance to this study. The first section is an overview of general literature pertaining to police-community relations. Issues such as the occupational culture, on the job experiences, roles and demeanour during encounters, power relations, perceptions of multiple publics, minority relations and the use of stereotypes will each be examined as they pertain to police-community relations. The second section examines proactive and reactive policing. A discussion of the discretionary power of police is the subject of the third section. In the fourth section, findings from a study conducted by SIFC students in Saskatoon in 1991 are summarized. Finally, an overview of recommendations made by Miner et. al (1990), Hamilton and Sinclair (1991), and Linn (1992) intended to improve the existing state of police-Aboriginal relations is provided.

3.1 INTERACTION, PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES; THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

Violence and corruption, the two vices to which the police are prone, cannot be understood apart from the occupational culture of the police. Brannigan (1984:54) notes that five aspects of police culture are: cohesiveness, isolation, suspicion of the public, feelings of powerlessness, and problems of status.

Piliavin and Briar (1964) found that the degree of "contriteness" shown by juveniles to the police, influenced their legal fate. Piliavin and Briar (1964) concluded that the official delinquent is the product of both social and legal judgements made by police and that offender demeanour most likely results in a 'racial' slanting of arrest statistics.

In responding to elements such as the police milieu, danger, authority, and efficiency, Skolnick (1966:42) argues that police develop distinctive cognitive and behavioral responses which can be considered as a "working personality". Skolnick (1966:44) argues,

> The process by which this "personality" is developed may be summarized: the policeman's role contains two principle variables, danger and authority, which should be interpreted in light of a "constant" pressure to appear efficient. The element of danger seems to make the policeman especially attentive to signs indicating a potential for violence and law breaking. As a result, the policeman is a generally "suspicious" person.

This being the case then, Skolnick (1966:45) asserts that the police use a "perceptual shorthand" to identify certain kinds

of people as symbolic assailants. The reliance upon stereotyping is viewed by Skolnick as an integral aspect of the occupational culture of police. Skolnick (1966:49) found that police associate black men with potential danger and he alluded to the connection between discretion and racism.

> An officer's decision [discretion] to arrest... depends upon his perception of the principles controlling his work and the interplay of a number of criteria, the most socially significant of which is the defendant's race. (Skolnick, 1966:73)

Westley (1970) argues that an understanding of the police requires an analysis of them as a social and occupational group for their attitudes and action orientations arise from these associations. Violence by the police is explained as a result of officers reacting as individuals to situations and persons encountered, as their occupational culture, their morality and the law pertain to the immediate situation (Westley, 1970). Westley (1970:92) emphasizes the importance of the impact of prior experience coupled with an assessment of the 'type' of public being dealt with as affecting what transpires in an interactional encounter between police and the public.

Westley found that the police consider themselves as dealing with multiple publics and that they are prone to act and react with groups differently. In this U.S. research these publics are children, the 'better class of people', the slum dweller, the Negroes, and the criminals. The treatment each receives from police varies. The latter groups are perceived as deserving of the least respect (Westley,

1970:96). Furthermore, Westley argued that the police view Negroes as epitomizing the slum dweller and consider them to be inherently criminal both culturally and biologically (Westley, 1970:99). As Negroes are considered to personify criminality, the use of forceful methods to deal with them is perceived as legitimate (Westley, 1970).

Shearing (1983) notes that the "public as enemy" theme permeates much of the sociological literature on police-public relations. This theme pertains largely to a public which is perceived as disrespectful and potentially dangerous. Shearing argues, however, that the police perceive two publics--the public they do things 'to' and the public they do things 'for'.

Drawing upon 1972 research which looked at attitudes of complaint officers who dealt with the public, Shearing found that these officers designate "the people from the slum areas" as "scum". These officers did not view the "scum" as part of the public that they are to "serve and protect" (Shearing, 1983:382). They are perceived as trouble-makers that the police did things to rather than for. Similarly, Kinsey et.al.,(1986:42) note that in a British context "the distinction between 'slag' and 'ordinary people' gives rise to the notion that the police need not stick to the same rules in dealing with both populations. You are more suspicious of the 'slags', and you take their complaints less seriously." This observation has also been made by Hamilton and Sinclair (1991:107) who argue that,

> Differences in crime statistics between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people result, at least in part, from the manner in which the behaviour of Aboriginal people becomes categorized and stigmatized....police tend to view the world in terms of "respectable" people and "criminal" types. Criminal types are thought to exhibit certain characteristics which provide cues to the officer to initiate action. Thus the police may tend to stop a higher proportion of people who are visibly different from the dominant society simply because they believe that such people tend to commit more serious crimes. Members of groups that are perceived to be a danger to public order are given much less latitude in their behaviour before the police take action.

Vincent (1990) focuses on the importance of socialization into the occupational role of the police officer. He believes Skolnick (1966) and Westley (1970) present a deterministic assessment of police, in that socialization into the occupation of the police results in all beliefs and attitudes being similar, on and off the job. Although officers share many views, Vincent (1990:8) argues that important differences exist among officers. Regarding contact with the public,

> How they [the police and citizen] perceive and define each other will determine significantly the character of their encounters. How an actor performs depends to a certain extent on the type of audience he faces and on the response he anticipates. (Vincent, 1990:63)

Processes of interpretation and evaluation are essential.

Vincent (1990:161-66) contends that as a result of socialization into the police occupational role, an "occupational identity" is developed and that it differs from Skolnick's (1966:42) conception of a "working personality" for it is not limited to the occupational environment. This

occupational identity permeates the identity of the individual and extends into his/her private, social and personal world. Vincent (1990:21) asserts that both attitudes and strong behavioral tendencies arise from socialization into the occupational identity. The legal constraints in which officers perform their duty are supposed to govern police conduct, and their personal feelings are not supposed to be a basis of action (Vincent, 1990:29-31). However, Vincent (1990:65-69) notes that the potential of danger leads to caution and suspicion. Police categorize situations and persons as a means of reducing "the unexpected." Vincent argues (1990:69) that,

> The categories and the attitudes relating to the people in those categories are not always based on objective fact, nor are they always empathetic. They are, rather, an amalgam of the police officers own experiences strengthened and reinforced by general police folklore.

Since the police do engage in such categorization processes, preconceived expectations of what will be encountered affect the manner in which the public and the police regard one another. The public also has expectations of the police depending upon the nature of the contact (i.e., reactive or proactive). Vincent (1990:69) contends, as others have before him, that stereotyping and attitudes which arise, distance the police and the public from one another. Selective perception and attitude formation can give rise to the image of a "common enemy", such as bikers. Vincent (1990:139) draws the connection that negative expectations fuel negative perceptions (Vincent, 1990:139).

> Generally, persons will respond to the police on the basis of perceptions or stereotypes learned in their social environment. Naturally when people who feel maltreated, and the police with their preconceptions, act out their antagonisms in public encounters, they mutually reinforce the harmful stereotypes already at play.
>
> (Forcese, 1992:66)

Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:63) note that the 'working personality' and occupational subculture of the police have received much attention in policing literature, but that these concepts are being called into question as research reveals "considerable diversity in the extent to which officers exhibit the attributes of a working personality or adhere to a subcultural position that creates social isolation."

The police rely extensively on public respect and/or cooperation for the operation of the office they hold. The lack of respect is perceived as threatening by the police who frequently respond with cynicism and antagonism towards the public (Brannigan, 1984:52). This is deemed to be an important source of police brutality. Grosman (1975:89) contends that the police hostility and the potential for police violence increase when individuals encountered are perceived as hostile, dangerous or as a 'wise guy'.

Similarly, Reiss and Bordua (1967) contend that the basic tactic of police when they respond to a call is to "take charge" of the situation. The police tend to become over-authoritative in socially ambiguous situations and that they tend to secure compliance at times through unnecessary levels of hostility (Bordua and Reiss, 1967). The principal

instruments available to "take charge" are verbal and physical expressions of authority. Westley (1970:59) found that for the most part, the public is considered to be a threat to the police and for this reason the "get tough, make them respect you" thesis is widely used in police work. Hagan (1985:237-38) notes that when the police perceive themselves as losing this authoritative edge, the possibilities of unnecessary arrest and brutality increase.

The debate as to the role of police has revolved largely around what the police should be doing and what they actually do, and has overlooked, according to Shearing and Leon (1977:336), what the police can do and what they have the authority to do. To "make sense" of police actions, Shearing and Leon (1977:341), rather uncritically, contend that **everything** an officer does takes place within the license and capability of the office he/she holds. Thus, they reject arguments that the police serve a social service function and adamantly argue that the police always respond as "law officers."

Sykes and Clark (1975) note that personality and attitudinal constructs have been used to explain tensions between police and minority groups. They argue that explanations of this variety neglect the propensity of actors to organize their interactions with one another, based not only upon their own personal predispositions but also in accordance with the positions they occupy. Sykes and Clark formulate an interactional theory of police-civilian

encounters which downplays the importance of social psychological elements and focuses on the positional status of those involved.

Sykes and Clark (1975:586) argue that the preoccupation with the police has often led to citizens being considered as nothing more than 'objects' instead of beings who play an active role in organizing their relations. They contend that sociology must examine mutual positional organization. That is, diadic interactions based upon the social status of the participants are essential to examining police-citizen encounters. Sykes and Clark (1975:586) argue, "Police behaviour must be explained in terms of rules which order their relations with civilians and which are usually mutually acknowledged by both officers and civilians". Following Brown (1965), Sykes and Clark use an "asymmetrical status norm" to refer to a relationship involving interpersonal conduct between persons of unequal status. The police, by virtue of their occupation and socio-economic status, usually possess a higher status than those they encounter on criminal matters. In police-citizen interactions, order revolves around the exchange of deference and maintenance of proper demeanour (Sykes and Clark, 1975:588).

When minorities are involved, Sykes and Clark (1975:588) argue, complications arise as ideas of superiority and inferiority are seen to be conveyed through showing deference. In the case of Aboriginal people, particularly given the historical 'race' control role of Canadian police,

the police may come to be viewed as oppressive authority figures-representatives of the authority that subordinated them. The refusal of the minority citizen to express deference to the police sets the stage for hostilities as each tries to discredit the other (Sykes and Clark, 1975:588). Following Hartjen (1972), Sykes and Clark (1975) believe stereotyping to be mutual and that even with good intentions, an officer may come to be viewed as "racist pig" and/or a citizen as a "wise-ass" if each refuses to express deference to the other.

Sykes and Clark (1975:590) contend that these asymmetrical normative expectations also differ with variables of sex and age. They argue that men, including police, are expected to be more deferential to women as compared to men. As well, whereas obedience and deference are expected from youth, senior citizens need not comply. Officers, however, are expected to show deference and courtesy to seniors. Sykes and Clark (1975:592) note that signs of respect include polite language, neutral or positive tone, and acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the self presented by the other. In contrast, signs of disrespect include impolite language, negative tone, and statements of the kind that tend to discredit the self of the other.

The contribution of Sykes and Clark (1975) is that they note the importance of mutual positioning during police-citizen encounters and they discuss class, 'race', gender, and age as variables which influence how the encounter should

proceed. This is an important aspect of studies of a dyadic nature. However, their focus on position and their attempted avoidance of more subjective (psychological) aspects which also 'shape' how an encounter will proceed leads to only a partial understanding of the processes involved.

Deference may or may not be expressed towards a status position and the reaction to derogatory remarks requires an evaluation by the offended party of that remark. Unlike individuals, status positions are incapable of such evaluation. In actuality, while the relative positioning of the officer and citizen are important, these cannot be detached from the personal histories, attitudes and perceptions (what Sykes and Clark view as psychological) which both actors carry into the interactional situation.

In assessing social psychological dimensions of police-minority relations, Spitzer (1976) critiques the cultural systems model (cross-cultural perspective) and suggests that an intercultural approach is more capable of examining the interactional processes of these encounters. The *cross-cultural perspective* focuses upon cultural differences as opposed to similarities and views intergroup relations as occurring between 'distinct' cultural or subcultural groupings (Spitzer, 1976:189). The cross-cultural perspective, as it applies to police-minority relations, is characterized by its acknowledgement of "the cultural integrity of each group involved in a conflict situation and encourages the description of underlying value differences

which contribute to or define the basis for the conflict" (Spitzer 1976:190). It draws upon "in-group / out-group" relationships in terms of processes involving stereotyping, scapegoating, ghettoization, stigmatization, and the development of special linguistic systems relevant to the area of police-minority group relations (Spitzer 1976:190: c.f. Scholnick 1966). The Police can themselves be considered as a minority group, marginal and with sub-cultural characteristics and orientations (Spitzer 1976:190-91).

Spitzer (1976:191) critiques the cultural systems approach for focusing exclusively upon variations in beliefs, attitudes and orientations thus diverting attention away from the dynamics of social power which define police-minority contacts. He argues, "The political dimension of police-minority relations becomes most evident when social control measures are interpreted as an application of coercive, rather than legitimate social power" (Spitzer, 1976:191).

Spitzer (1976:195) contends that an *inter-cultural perspective,* which focuses upon consensus (and by implication conflict), is capable of (1) interpreting the role of power in police-minority relations, (2) analysing the range of enforcement situations which define the basis for potential conflict, (3) suggesting some rules governing the transformation of cognitive states into overt acts of cooperation and conflict, and (4) measuring the significance of a "reciprocity of perspectives" (Schutz, 1962), for the orientations and behaviours of both groups (an intercultural

rather than a cross cultural perspective).

Interactional processes are considered important as the dynamics of the enforcement process are variable and complex. Spitzer (1976:203) acknowledges that the "direction and resolution of any given encounter" is also influenced by: (1) the symbols and constraints which give meaning to the enforcement process, including the social positions of the participants; (2) the role of the social audience in the encounter; (3) the nature of the relationship between the offender and the victim/complainant; (4) the amount and type of information control possessed by the police, complainant, victim and suspect; and (5) the basis for the policeman's initial involvement (proactive or reactive).

Spitzer (1976:204-205) argues that the "social coordination" of police-citizen encounters, whether proactive or reactive, is influenced by the dyadic or triadic context of the interaction. That is, the number of social actors involved or present will influence how the encounter unfolds.

The media engage in a misrepresentation of the police which "both obscures the wider political and necessarily repressive function the police fulfil...(and)...mystifies the extent and nature of police crimes against particular segments of the public" (Box,1983:80-81). The 'bending of rules' by the police to 'get their man' is not seen as unjustifiable, but rather is portrayed as a necessary part of police work. Further problematic are the facts that the police may resort to physical force to obtain confessions and

that they frequently do not observe the rights of the accused (Hagan 1977:148-150).

In Canada, in recent years, there has been a high number of killings of 'racial' minorities by police and an increasing outcry by these groups against the brutality they experience. Anderson (1986) examined the issue of police maltreatment of minorities in the Jane-Finch area of Toronto, illustrating that claims of racism and the use of unnecessary force by police are not unfounded, but grounded in the real life experience of victims.

While the police regard themselves as 'front line troops' against crime, and as 'guardians of public morality' (Box, 1981a:171-77), they also perceive themselves as highly visible targets for physical, possibly fatal aggression (Box, 1983:94) and these perceptions influence their actions and reactions in encounters with the public.

> The accumulation of experiences in which the dangers are present (and manifest) lead many officers to construct an image of the potential 'symbolic assailant' (Skolnick, 1966:45-48). The police not only treat very cautiously those citizens who resemble this 'symbolic assailant' but frequently engage in first strike defensive behaviour against them. Naturally, this 'symbolic assailant' is likely to be a pastiche of class, sex, and racial ingredients, in which economically marginalized, ethnically oppressed males figure prominently (Box, 1983:94)

Brannigan (1984:86) argues that any study which deals with police-public relations should examine the extent to which the police feel a stronger allegiance to the criminal code than to the Charter of Rights. The belief that the Charter of Rights and Freedoms will profoundly alter police

practices and criminal procedure has been dismissed by Ericson (1983:25). He contends that the Charter has little direct impact in protecting the rights and freedoms of individual citizens, that it serves to "guarantee a framework of official discretion" for the police and for "legitimating decisions about the restriction of rights in any given conflict" (Ericson, 1983:53-54). Ericson (1983:53-54) views the Charter as providing a "protective canopy for a statutory and common-law scheme" which enables the police to "get on with their routine social control tasks."

Uglow (1988) is sceptical of the 'liberalizing' efforts of police training. He contends that these do not permeate onto the streets. He further draws connections between attitudes held by police, surveillance practices and judgements. Greenaway (1980:257) asserts that "crime and delinquency are 'found' among the poor because that is where they are sought." Box (1983:5) argues that "the police pursue policies of differential deployment and methodological suspicion" in the course of their work. The police engage in processes of scrutinizing, judging and, where possible, normalizing personalities and behaviour. This is especially so where police deal with those who are deemed to be "outside the margins of respectable" (Uglow, 1988:107-110). Uglow (1988:110) views police primarily as the moral disciplinarians of society within the existing social, economic and political order. 'Cop-culture' on the streets incorporates strong elements of machoism, sexism and

racialism (Uglow, 1988:144) and this has an impact not only in the day-to-day lives of officers, but also upon the everyday lives of those whom they police.

> Respect for the police officer in any encounter is a significant factor in avoiding arrest. 'Contempt of cop' will often lead to escalation and possible prosecution, especially if there is an interested audience to see how the constable deals with the situation. (Uglow, 1899:105)

3.2 PROACTIVE AND REACTIVE POLICING

Although police work is primarily reactive (citizen initiated) as opposed to proactive (police initiated), officers proactively police their territory when not responding to calls (Ericson, 1982b). Ericson (1982b) found that proactive responses arose which involved: suspicious persons or circumstances, possible criminal matters, traffic matters, and assistance or service to the public. Proactive policing involves responding to what is visibly 'out of place', illegal or potentially illegal. Ericson (1982b:82) views proactive policing as involving 'ordering the street'.

Patrol officers develop 'proactive cues' which they draw upon when deciding what is worthy of proactive activity (Forcese, 1992:64-65). These cues are collectively developed and serve as 'shared-recipe' knowledge about whom to stop, why, and in what circumstances (Ericson, 1982b:86). Ericson (1982b:86) found that officers use these cues concerning; 1) individuals out of place, 2) individuals in particular places, 3) individuals of particular types regardless of place, and 4) unusual circumstances regarding property.

This raises a number of questions pertinent to this study. Are Aboriginal persons more apt to be targeted as candidates for proactive policing than other citizens? To what extent would they fit cue #3? How police and the Aboriginal community perceive this issue may have a significant impact on the state of the community relations between the police-Aboriginal relations.

When responding to a call, police tend to expect the worst. They come to imagine a worst case scenario as a means of preparing themselves for the unexpected and for reasons of safety. The situation can always be reevaluated at the scene and appropriate action taken then (Ericson, 1982b:96). For patrol officers, those incidents where they are unprepared serve to justify an 'expect anything' mind set. After mobilization, an officer must establish a definition of who the other person involved is, in order to deal with them appropriately (Ericson, 1982b:97).

3.3 DISCRETIONARY POWER

Ericson (1982a) has noted that questions of power and discretion are focal concerns to socio-legal scholars who study the police. Black (1968:25) defines discretion, "as the autonomy of decision making power that an officer has." Davis (1964:4) states that a police officer has discretion "whenever the effective limits on his power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action or inaction." The decision whether or not to invoke criminal law is one

which has major legal consequences for those involved (Skolnick, 1966:33; Grosman, 1975:81). Relevant to this study, Skolnick (1966:80) poses the question, "To what extent does racial prejudice influence the policeman's discretionary judgement?" This must be considered along with the contention of Hamilton and Sinclair (1991:86) that "Aboriginal over-representation is the end result of a series of decisions made by those with decision making power in the justice system."

Ericson (1982a:96) argues that in the final analysis, crime only consists of those acts defined as such by the police for their crime control purposes on behalf of the authorities. Simply stated, the necessary condition for crime is the police designation. Ericson (1982a:105) states that, "the most pervasive and persuasive form of power is the power to define and produce reality." The police, as opposed to other components of the Criminal Justice System, are in a 'positional advantage' (Cook:1977) because other components of the CJS are dependent upon the police for their accounts of what occurred in "criminal" events (Ericson, 1982a:105). The police, possessing both discretionary powers and the power to define reality, have the power to substantially affect those with whom they interact in the course of their work day.

Grosman (1975) asserts that the occupational concerns of police officers are an important influence on the use of discretion. He contends that the police engage in labelling

processes utilizing stereotypes which are based on experience and expectations (Grosman, 1975:88). The reaction of the police to individuals is influenced by this categorization. Once perceptual categories are routinely employed, it is difficult to re-orient officers not to rely on such labelling processes (Grosman, 1975:90). Similar to what Westley (1970) found, Grosman (1975:89) argues,

> Slum dwellers and those who are characteristically labelled criminal will be treated in a manner which would not be deemed by the police appropriate to respectable citizens.

Furthermore, Grosman (1975:89) contends that, "Beyond the characteristics of an individual suspect, his status and geographic location . . . are also factors in the police assessment of criminality." Following Piliavin and Briar (1964) and Ericson (1982b), Grosman (1975:90) concurs that "both time and place trigger police suspicions about the behaviour of individuals." Grosman (1975:107) asserts that "the urban poor, Indians and Metis find that the police play an increasingly visible role in their day-to-day lives--a role they do not play in middle class society."

Ericson (1982b) examined the every-day routines of patrol officers, their usage of rules (both formal-legal and occupational 'recipe rules') and discretion in dealing with the public. Ericson contends that the police have both an ideological and repressive function (1982b:8). The mandate of police is to reproduce the existing social order, to maintain status quo arrangements (Ericson, 1982b:7). The 'reproduction' of order is attained through processes of

conflict, negotiation, and subjection. Ericson (1982b:9) follows Strauss (1978) arguing that an officer 'negotiates order' by implementing strategies of coercion, manipulation and negotiation. Patrol officers "actively shape, and are shaped by, the nature of the work they undertake" (Ericson, 1982b:31).

The state of police-Aboriginal community relations will be affected by the extent to which Aboriginal people fit the images and definitions of a deviant population. Community relations cannot be assessed or discussed without discussing crime and who is perceived as engaging in criminal activity.

Questions as to who is criminal, what is crime and where crime occurs may be answered uncritically and common-sensically (by the public and the police) as follows; regarding "who" is criminal--youth, 'racial' minorities, the unemployed, and lower working class; regarding "what" is crime--street crime against property and person; and regarding "where" crime is--working class and inner-city neighbourhoods. When we consider these factors and how Aboriginal people fit these common-sense requirements of the criminal image, then we expect research findings such as those observed by Hagan (1977).

Hagan (1977:151) argued that peoples of Aboriginal descent frequently find themselves at odds with the police (their demeanour provokes police or is lacking in shows of deference) in urban areas because their apparel, personal hygiene, physical characteristics and demographic location

(in the more intensely policed inner-city neighbourhoods) make them especially vulnerable to police suspicion. Overall, what occurs is an intensified social control of Aboriginal peoples through surveillance and apprehension. This should not sound conspiratorial since the police undoubtedly possess or share knowledge of the wide-spread negative public perceptions of Aboriginal peoples (cf. Hylton, 1981). The police may also encounter Aboriginal persons in situations to reinforce such perceptions.

3.4 POLICE - ABORIGINAL RELATIONS IN SASKATOON: SIFC FINDINGS

In late 1991, students of the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC) conducted a brief and general study examining the state of community relations between Saskatoon City Police and Aboriginal people of the Pleasant Hill district of that city. Questionnaires were given to patrol officers (Appendix 1) and to residents of that district (Appendix 2).

The police are very aware of problems experienced by Aboriginal people. Chief A. Owen Maguire of the Saskatoon City Police wrote:

> Most of our sworn members and many of our support staff recognize from first-hand knowledge the problems experienced by many Indian and Metis people owing to their loss of culture, high unemployment rates and few community services and amenities available to them. The high suicide and crime rates are associated with alienation, depression and substance abuse. (Saskatoon Star Phoenix, Nov. 1, 1991)

Despite this purported recognition of problems experienced by

Aboriginal peoples, questions such as, "What is your perception of Native people in the city of Saskatoon?" elicited a wide range of responses by officers. Some of the brief and often negative responses by officers were:

> *I know many Native people whom I have great respect for. On the other hand, the majority of Native people I deal with daily set a very bad example for those who are trying to live normal lives in our community. Alcohol/drug abuse are a major factor I feel.*
>
> *Not motivated, unwilling to proceed with technological progress and to diversify with rest of society. Unwilling to compromise lifestyle to enhance their position in workplace or social standing. Strong family ties although questionable commitment to youth.*
>
> *Unfortunately it tends to be somewhat negative as we deal with the native people usually on a negative response. They appear to have no respect for themselves as well as for other people.*

Regarding the question, "What are your feelings on the relationship between native people and the police?" some of the more typical sorts of Aboriginal responses were:

> *The Natives don't trust the police and the police don't trust Natives, which makes the whole relationship very tense.*
>
> *Relationship between the Native and the police are very poor. The police feel the Natives are responsible for the majority of the crime.*
>
> *I feel a large number of Natives already have a bad impression of the police before we actually deal with them.*
>
> *Poor, police are guilty of treating all the natives as they treat the troublesome, substance abusive minority. Natives have no trust in the police or the current justice system and refuse to cooperate with the police in investigations and projects. A trust between the two has to be established but the Native community must follow the rules of our justice system just as all Canadians do.*

Only 25% of the police sample completed the SIFC questionnaires (25 out of 100). A number of recurrent points were made by the officers who completed the SIFC questionnaires. Many noted the negative, confrontational nature of 'contacts' with Aboriginal people, the lack of mutual trust, and the lack of cooperation and information from the Aboriginal community. Officers frequently noted how substance abuse was a major source of problems resulting in their mobilization.

Most officers emphasized the need for education, communication, and to build trust and that these were necessary for both the police and the Aboriginal community. Many asserted that respect must be mutual and a couple noted that racism was not exclusively a 'white' phenomena, but that they as officers have experienced verbal abuse by Aboriginal people in the course of performing their duties. Overall an extremely high proportion of officers who responded were in favour of the recruitment of Aboriginal and other minority officers but were very much against alteration of existing recruitment standards. In late 1991, the department had 3 members, out of 350, of ethnic minority origin. Chief A. Owen Maguire has acknowledged that:

> If we are to be representative of the public we serve, it is absolutely imperative that we do everything in our power to surface high-quality Indian and Metis candidates for entry into the force (Saskatoon Star Phoenix, Nov. 1, 1991)

Although most Aboriginal respondents to the Pleasant Hill community survey stated they had not experienced what they believed to be discrimination by the police, the fact

that many often went on to state police should not stereotype and should treat Aboriginal persons with more respect suggests that the state of police-Aboriginal community relations in Saskatoon is in need of improvement.

In response to the question, "What feelings do you have for the Saskatoon City Police?" one female respondent perhaps highlighted a problematic area when she wrote, "They [the police] seem to be suspicious of every Native they see."

According to the SIFC survey, the Saskatoon City Police were aware that relations with the Aboriginal community were "strained", that "there is a tendency to lump people together," and that "Native people tend to mistrust police." It was also noted that there is a need "to improve relations, ...open communication, [and to have] both parties...listen to each other." (Source: SIFC records of proceedings from police-community meeting, Nov. 19, 1991). Many problems experienced by Aboriginal people have socio-economic origins. Police mobilization, both reactive and proactive, or their lack of mobilization, to incidents involving Aboriginal people may be perceived by Aboriginal peoples as racially motivated, and may indeed be so.

Substantive improvements in the state of police-Aboriginal community relations are ultimately contingent upon alterations in wider social, economic, and political relations characterizing Canadian society. Aboriginal relations with police cannot be understood apart from these other relations. Ultimately, failure to address problematic

socio-economic conditions which Aboriginal peoples experience day-to-day will seriously undermine meaningful improvements in the existing state of police-Aboriginal relations. Understandably the police, especially higher ranking officers, must be concerned with image management, issues of sensitivity to public needs, and possible operative and responsive improvements. The public is of course interested in the service provided by police and their treatment by police. Criminologists, while critically analyzing police practices and public demands upon police, must differentiate image management and/or rhetoric from actual efforts at improving community relations. Revealing problematic areas in relations of 'social control', between the police and the public may yield viable possibilities for change which although not radically addressing socio-economic "sources of problems," may be steps towards improvement.

3.5 ABORIGINAL JUSTICE INQUIRIES: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Aboriginal people compose only 2.8% of Canada's population, but yet have high contact with police and disproportionately high rates of arrest, conviction and imprisonment. In Saskatchewan, although the Aboriginal people constitute only 6% of the population (Griffiths and Verdun-Jones, 1989:545), their admission rates to 'correctional' facilities are 66% of the total number, and even higher for Aboriginal women specifically. Similarly in Manitoba, while only 12% of the population is Aboriginal,

over 50% of those incarcerated are of this population (Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991:85).

Aboriginal people, especially offenders, perceive themselves to be treated more harshly by the police than other segments of the population. The Alberta Task Force study Justice on Trial found that, "The perception that police are prejudiced against them is generally shared by Aboriginal people" (Cawsey, 1991:2.5). Aboriginal people believe this treatment accounts in part for the persistent overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in the CJS (Canada: Dept. of Justice, Sept. 1991:33). The Department of Justice (1991:36) has noted three important concerns regarding municipal or provincial police services to Aboriginal citizens who are living off-reserve. The first concern is that Aboriginal persons are not proportionately represented on police forces in accordance with their numbers as a proportion of the population. Furthermore, many departments lack the recruitment and training programs necessary to rectify this.

The second issue deals with cultural sensitivity. The police have been criticised for their insensitivity towards and failure to understand aboriginal culture and values. This has generally led Aboriginal people and Aboriginal justice commissions to believe that they are more likely to be arrested and charged than would non-Aboriginal persons in similar circumstances. Thirdly, regarding community input, the Department of Justice acknowledges that Aboriginal

citizens do not have access to voice their concerns to and about the police in the communities in which they reside. Miner et. al. (1990:3-19) note that redressing this situation will involve identifying and utilizing race relations principles in police training, and in the specific needs of communities. Minority recruiting strategies must be stressed and minority communities must have input into policing at a local, provincial and national level to ensure communication and understanding between police and minority groups.

Hamilton and Sinclair (1991:750-751) have also recommended that the numbers of Aboriginal officers be increased to reflect their proportion of the population and that cross cultural training programs be attached to police training as well offered on an ongoing basis. The recommendations of Linn (1992a,b) who chaired the Saskatchewan Indian/Metis Review Committee(s) are presented in Appendix 3. Most of the recommendations made to date rely extensively on race relations sensitivity training and cross-cultural training to improve relations between Aboriginal peoples and the Criminal Justice System..

In summary then, this chapter has examined a number of important theoretical and pragmatic issues in Canadian, American and British criminological literature pertaining to police-public and more specifically, police-minority relations. Criminologists have argued that police have occupational identities, working personalities, and culture unto themselves. The police believe there are multiple

publics dealt with, and this is an important factor governing how they act and react. Stereotyping, shared knowledge and past experience all influence how officers deal with the public.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter will both describe the research methodology used in this thesis and discuss the rationale for this methodology. A self report survey questionnaire is used as the research instrument. Quantitative and qualitative dimensions seek to ascertain insight into Aboriginal attitudes and perceptions of, and experiences with, the Saskatoon police. A brief section about the limitations of the study is also presented.

Researchers have utilized a variety of scaling techniques to attain indicators of attitudes. Scaling techniques allow for codification, statistical analysis and interpretation of data. Although Agency theorists have not utilized scaling techniques as research instruments, questions could be designed to obtain indicators of racist ideology, and of attitudes and perceptions that would influence dyadic processes in police-Aboriginal interactions.

Some criminological research has used scaling techniques. Hylton (1981b) utilized a Likert scale to gauge some indication of public attitudes towards Natives (1981b:359), and of police attitudes towards Natives (1981b:361). Unfortunately, those surveyed could only respond to the statements in the following ways: Strongly

Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree. What is problematic with this design is that Hylton has not included a Neutral or Undecided category for respondents and by failing to do so, his results may be considered questionable on the grounds that he did not allow respondents a full or fair range of responses. Researchers who opt for the four category model forcing respondents to make a choice rely "on the supposition that the really neutral ones will randomly be assigned to the two middle choices" (Francis, 1967:209). This approach is also grounded in "the notion that many people choose the neutral position, not because that represents their point of view but because of shame, fear, or improper motive" (Francis, 1967:209). The justification for including a neutral or undecided response category comes from the possibility that such a response actually describes the subject's sentiments. Proponents of the five category model argue that the researcher does not have the right to force a choice from respondents. As Francis (1967:210) contends "if any distortion of feeling is made it should result from the respondent's, not the scientist's action." For this reason, the five category model will be used in this study. The questionnaire designed for this study seeks to obtain indicators of the attitudes and perceptions of Aboriginal people to a series of statements dealing with police-Aboriginal relations. The questionnaire in this study of police-Aboriginal relations employs a Likert scale with these available responses: Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided,

Disagree, Strongly Disagree.

The quantitative dimension of the study is designed to obtain indications of the state of police-Aboriginal relations by gauging attitudinal responses of respondents to a series of statements. There are difficulties involved as the concept of "attitude" is very complex. Griffiths and Verdun-Jones (1989:70) argue that there are difficulties surrounding the definition and measurement of attitudes. It is difficult to measure accurately attitudes and ideology empirically, for in actuality, they resist precise quantification. A quantitative method of data collection may by itself be insufficient to fully examine a topic from an Agency perspective, and indeed generally.

Although Ericson (1982b:34) acknowledges that quantitative data are useful, he draws upon Lofland (1971:6) who argues, "statistical portrayals must always be "interpreted", "grounded", and given human meaning in the context of the qualitative-direct face-to-face-"knowing"." For this reason, the questionnaires contain a qualitative dimension. This qualitative section will be examined via content analysis.

Studies conducted utilizing the Agency tradition to examine historically specific instances of racism have relied heavily on qualitative means of data collection (e.g., Husband, 1987:191-209). Agency theorists have utilized indepth interviews to understand racist ideology. Regarding qualitative sociology, Schwartz and Jacobs (1979:9) assert

that,

> the basic position of this orientation is that in order to understand social phenomena, the researcher needs to discover the actor's 'definition of the situation,' that is, his/her perception and interpretation of reality and how these relate to his/her behaviour.

Social meanings (which direct human behaviour) are conferred upon social events by interacting individuals who must first interpret what is going on from the social context in which these events occur (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979:8).

A survey questionnaire was designed employing both quantitative and qualitative dimensions (See Appendix 4). The research questionnaires (in Appendix 4) were found by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Sociology to contain nothing which contravenes the *Ethics Guidelines: Research with Human Subjects* of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

The research questionnaire was then pretested on a sample of Aboriginal people from Egadz (Saskatoon's downtown youth centre), from the John Howard Society, and from a residential complex during the week of September 21-25, 1992. The pretest sample consisted of 11 Aboriginal people who were asked to go over the questionnaire and comment on questions worded awkwardly or offensively. As no problematic items were found, the questionnaire was left as is. Unfortunately, three minor errors escaped detection. Each error was a typing mistake in the attitudinal statements. These occurred in statement numbers 3 (missing word "of"), 15 (word "than" is written twice), and 42 (missing word "relations").

Survey distribution was conducted by going door to door and explaining the study as a survey designed to assess Aboriginal people's attitudes and perceptions of police-community relations. The surveyed areas of the city consisted of: Riversdale, South Riversdale, Pleasant Hill, Caswell Hill, Westmount, Confederation Park, and College Park. These areas have a large Aboriginal population. During survey distribution, my research assistant, who was Aboriginal, and myself identified ourselves as being from the University of Saskatchewan conducting research on police-Aboriginal community relations in Saskatoon. Residents were asked if anyone in the household, if it was not obvious, identified themselves as Aboriginal and if they would be interested in participating in the research project. The project was briefly explained to those who so identified themselves.

If respondents consented to participate they were asked to complete the questionnaire within 3 to 5 days, at which time I would return to collect them. It was hoped that the 'in person' touch would facilitate cooperation and increase the response rate. The intent was to deliver 400 questionnaires and hopefully receive at least 50% (N=200) response rate from those who accepted them. Once distributed, three attempts were made to collect the questionnaires. Failure to retrieve the questionnaires by the third attempt resulted in the questionnaire being considered unavailable. The time of distribution varied, morning, afternoon and evening while

collection was undertaken in the afternoon and evening. Three-hundred-sixty-three questionnaires were distributed at random. Of that total, 143 questionnaires were collected, but nine were deemed unusable due to respondents i) being non-Aboriginal, ii) failing to complete any of the items which constituted the background data section, and iii) failing to respond to the questions designed to attain attitudinal responses. The final sample size was 134. This represents a response rate of 36.9%. The six qualitative questions, while very informative, need not have been completed for the questionnaire to be used.

A questionnaire was also developed to be administered to 'street' police who deal with the public on a daily basis. The intention to include the police was deemed necessary to address the criticism levelled against left realism that it fails to investigate the power of police subcultures (Gilroy and Sim, 1987). While the aim of this study was originally to examine the dialectics of control, the withdrawal of cooperation by the Saskatoon City Police, and the subsequent refusal of the Regina City Police to participate in this research has reduced the scope of the study and hence shifted the empirical focus to Aboriginal attitudes and perceptions of the police.

The development of victimization surveys has enabled researchers to overcome the difficulties of accessing police departments for research purposes. Some of these surveys ask respondents about their experiences with and conceptions of

the police. Importantly for this research, Alhuwalia and MacLean (1986:67) argue that the responses serve as valid indicators of policing practices. Responses to the questionnaire items will be considered to be valid indicators of: Aboriginal perceptions of and attitudes towards the police, the degree of Aboriginal satisfaction with the police, the activities of police, any perceptions of differential treatment of the Aboriginal population by police, and of the extent (if any) of verbal and/or physical abuses by police.

This thesis is not without limitations. Methodologically a couple issues must be noted. The use of survey questionnaires as the research instrument restricts data available for they are "structured" to a much higher degree than are interviews. This also has theoretical implications as the methodology used enables us to approximate but perhaps not completely capture the essence of a methodology employed by Agency theorists. When repondents are asked to give written answers to questions, they often give ambiguous reponses. An indepth personal interview with respondents enables the researcher to clarify such responses and obtain other information about the knowledge and views of respondents. While the theory of the Agency perspective is still invaluable to this study, methodologically, my opting to try to gather qualitative data without indepth personal interviews has undoubtedly resulted in this dimension of the study being less than its full potential. For this reason,

were I to redo this study, personal interviews would be added to the research methodology. In defence of the approach taken, time restraints, and the desire to "give voice" to a larger sample population were considerations which entered into the development of the methodology employed.

We may speculate about the extent to which those who participated in the research differ from those who did not participate. This is a question of the representativeness of the sample. A larger response rate was also hoped for. Missing information by participants raises questions about the background and experiences of these respondents and this excluded information may have impacted the results of the study had it been included. As well, the literacy of some respondents may have accounted in part to the lower response rate.

In retrospect, this questionnaire focussed too much on over-policing and mis-policing to the exclusion of under-policing (i.e., for domestic violence). More attention should have been given to issues and incidents which police may fail to respond to.

CHAPTER 5. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is presented in three sections. First, descriptive aggregate data will provide information about the sample population as well as respondent replies to the 42 questionnaire items, which serve as indicators of the state of police-Aboriginal community relations according to the Aboriginal population of Saskatoon (see tables in Appendix 6). The second section examines relationships between independent variables (from the background data section in the questionnaire) and dependent variables (determined by factor analysis of the attitudinal indicators). This analysis section contains factor analysis with a reliability test, t-tests, Pearson's correlation matrix, and a regression analysis. The third section moves from quantitative data to the presentation of the qualitative data, provided by respondents to five structured and one open ended question pertaining to police-Aboriginal community relations in Saskatoon.

5.1 PART I: FREQUENCIES AND OVERVIEW

The purpose of this section is to familiarize the reader with descriptive information about the sample population and to overview the attitudinal responses of this sample to the

42 statements in the questionnaire. While comprehensive descriptive data about the sample population are provided in Appendix 6 (Tables 5.1.1 to 5.1.12), a brief descriptive overview of the sample population is useful here.

The majority of the respondents (60%) were female. Approximately 51% of sample were 16 to 29 years of age. Most respondents stated they were Status Aboriginal (58%) or Metis (28%) as opposed to non-Status Aboriginal (8.%). Regarding language spoken at home, the most frequently cited were English only (46%) or a combination of English and Cree (24%). We can see evidence of urban migration as 43% of respondents indicated they were raised in a rural town or on a reserve. Regarding education completed, 31% had grade 9 or less. However, 22% stated they had some post secondary education and a further 9% held post secondary degrees. Thirty-four percent were never married, 43% were married including common law, and 20% were separated or divorced. Seventy-eight percent of respondents stated they had children. Only 20% stated they had full-time employment and 28% stated they were unemployed. Fifty-two percent of respondents had an annual family income less than $15,000 (25% were coded missing on this variable). Forty percent of respondents had lived in Saskatoon for 4 years or less.

Comparing my sample population to that of a profile of Aboriginal peoples of Edmonton gives an indication of the comparability of the sample with other centers. Briefly, regarding employment, 1986 data from Statistics Canada about

Edmonton states that Aboriginal unemployment is approximately 25%. My sample group had about 28% unemployment. Edmonton data revealed that 54% of Aboriginal males and 74% of Aboriginal females live on an annual income below $15,000. In my sample, about 52% of respondents had this income level. This may be an underestimate as 25% of my sample did not reveal this information.

5.1.1 FREQUENCIES FOR ATTITUDINAL STATEMENTS AND OVERVIEW

Table 5.1.1 summarizes the responses of the Aboriginal sample population to the 42 indicators of the state of police -Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon (also see Appendix 7). This table includes the statements identification number, the variable label, and responses by percentage and frequency (N). Responses could be: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Undecided (U), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD). Missing data (M) are also presented.

Table 5.1.1. FREQUENCIES FOR ATTITUDINAL STATEMENTS

Question Variable Label	Response by % and N Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1 RELSGOOD	1.5% N=2	18.7% N=25	29.9% N=40	37.3% N=50	12.7% N=17
2 VIEWS	22.4% N=30	47.8% N=64	22.4% N=30	4.5% N=6	1.5% N=2
				Missing 1.5%	N=2
3 OBSRVATN	35.8% N=48	47.0% N=63	9.0% N=12	4.5% N=6	2.2% N=3
				Missing 1.5%	N=2
4 DISLIKE	23.1% N=31	44.0% N=59	20.1% N=27	11.2% N=15	1.5% N=2
5 LSRESPCT	12.7% N=17	35.8% N=48	23.9% N=32	23.9% N=32	3.7% N=5
6 TREATEQL	3.0% N=4	6.7% N=9	20.9% N=28	42.5% N=57	26.9% N=36
7 SUSPECTS	35.1% N=47	41.0% N=55	15.7% N=21	6.7% N=9	1.5% N=2
8 VICTIMS	26.9% N=36	50.0% N=67	14.9% N=20	6.0% N=8	2.2% N=3
9 ABCRTTRB	2.2% N=3	9.0% N=12	16.4% N=22	51.5% N=69	20.9% N=28
10 HASSLEAB	17.2% N=23	42.5% N=57	22.4% N=30	11.9% N=16	4.5% N=6
				Missing 1.5%	N=2
11 DEROGLNG	13.4% N=18	40.3% N=54	18.7% N=25	24.6% N=33	3.0% N=4
12 PHYSFORC	26.9% N=36	45.5% N=61	14.9% N=20	10.4% N=14	1.5% N=2
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
13 REACTNEG	19.4% N=26	44.8% N=60	17.9% N=24	14.9% N=20	3.0% N=4

Question Variable Label	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
14 ABOFFICR	27.6% N=37	41.0% N=55	17.9% N=24	9.7% N=13	3.7% N=5
15 LRSPCTLW	3.7% N=5	21.6% N=29	17.2% N=23	48.5% N=65	9.0% N=12
16 IMPROVCR	35.1% N=47	44.8% N=60	14.9% N=20	3.7% N=5	1.5% N=2
17 HOWGOOD	0.0% N=0	9.7% N=13	31.3% N=42	36.6% N=49	22.4% N=30
18 CRMDFCLT	4.5% N=6	17.9% N=24	38.8% N=52	30.6% N=41	6.0% N=8
				Missing 2.2%	N=3
19 CRMNATR	12.7% N=17	41.8% N=56	17.9% N=24	20.9% N=28	6.7% N=9
20 DISTRTFL	20.1% N=27	47.0% N=63	14.9% N=20	14.9% N=20	1.5% N=2
				Missing 1.5%	N=2
21 LACKTRST	24.6% N=33	49.3% N=66	21.6% N=29	3.7% N=5	0.0% N=0
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
22 JUSTICE	26.9% N=36	38.1% N=51	13.4% N=18	15.7% N=21	5.2% N=7
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
23 RDYFRVLC	24.6% N=33	44.0% N=59	21.6% N=29	9.0% N=12	0.7% N=1
24 HOSTLITY	23.9% N=32	48.5% N=65	20.1% N=27	7.5% N=10	0.0% N=0
25 FRCCCFES	35.8% N=48	34.3% N=46	20.9% N=28	9.0% N=12	0.0% N=0
26 RACLHOST	32.1% N=43	42.5% N=57	18.7% N=25	6.0% N=8	0.7% N=1
27 EXPCTWST	31.3% N=42	45.5% N=61	14.9% N=20	6.7% N=9	1.5% N=2
28 CRTEOSWM	5.2% N=7	15.7% N=21	31.3% N=42	38.8% N=52	9.0% N=12

Question Variable Label	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
29 WARNINGS	3.7% N=5	26.1% N=35	31.3% N=42	35.8% N=48	3.0% N=4
30 COMPLANT	41.0% N=55	38.8% N=52	14.2% N=19	4.5% N=6	1.5% N=2
31 WMNMRPOS	6.7% N=9	23.9% N=32	30.6% N=41	33.6% N=45	4.5% N=6
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
32 FRNDSNEG	5.2% N=7	17.9% N=24	33.6% N=45	32.8% N=44	9.7% N=13
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
33 SATSFIED	4.5% N=6	13.4% N=18	32.8% N=44	32.1% N=43	16.4% N=22
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
34 HOSTSTOP	15.7% N=21	54.5% N=73	14.9% N=20	11.2% N=15	3.7% N=5
35 ABRESPON	28.4% N=38	56.0% N=75	11.9% N=16	2.2% N=3	0.7% N=1
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
36 PRESNGAT	15.7% N=21	30.6% N=41	38.8% N=52	13.4% N=18	0.7% N=1
				Missing 0.7%	N=1
37 PFRLKDWN	16.4% N=22	26.9% N=36	40.3% N=54	14.2% N=19	2.2% N=3
38 STORABUS	25.4% N=34	47.8% N=64	18.7% N=25	6.7% N=9	1.5% N=2
39 NEGATTDS	11.2% N=15	28.4% N=38	29.1% N=39	19.4% N=26	11.9% N=16
40 SMALRESP	38.8% N=52	43.3% N=58	12.7% N=17	3.0% N=4	2.2% N=3
41 IMPROVED	3.7% N=5	24.6% N=33	40.3% N=54	23.9% N=32	6.0% N=8
				Missing 1.5%	N=2
42 STORFRNT	7.5% N=10	21.6% N=29	54.5% N=73	11.9% N=16	3.0% N=4
				Missing 1.5%	N=2

5.1.2 SUMMARY OF AGGREGATE DATA

What general attitudes do the sample population of the Aboriginal community of Saskatoon possess pertaining to the general state of police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon? The following summary is based on data presented in table 5.1.1. Statement numbers are provided in brackets for reference.

Half of the respondents do not believe that police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon are good (1). About 60% believe that police-Aboriginal relations are negatively affected by views which both Aboriginal people and police hold towards one another (2).

Approximately 70% of Aboriginal people do not believe the police treat all members of the community equally (6). Eighty three percent perceive themselves to be subject to unnecessary levels of observation and suspicion by police (3). About 60% believe that police go out of their way to hassle them as compared to non-Aboriginal persons (10). Seventy six percent of respondents believe that the police have less respect for Aboriginal people as suspects and offenders and 77% felt police had less respect for Aboriginal as opposed to non Aboriginals victims (7,8). About 67% believe that the police are more distrustful of younger Aboriginal persons than of young persons who are non-Aboriginal (20). About 72% of respondents believe that the police are more likely to resort to physical force when dealing with Aboriginal people than with other members of the

community (12). Approximately 77% believe the police are more apt to expect the worst in encounters with Aboriginal people in the downtown core as opposed to residential areas of Saskatoon (27). As well, 69% believe police are more ready for violence when dealing with an Aboriginal person as opposed to a non-Aboriginal person (23). Seventy two percent believe that mutual hostilities between them and police often rise to the point where police decide to arrest Aboriginal suspects (24). Furthermore, 70% of respondents believe that Aboriginal people are hostile to police when they feel they have been stopped by police without good reason (34). Seventy percent believe that the police often try to force Aboriginal people to confess to a crime (25).

Seventy seven percent of respondents believe that most Aboriginal people dislike the police and 49% believe Aboriginal peoples are generally less respectful of police officers than are non-Aboriginal people (4,5). Sixty four percent of respondents believe that negative attitudes towards police lead to negative reactions when they have contact with police (13). Aboriginal people strongly reject both the idea that they go out of their way to create trouble for the police (73% indicated disagreement) and that they have less respect for the law generally than non-Aboriginal people (58% indicated disagreement)(9,15). Sixty four Percent of respondents beleive that many Aboriginal people who become involved in the justice system, do not understand the legal system (22). The belief that police were often

refered to in derogatory terms was expressed by 54% of respondents (11).

Fifty nine percent of respondents believe that relations between them and the Saskatoon police are generally poor (17). A lack of trust in the city police by the Aboriginal community as a whole was expressed by 74% (21). Although a third of respondents stated they were undecided regarding their satisfaction with services provided by the police, about half expressed the belief that, overall, the Aboriginal community in Saskatoon is **not** satisfied with service provided (33). Seventy three percent believe that a generalized negative attitude towards police results from stories about the abuse of Aboriginal people by police (38). Seventy five percent express the belief that Aboriginal people are often the victims of racial hostilities directed against them by police (26). Interestingly, about 40% of respondents were undecided about police seeing Aboriginal criminal involvement as being due to different cultural traditions of Aboriginal peoples and, if anything, there was modest disagreement with this statement (18). However, 55% believe police see Aboriginal peoples to be criminal by nature (19). Overall, the sample population was undecided if police- Aboriginal relations have improved over time, although no time period was specified in the questionnaire (41).

Respondents modestly disagree that among the Aboriginal population, women have a more positive view of the police than do men (31). As well, there was modest disagreement

that Aboriginal women were more apt to receive warnings, as opposed to charges, by police for minor infractions than men in similar situations (29). Forty eight percent of respondents indicated that they do not believe police are more courteous when dealing with Aboriginal women than with Aboriginal men (28). Here, a third of respondents were undecided.

It was also found, rather interestingly, that respondents modestly agree with the idea that police could possess negative attitudes towards Aboriginal people but not let such attitudes affect their encounters with Aboriginal people (39). Aboriginal people expressed modest agreement with the statements that there is pressure upon police by fellow officers to hold negative attitudes toward Aboriginals, and that officers who try to be fair are looked down on by their peers (36,37). Regarding these two issues, approximately 40% of respondents were undecided.

Sixty nine percent of Aboriginal people in this study believe that Aboriginal police officers are or would be more capable of dealing with Aboriginal people than non-Aboriginal officers and 80% concurred that increasing the number of Aboriginal officers would improve police-Aboriginal community relations (14,16).

Importantly, 80% of respondents believe that Aboriginal people are reluctant to make complaints against police when they feel they have been mistreated (30). Eighty two percent believe that a small part of the Aboriginal population is

responsible for much conflict with police, but this reflects badly on Aboriginal people as a whole (40). Interestingly, 84% of respondents state that to improve police-Aboriginal community relations in Saskatoon, the Aboriginal community must assume as much responsibility for change as police (35). While more than half of respondents were undecided as to whether the 'store front' police station on 20th St. has served to improve relations since it opened, of those expressing opinions, those who agree outnumber those who disagree by a ratio of 2 to 1 (42).

5.2 PART II: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

5.2.1 SCALE CONSTRUCTION

Exploratory factor analysis was used for two reasons. First of all, factor analysis is an analytic method which reduces variables to underlying "factors". Kim and Mueller (1978:7) explain that, "Factor analysis assumes that the observed (measured) variables are linear combinations of some underlying source variables (factors)," and that factor analysis can be used "to ascertain the minimum number of hypothetical factors that can account for observed covariation" among variables. Secondly, factor analysis is a 'heuristic device' (Kim and Mueller, 1978:10) for refining a research instrument for future usage.

Referring to the rotated factor matrix, the variable HOSTSTOP (34), which was included in factor 2, did not load with any other variables and was therefore dropped from the

scale prior to running a reliability assessment on the two scales. A number of variables had to be recoded at this point to ensure that a low score corresponded to negative attitudinal response. The following variables were recoded; RELSGOOD (1), TREATEQL (6), ABOFFICR (14), HOWGOOD (17), CRTEOSWM (28), WARNINGS (29), WMNMRPOS (31), SATSFIED (33), ABRESPON (35), NEGATTDS (39), IMPROVED (41), and STORFRNT (42).

Note: The questionnaire coding guide in Appendix 5 will be useful in linking the given variable labels and statement numbers with actual attitudinal statements which they represent.

Table 5.2. FACTOR ANALYSIS

	FACTOR 1			FACTOR 2	
26)	RACLHOST	.73504	11)	DEROGLNG	.63499
25)	FRCCCFES	.71364	9)	ABCRTTRB	.59645
7)	SUSPECTS	.66455	15)	LRSPCTLW	.51133
10)	HASSLEAB	.66172	32)	FRNDSNEG	.49639
3)	OBSRVATN	.65508	28)	CRTEOSWM	.45697
23)	RDYFRVLC	.65497	42)	STORFRNT	.43982
6)	TREATEQL	-.64323	39)	NEGATTDS	.43561
12)	PHYSFORC	.63995	13)	REACTNEG	.42362
20)	DISTRTFL	.61515	40)	SMALRESP	.40896
4)	DISLIKE	.60590	34)	HOSTSTOP	.39853
1)	RELSGOOD	-.60509			
37)	PFRLKDWN	.59031			
36)	PRESNGAT	.58692			
24)	HOSTLITY	.58137			
8)	VICTIMS	.57755			
30)	COMPLANT	.56269			
17)	HOWGOOD	-.54847			
19)	CRMNATR	.51897			
21)	LACKTRST	.50340			
41)	IMPROVED	-.50085			
33)	SATSFIED	-.42660			
27)	EXPCTWST	.42394			
38)	STORABUS	.39610.			

Factor 1 Eigenvalue 8.78412
Factor 2 Eigenvalue 3.39313

The variables included in factors 1 and 2 can be understood as indicators of underlying source variables. These source variables contribute to the creation and maintenence of attitudes towards people, social phenomena and social relations. These 2 source variables become dependent variables in this analysis of police-Aboriginal relations. For the purpose of this study, I will conceptualize factor 1 as 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and define it as a general sense of oppression, racially based, which Aboriginal people see themselves subjected to by police. 'Persecution' refers to

Aboriginal peoples perceptions that they are subjected to abuses (ie. excessive suspicion, increased surveillance, verbal and/or physical abuse) within relations of social control, abuses which the non-Aboriginal population is not subjected to by police.

Factor 2 was more difficult to comprehend as the six variables seemed to involve two themes. While ABCRTTRB (9), LRSPCTLW (15), and SMALRESP (40) involve issues of crime, law and social order, DEROGLNG (11), FRNDSNEG (32) and REACTNEG (13) deal with issues of an anti-police nature. Factor 2 will be denoted by the concept 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) and be conceptualized as a generally defensive mindset about the 'normality' of the majority of the people "like you" (in this case people who identify themselves as Aboriginal) and hostility towards police who historically symbolize the oppression of Aboriginal peoples. MRGNLZTN taps sentiments of dissatisfaction and/or exclusion from "normal" police - societal relations. Relations of social control are power relations which people are subject to but for the most part, are unable to affect. If these relations of control are perceived to be unjust, people develop understandings which "make sense" of these relations and may react based on these. Furthermore, perceptions of exclusion in social, economic and political spheres likely contribute to shaping perceptions of the relations of social control.

Jackson defines reliability as "the extent to which, on repeated measures, an indicator will yield similiar readings"

(1988:77). A reliability analysis of the items in the factor scales was conducted in order to assess the internal consistency of the items. The reliability analysis conducted reveals that overall, the items in the scale 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) have very high internal consistency as shown by Alpha values greater than .9 for all items.

Table 5.3. RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR SCALE PERSECUTION

PERSECUTION (PRSECUTN)

	Item	Alpha if item deleted
26)	RACLHOST	.9044
25)	FRCCCFES	.9054
7)	SUSPECTS	.9061
10)	HASSLEAB	.9052
3)	OBSRVATN	.9048
23)	RDYFRVLC	.9067
6)	TREATEQL	.9062
12)	PHYSFORC	.9063
20)	DISTRTFL	.9077
4)	DISLIKE	.9085
1)	RELSGOOD	.9079
37)	PFRLKDWN	.9083
36)	PRESNGAT	.9087
24)	HOSTLITY	.9080
8)	VICTIMS	.9081
30)	COMPLANT	.9077
17)	HOWGOOD	.9083
19)	CRMNATR	.9094
21)	LACKTRST	.9097
33)	SATSFIED	.9126
27)	EXPCTWST	.9108
38)	STORABUS	.9124

ALPHA = .9117
STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .9133

Note: variable IMPROVED (41) dropped from scale as its deletion raised the alpha coefficient of the scale to given value.

Table 5.4a. RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR SCALE MARGINALIZATION

MARGINALIZATION (MRGNLZTN)

	Item	Alpha if item deleted
11)	DEROGLNG	.6103
9)	ABCRTTRB	.6193
15)	LRSPCTLW	.6286
32)	FRNDSNEG	.6393
28)	CRTEOSWN	.6664
42)	STORFRNT	.6684
39)	NEGATTDS	.6596
13)	REACTNEG	.6561
40)	SMALRESP	.6420
34)	HOSTSTOP	.6635

ALPHA = .6699
STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .6691

Table 5.4b. RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR SCALE MARGINALIZATION

MARGINALIZATION (MRGNLZTN)

	Item	Alpha if item deleted
11)	DEROGLNG	.5863
9)	ABCRTTRB	.6208
15)	LRSPCTLW	.6377
32)	FRNDSNEG	.6819
13)	REACTNEG	.6402
40)	SMALRESP	.6800

ALPHA = .6839
STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .6823

Note: Variables CRTEOSWM (28), STORFRNT (42), NEGATTDS (39), and HOSTSTOP (34) were deleted from scale in order to raise the Alpha coefficient of the scale. Also, referring to the rotated factor matrix, the variable HOSTSTOP (34) did not load with any other variables and this consideration also contributed to this variable being dropped from scale MRGNLZTN prior to running this reliability assessment.

The alpha values of the items in scale 'Marginalization' are smaller indicating that more variability accross repeated measures will occur with these items.

5.2.2 DIFFERENCE OF MEANS (T-TESTS)

To attain a useful multiple regression model, the independent variables were subjected to analysis via t-tests (see Appendix 7) and Pearson's correlation procedures. The t-tests were conducted based on these assumptions; 1) that the sample population was a random sample, with 2) normal population distribution, and 3) data employed for analysis are measured at the interval level (Note nominal variables have been dummy coded for Pearson Correlation and Regression procedures). Analysis was conducted based at both .05 and .10 levels of significance (LOS).

The independent variables used represent differences in social, economic and demograpic characteristics among the sample population. As this research is exploratory, the null hypotheses are based on the assumption that these differences may correlate with attitudinal differences. T-tests compare 2 sample groups and reveal significant differences among the means. Both the null (Ho) and alternate (Ha) hypotheses for independent variables on dependent variables 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) are given below.

PRSECUTN		MRGNLZTN	
GENDER ---	Ho: U1 = U2	GENDER ---	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
AGE ------	Ho: U1 = U2	AGE ------	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
REBACKGD -	Ho: U1 = U2	REBACKGD -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
LANGUAGE -	Ho: U1 = U2	LANGUAGE -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
RAISED ---	Ho: U1 = U2	RAISED ---	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
EDUCATN --	Ho: U1 = U2	EDUCATN --	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
MARITALS -	Ho: U1 = U2	MARITALS -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
CHILDREN -	Ho: U1 = U2	CHILDREN -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
EMPLOYMT -	Ho: U1 = U2	EMPLOYMT -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
INCOME ---	Ho: U1 = U2	INCOME ---	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
YRSOFRES -	Ho: U1 = U2	YRSOFRES -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
AREA -----	Ho: U1 = U2	AREA -----	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
TROUBLE --	Ho: U1 = U2	TROUBLE --	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2
ABUSEDPV -	Ho: U1 = U2	ABUSEDPV -	Ho: U1 = U2
	Ha: U1 =/= U2		Ha: U1 =/= U2

Note: GENDER (Male=1) (Female=2), AGE (16 thru 29=1) (30 thru 77=2), REBACKGD (Status or Non Status Aboriginal=1) (Metis=2), LANGUAGE (English only=1) (Aboriginal only or Combinations of Languages including English=2), RAISED (City=1) (Country or Both=2), EDUCATN (Grade 12 or less=1) (Some Post Secondary Education or Degree=2), MARITALS (Never Married=1) (Married including Common Law, Separated or Divorced, Widowed=2), CHILDREN (No=1) (Yes=2), EMPLOYMT (Unemployed=1) (Some form of employment=2), INCOME ($9999. or less=1) ($10,000. or more=2), YRSOFRES (0 thru 9=1) (10 thru 64=2), AREA (0,1,9=1) (2 thru 7=2), TROUBLE (No=1) (Yes=2) ABUSEDPV (N0=1) (Yes=2).

A number of the independent variables were found not to be significant at either the .05 or .10 LOS in relation to the two dependent variables of 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN). In relation to the variable

Persecution (PRSECUTN), the following independent variables were found **not** to be significant; AGE, Racial/Ethnic Background (REBACKGD), LANGUAGE, CHILDREN, Employment (EMPLOYMT), INCOME, and AREA. In relation to the variable Marginalization (MRGNLZTN), the variables GENDER, AGE, Racial/Ethnic Background (REBACKGD), LANGUAGE, Education (EDUCATN), Employment (EMPLOYMT), INCOME, Years of Residence (YRSOFRES), AREA, and Abused Physically or Verbally (ABUSEDPV) were found **not** to be significant. Those independent variables which **were** found to be significant in relation to the dependent variable Persecution (PRSECUTN) were: GENDER, RAISED, Education (EDUCATN), Marital Status (MARITALS), Years of Residence (YRSOFRES), TROUBLE, and Abused Physically or Verbally (ABUSEDPV). Those independent variables which **were** significant in relation to the dependent variable Marginalization (MRGNLZTN) were RAISED, Marital Status (MARITALS), CHILDREN, and TROUBLE.

An examination of P-values for the t-tests in tables 8.1 to 8.14 tells us which independent variables are not significant in relation to the dependent variables Persecution (PRSECUTN) and Marginalization (MRGNLZTN)(see Appendix 8 for t-tests). Those which appear significant at LOS of .05 or .10 have been extrapolated for further analysis. Lower mean scores indicate more negative attitudes.

Table 5.5a summarizes the findings from t-tests and displays variables found significant on Persecution

(PRSECUTN), while table 5.5b displays those found not to be significant.

TABLE 5.5a. Summary of t-tests
Independent Variables Found Significant on Dependent Variable Persecution (PRSECUTN)

Variable	Group	N	Mean	2-tail P Value	Sig.
GENDER	1	51	24.5490	.133	.10*
	2	74	27.9595		
RAISED	1	45	28.7778	.083	.10
	2	72	24.6667		
EDUCATN	1	83	27.5663	.170	.10*
	2	40	24.2750		
MARITALS	1	43	28.9535	.122	.10*
	2	82	25.3171		
YRSOFRES	1	68	25.1176	.165	.10*
	2	49	28.4082		
TROUBLE	1	41	32.3171	.000	.01
	2	70	23.6286		
ABUSEDPV	1	62	31.4516	.000	.01
	2	48	19.7500		

(Note * denotes significance if directional hypothesis 1-tail P-value)

Note: GENDER (Group 1=Male, 2=Female); RAISED (Group 1=City, 2=Country); EDUCATN (Group 1=Grade 12 or less, 2=Post Secondary); MARITALS (Group 1=Never Married, 2=Married incl. Common Law, Separated or Divorced, Widowed); YRSOFRES (Group 1=9 or less, 2=10 or more); TROUBLE (Group 1=No, 2=Yes); ABUSEDPV (Group 1=No, 2=Yes)

Table 5.5b Summary of t-tests.
Independent Variables Not Found To Be Significant On Dependent Variable Persecution (PERSEUTN)

Variable	Group	N	Mean	2-tail P-Value	Sig.
AGE	1	63	27.0317	.720	Not Sig.
	2	56	26.2143	.720	
REBACKGD	1	83	26.4337	.856	Not Sig.
	2	35	25.9714	.864	
LANGUAGE	1	61	26.9672	.728	Not Sig.
	2	64	26.1875	.729	
CHILDREN	1	22	28.5455	.336	Not Sig.
	2	95	25.8105	.375	
EMPLOYMT	1	78	26.6026	.692	Not Sig.
	2	33	25.5758	.660	
INCOME	1	48	26.5625	.774	Not Sig.
	2	47	25.8085	.773	
AREA	1	70	25.8429	.465	Not Sig.
	2	55	27.4909	.483	

Note: AGE (Group 1=16 to 29, 2=30 to 77); REBACKGD (Group 1=Status and Non-Status Aboriginal, 2=Metis); LANGUAGE (Group 1=English Only, 2=Aboriginal Only or Combinations of Languages including English); CHILDREN (Group 1=No, 2=Yes); EMPLOYMT (Goup 1=Some Form of Employment: In Home, Part-Time, Full-Time, Other, 2=Unemployed); INCOME (GROUP 1= $9999. or Less, 2=$10,000. and Above); AREA (Group 1= Riversdale and Pleasant Hill, 2=All Others).

Those variables found to be significant are: GENDER, RAISED, Education (EDUCATN), Marital Status (MARITALS), Years of Residence (YRSOFRES), TROUBLE, and Abused Physically or Verbally (ABUSEDPV). RAISED was found to be significant at the .10 LOS. Examination of the difference in means reveals those who were raised in the country or in both the country

and city (Group 2) possess more negative attitudes regarding Persecution (PRSECUTN) than do subjects who were raised in the city (Group 1) as the calculated mean of Group 2 is less than the mean of Group 1.

Both TROUBLE and Abused Physically or Verbally (ABUSEDPV) are significant at the .01 LOS. Regarding TROUBLE, subjects who have been in trouble with police (Group 2) possess more negative attitudes towards police than do those who assert they have not been in trouble with police (Group 1). For ABUSEDPV, subjects who contend they have been physically or verbally abused or hassled by police (Group 2) report more negative attitudes towards police than do those who have not been abused (Group 1).

GENDER, Education (EDUCATN), Marital Status (MARITALS), and Years of Residence (YRSOFRES) possess 2-tail P-values which are near significant levels if a .10 LOS is used as the basis of making decisions about the null hypothesis (Ho), that U1 = U2. Examination of GENDER reveals that men (Group 1) have a mean score of 24.5490 as opposed to a mean score for women (Group 2) of 27.9595. This tells us that men possess more negative attitudes toward the police on the variable 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN). However, at the .05 level of significance (LOS) we would not reject the null hypothesis (Ho): U1 = U2, since neither the 2-tail P-value (.133) nor the 1-tail P-value (.0665) is less than the LOS. If we move to the .10 LOS, and the alternate hypothesis (Ha): U1 =/= U2, more specifically that Ha: U1 < U2, and test this hypothesis

at the .10 LOS employing a 1-tail P-value (since a directional alternate hypothesis is used) it becomes easier to reject Ho. At the .10 LOS, we would not reject Ho at the 2-tail P-value, but do reject Ho with the 1-tail P-value which is .0665 for this P-value is < the LOS of.10.

For Education (EDUCATN), people with post secondary education (Group 2) have a lower mean score than those with grade 12 or less (Group 1) indicating more educated Aboriginal people possess more negative attitudes towards the police regarding 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN). At the .05 LOS Ho: U1 = U2 is not rejected as both 2-tail and 1-tail P-values, .170 and .085 respectively, are greater than .05. When we use .10 as the LOS, we do not reject Ho at the 2-tail value (.170 > .10) but do reject Ho at the 1-tail P-value as .085 < .10. This finding is significant depending upon the Ha and LOS employed in testing the hypothesis.

For Marital Status (MARITALS), it was found that those who had never been married (Group 1) had a higher mean score (28.95) than those who were married or had been married (Group 2 = 25.32). The given 2-tail P-value is .122 and the 1-tail value is .061. At the.05 LOS, Ho: U1 = U2 is not rejected. When we use the .10 LOS Ho is not rejected with the 2-tail Ho but is rejected if the alternate hypothesis is directional (Ha: U1 > U2). That is, the 1-tail P-value of .061 is < the LOS of .10 so Ho is rejected.

Looking at the influence of the independent variable Years of Residence (YRSOFRES) on the dependent variable

'Persecution' (PRSECUTN), we find that more negative attitudes towards police are held by people who have lived in Saskatoon 9 years or less (Group 1 = 25.12 vs Group 2 (10 yrs or more) = 28.41). Depending upon the hypothesis and LOS used in interpreting the given P-value, the variable Years of Residence (YRSOFRES) is significant. The 2-tail P-value is .165 and the 1-tail P-value is .083. When we use .05 as the LOS we would not reject Ho: U1 = U2 but upon moving to .10 as the LOS and using a directional hypothesis (a 1-tail P-value) Ha: U1 =/= U2, Ha: U1 < U2 we reject Ho as .083 < .10.

To summarize these data, we find that with regards to the variable 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN), more negative attitudes towards the police and the state of police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon are held by Aboriginal men, by those raised in the country or in both the city and the country, by those who have lived in Saskatoon for 9 years or less, by people who have been in trouble with the police, and by those who assert they have been physically or verbally abused or hassled by police.

Table 5.6a summarizes significant variables which influence the dependent variable 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN), and Table 5.6b displays non-significant variables. Low scores indicate greater 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN). A significant difference of means exists for four independent variables: RAISED, Marital Status (MARITALS), CHILDREN, and TROUBLE. RAISED is significant at the .10 LOS with those raised in the city (Group 1) feeling

more marginalized from police than subjects raised in the country or in both the city and the country (Group 2). CHILDREN is significant at the .01 LOS as Aboriginal people with children (Group 2) feel more marginalized from police than do those without children (Group 1). Both MARRIED and TROUBLE are significant at the .05 LOS. Aboriginal people who are or were married hold more negative attitudes pertaining to 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) from police than do Aboriginal people who have never been married (Group 1). Aboriginal people who have been in trouble with police possess more negative attitudes regarding 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) than do those who have had not been in trouble. In summary, those who have been raised in the city, those who are or were married, those who have children, and those who have been in trouble with police possess more negative attitudes regarding 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) from police.

A perplexing finding is the discrepancy in attitudes towards police regarding PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN when RAISED is the independent variable tested (Table 8.5 see Appendix 8). While people raised in the country or both in the city and the country held more negative attitudes regarding their 'Persecution' by police, Aboriginal people raised in the city held more negative attitudes, thus felt more marginalized from city police.

TABLE 5.6a. Summary of t-tests
Independent Variables Found Significant on
Dependent Variable Marginalization (MRGNLZTN)

Variable	Group	N	Mean	2-tail P Value	Sig.
RAISED	1	46	9.8261	.062	.10
	2	79	11.1013		
MARITALS	1	46	11.5000	.040	.05
	2	87	10.1264		
CHILDREN	1	25	12.5600	.002	.01
	2	100	10.0600		
TROUBLE	1	46	11.5217	.022	.05
	2	72	9.9306		

Note: RAISED (Group 1=City, 2=Country or City/Country); MARITALS (Group 1=Never Married, 2=Married incl. Common Law, Separated or Divorced, Widowed); CHILDREN (Group 1=No, 2=Yes); TROUBLE (Group 1=No, 2=Yes)

Table 5.6b. Summary of t-tests
Independent Variables Not Found Significant on Dependent Variable Marginalization (MRGNLZTN)

Variable	Group	N	Mean	2-tail P Value	Sig.
GENDER	1	53	10.3962	.602	Not Sig.
	2	80	10.7375	.594	
AGE	1	68	10.6029	.911	Not Sig.
	2	59	10.6780	.909	
REBACKGD	1	88	10.9091	.253	Not Sig.
	2	38	10.0789	.212	
LANGUAGE	1	62	10.6452	.899	Not Sig.
	2	71	10.5634	.899	
EDUCATN	1	90	10.4000	.411	Not Sig.
	2	41	10.9756	.414	
EMPLOYMT	1	82	10.8537	.275	Not Sig.
	2	37	10.0270	.290	
INCOME	1	51	10.0196	.300	Not Sig.
	2	50	10.7600	.299	
YRSOFRES	1	74	10.4054	.485	Not Sig.
	2	51	10.8824	.484	
AREA	1	74	10.8378	.408	Not Sig.
	2	59	10.3051	.407	
ABUSEDPV	1	69	10.4058	.940	Not Sig.
	2	48	10.4583	.939	

Note: GENDER (Group 1=Male, 2=Female); AGE (Group 1=16 to 29, 2=30 to 77); REBACKGD (Group 1=Status and Non-Status Aboriginal, 2=Metis); LANGUAGE (Group 1=English Only, 2=Aboriginal Language Only or Combination Including English); EDUCATN (Group 1=Grade 12 or less, 2=Post Secondary Education); EMPLOYMT (Group 1=Some Form of Employment: In Home, Part-Time, Full-Time, Other, 2=Unemployed); Income (Group 1=$9999. or Less, 2=$10,000. and Above); YRSOFRES (Group 1=Less than 1 to 9 Years, 2=10 or More); AREA (Group 1=Riversdale and Pleasant Hill, 2=All Others); ABUSEDPV (Group 1=No, 2=Yes).

In summary then, t-tests indicate the statistical significance of the variables GENDER, RAISED, EDUCATN, MARITALS, YRSOFRES, TROUBLE, and ABUSEDPV on the dependent variable 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN), and of RAISED, MARITALS, CHILDREN and TROUBLE on the dependent variable 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN).

5.2.3. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

To facilitate the development of a regression models for dependent variables 'Persecution' and 'Marginalization', Pearson's Correlation procedure was used and it revealed relationships among the variables in the study.

Table 5.7. ZERO-ORDER CORRELATIONS AMONG THE VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
PRSECUTN (1)		**.27**	.14	.07	-.02	-.03	-.16	-.07	-.14	-.08	.04	.04	**.25**	**-.33**	**-.47**
MRGNLZTN (2)			.05	-.03	-.10	-.01	.17	.01	**-.18**	-.14	.10	.15	.08	**-.21**	.01
GENDER (3)				-.05	.04	.08	-.08	.07	.03	**.19**	.07	.01	-.03	**-.24**	**-.38**
AGE (4)					.15	.02	.17	.05	**.27**	.05	**.19**	.13	**.25**	-.19	-.11
REBACKGD (5)						-.02	-.10	.02	-.00	.02	-.02	-.04	.07	.02	.03
LANGUAGE (6)							**.35**	-.14	.12	-.14	-.06	-.13	-.17	-.00	-.11
RAISED (7)								-.15	.03	.05	.03	-.01	**-.29**	-.04	.02
EDUCATN (8)									**.20**	.01	.16	**.46**	.05	-.07	.08
MARITALS (9)										.09	.13	.13	.07	-.00	-.01
CHILDREN (10)											-.06	-.11	-.05	-.04	-.11
EMPLOYMT (11)												.15	.09	-.13	.01
INCOME (12)													.15	-.19	.12
YRSOFRES (13)														-.03	-.04
TROUBLE (14)															**.46**
ABUSEDPV (15)															

Bold - Signif. LE .05 **Bold** - Signif. LE .01 (2-tailed)

The Pearsons correlation matrix (Table 5.7) revealing relationships among variables can be summarized as follows:

PRSECUTN	---	MRGNLZTN	.2662**
PRSECUTN	---	YRSOFRES	.2522**
PRSECUTN	---	TROUBLE	-.3305**
PRSECUTN	---	ABUSEDPV	-.4680**
MRGNLZTN	---	MARITALS	-.1784*
MRGNLZTN	---	TROUBLE	-.2101*
GENDER	-----	CHILDREN	.1938*
GENDER	-----	TROUBLE	-.2379**
GENDER	-----	ABUSEDPV	-.3767**
AGE	--------	MARITALS	.2693**
AGE	--------	EMPLOYMT	.1937*
AGE	--------	YRSOFRES	.2461**
AGE	--------	TROUBLE	-.1911*
LANGUAGE	---	RAISED	.3502**
RAISED	-----	YRSOFRES	-.2884**
EDUCATN	----	MARITALS	.2004*
EDUCATN	----	INCOME	.4598**
TROUBLE	----	ABUSEDPV	.4622**

* - Signif. LE .05 ** Signif. LE .01 (2-tailed)

Note - Negative sign indicates inverse relation. Low score indicates negative attitudes for scales PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN. See coding guide for T-tests as guide.

The Pearson's correlation matrix (Table 5.7) illustrates the importance of YRSOFRES, TROUBLE, and ABUSEDPV on PRSECUTN. All dichotomous variables have been dummy coded for inclusion into the regression analysis. Pearson's correlation matrix confirms that MARITALS and TROUBLE are important. GENDER, EDUCATN, YRSOFRES, and ABUSEDPV will also be included in the multiple regression analysis of MRGNLZTN and CHILDREN will be included in the regression analysis for PRSECUTN. In this way, continuity will be maintained through the analysis.

The preceding quantitative analysis helps determine the multiple regression model predicting attitudes. REBACKGD, LANGUAGE, EMPLOYMENT, and AREA were not found to be important

criteria affecting PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN so they were not included in the regression analysis.

5.2.4 REGRESSION ANALYSIS

The multiple regression analysis is summarized in Table 5.8. Examining the standardized Beta-weights (SBW) from the multiple regression analysis of PRSECUTN, we find that ABUSEDPV, MARITALS, YRSOFRES and TROUBLE are the independent variables found to be significant. The importance of these variables to PRSECUTN based on SBW from most to least importance are ABUSEDPV (-.3821), YRSOFRES (.2176), TROUBLE (-.1653), and MARITALS (-.1539).

These relations can be described as follows: Aboriginal people who have been physically or verbally abused by police, or perceive themselves as having been hassled by police hold more negative attitudes regarding persecution by police; Aboriginal people who have lived in Saskatoon 9 years or less possess more negative attitudes regarding the 'Persecution' of Aboriginal people by police; People who have been in trouble with police possess more negative attitudes regarding the 'Persecution' of Aboriginal people by police; and people who are or have been married possess more negative attitudes regarding 'Persecution'.

Table 5.8. MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables PRSECUTN	MRGNLZTN
ABUSEDPV	-9.4126	.9756
	(-.3821)	.1309
	.0002	.2362
MARITALS	-3.9240	-1.5007
	(-.1539)	(-.1946)
	.0706	**.0414**
RAISED	-2.0909	1.7095
	(-.0832)	(.2248)
	.3426	**.0232**
CHILDREN	-1.3331	-.6170
	(-.0912)	(-.1396)
	.2787	.1394
EDUCATN	-.3757	.0994
	(-.0559)	(.0489)
	.5167	.6118
YRSOFRES	.2961	.0617
	(.2176)	(.1498)
	.0129	.1222
GENDER	-.6127	.6598
	(-0247)	(.0881)
	.7850	.3860
TROUBLE	-4.1073	-1.7978
	(-.1653)	(-.2391)
	.0796	**.0240**
Constant	38.5800	10.6196
R Square	.3281	.1596
Adjusted R Square	.2749	.0930
N	101	101

Note: ABUSEDPV (No=0); MARITALS (Never Married=0); RAISED (City=0); CHILDREN (No=0); EDUCATN (Grade 12 or Less=0); YRSOFRES (9 or Less=0); GENDER (Male=0); TROUBLE (No=0)
All coefficients are ordinary least squares estimates; standardized coefficients are in parentheses.
Bold: Significance

For the regression analysis of MRGNLZTN, independent variables found to be significant were TROUBLE, MARITALS, and RAISED. The SBW are -.2391, -.1946, and -.1396 respectively. Aboriginal people who have been in trouble with the law are more marginalized from police. Those who are or who have

been married possess more negativity attitudes towards police regarding their marginality from police. Finally, Aboriginal people who were raised in the country or in both the city and country expressed attitudes indicating greater perceptions of marginalization from police.

The variables included in the regression equation with dependent variable PRSECUTN produced an R square value of .3281. This means 32.81 % of the variability in PRSECUTN is explained by the variables in that equation. The R square for MRGNLZTN is .1596 meaning that 15.96% of variability in dependent variable MRGNLZTN is explained by the variables in the regression analysis.

To reflect on what is missing from this analysis, it must be conceded that too little attention was given to the subject of under-policing. While the 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) can theoretically be tied to over-policing, and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) tied to mis-policing, insufficient attention has been given to issues petaining to under-policing as a source of attitudes about police and policing practices pertaining to Aboriginal peoples.

5.3 PART III: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

The second part of the questionnaire involved written answers by respondents to five structured and one unstructured question. Responses have been thematically coded for analysis. All qualitative data are presented in Appendix 9. Different reasons for trouble with police were

cited, different experiences with police recalled, and a variety of views as to what could be done by both Aboriginal and police to improve the state of police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon were alluded to.

Question #1 asked *"Have you ever been in trouble with the police? If yes, please explain."* Seventy (52.3%) respondents alluded to trouble with police and this spanned a number of areas including: alcohol related, assault, minor property, traffic, domestic dispute, young offender, and multiple often more serious offenses. While respondents may have been reluctant to divulge such information, some of the responses given were as follows;

R #057 *When I was in my teens I was always in trouble, as a result I spent time in jail for things such as assault and offences concerning liquor. And when I got older it was because of drinking and driving.*

R #037 *Yes, B & E's. thefts, frauds, assaults, etc., etc...*

R #087 *Yes, but I was only 16 years old. I've got caught shoplifting. . . I couldn't help it cause I've never had money to get my own clothes, I've never got anything from my parents.*

R #118 *Yes, when I was younger I was in a lot of trouble I stole a lot and was in and out of court alot for stealing bikes and cars. And BnE's. This went on till I was 21 years old.*

The categorization of Aboriginal peoples as a population of 'moral concern' by police and the public in general may occur if such involvement is taken as representative of Aboriginal peoples in general.

Question #2 asked *"Have you ever been abused physically or verbally by the police? If yes, please explain."* Slightly over a third of respondents stated they had experienced treatment of this nature by police. Even among

those who said they had not experienced such treatment, there were those who had knowledge of this occurring to others. Some of the negative and positive responses to this question are as follows:

R #096 *No, I haven't, it may be because although I am half native I really don't look like I am.*

R #070 *No, but I have witnessed this behavior. As well, many aboriginal people have told me of accessive force used by police on them.*

R #046 *Yes - was called a welfare Bitch by one, when I complained about my white neighbors abuse.*

R #076 *Yes verbally, why, because I would not cooperate with them. So I was called a dumb bitch.*

R #088 *Yes. On one occasion the sargeant called me a scum bag and told to leave the scene of a crime. Which by the way was in the middle of the road, and I was on the sidewalk walking past.*

R #080 *Yes. I was handcuffed in such a way that caused physical injury. Plus, an officer told me I was a menace to society and ought to be shot. Both of these incidents happened over 15 years ago.*

R #094 *First time a cop slapped me so hard I got a black eye, he tried to make me say I did it. This was in Regina. I was 18yrs. About a year ago a cop called me everything you could call a woman, he was so rough with me I had a fractured collar bone, but didn't do anything about it. Saskatoon. I was 24 yrs.*

R #107 *Yes, I had my shoulder broken. I been spread eagle over a table and had my pants pulled down while they stood around and laughed. I had them unholster their guns when I and a friend talked behind a older apartment building in my car. I often been called stupid idiot, asshole, etc.*

R #085 *I was asked a series of unneccessary questions while visiting the city before moving to S'toon. I was just minding my own business going to the store.*

The important issue here is that of police conduct, especially with the use of excessive force and/or abusive language. Discretion is not only a legal dimension in terms of options available regarding how to proceed, but also one of general conduct with the public. Abusive treatment, whether physical or verbal, and stories of such treatment engenders the polarization of urban Aboriginal peoples from police.

Question #3 asked *"Have you ever been physically or verbally abusive towards the police? If yes, please explain."* Slightly over 15% of respondents said they had done so and retaliation was cited by some respondents as the reason for this action.

R #127 *No, but I have felt like it many times, but I have reframed due to repercussions that occur from it.*
R #032 *Yes I have been verbally and physically abusive towards the police only after they been abusive towards me. It's just a reaction in otherwords I'm defending myself for nothing I did wrong to recieve such treatment.*
R #112 *I would bad mouth cops, because they weren't looked upon as protectors but as people that harrassed us.*

When police are viewed as overstepping boundaries of conduct and legality, then people act and or retaliate to the perceived injustice(s). In a sense then, abusive behaviour toward police is a form of protest.

Question 4 asked *"What can the aboriginal population of Saskatoon do to improve relations with police?"* Almost 80% of respondents believed something could be done by Aboriginal people. Overall, responses refer to the need for a multidimensional intervention program. Aboriginal people acknowledge their need to become involved in the community, to improve communication with police and to become more sympathetic and understanding of police. Education was viewed as essential in this endeavour.

R #070 *I really can see no changes in relations with the police and further I see no concrete solutions. I believe that Aboriginals have a negative view towards police because of a reaction to the way they have been treated. And, If police take steps (it is up to them they hold the power) the Aboriginal community will react positively.*
R #086 *The willingness to meet our responsabilities by*

standing up for our rights to respect ourselves and others. To overcome being sensitive and feeling victimized by some of the officers negativeness. One way to overcome this is to get involved with the community and allowing people to get to know you.

R #092 *Set up some type of aboriginal committee with the RCMP & City Police so that ideas and strategies can be exchanged on as to how native and police relations can be improved.*

R #053 *-Work with their own people,*
-councelling,
-role models,
-Start programs that bring police in more contact (positively) with their people.

R #106 *I believe we should have more aboriginal police officers. there has been too much stereotyping and that is where the abuse from police officers come in.*

R #129 *-Stand up for what's right.*
-Report cases of police harassment.
-Report physical abuse.
-Stand up and be counted.
-Write to M.L.A. about abuse by police towards other natives.
-Get other natives involved.
-Have a native group you can go to, to report this behavior.
-More Native police.
-Have a native officer handle your case.
-Above all - be proud of yourself - you have accomplished something.

To question #5 *"What can the police do to improve police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon?,"* approximately 75% of respondents cited ideas they felt would improve relations. As found in question #4, the multiple solutions proposed by respondents point to the reality that solutions will invariably be multidimensional in nature. Police involvement in the community, improving the treatment of Aboriginal peoples, and education and cross cultural training were most frequently cited by respondents.

R #063 *Start having more community relations officer in the school with high native population so they can be percieved as people also and children can start with a positive attitude toward the police force. Become more involved in the aboriginal social functions.*

R #090 *Continue to have a lot of contact with students in school. This not only builds trust and respect for children but the adults as well.*

R #056 *The police can improve relations with the aboriginal peoples of Saskatoon by not treating them like criminals, instead treat them like ordinary human beings, because not all aboriginal people are bad. A lot of aboriginal people in saskatoon are decent law abiding citizens.*

R #118 *I think the police have to remember that we all have the right to be treated the same as everyone else. Not to be judged on our race or color. And to deal with use one to one.*

R #053 *-Learn more on aboriginal customs & ways of life -understand their history and struggle in a white world.*
-Become more involved with Metis & status people.
-Understand the dynamics of poverty and abuse and how people are affected by it.

R #039 *I believe more aboriginal police officers would improve the relations in Saskatoon. It would be like "building bridges" - where their has been gaps - I feel it would difuse the racial tension and attitudes on both sides.*

Responses to the final question, *"Please feel free to elaborate on any of the above of other issues you feel are important and which have been overlooked or inadequately addressed in this questionnaire"* essentially reiterated themes previously covered. Comments about the police came from both satisfied and dissatisfied residents; power relations were seen to be an important source of problems; and education (ie. historical, cultural, mutual respect) was considered necessary to improve relations.

R #057 *I think the parents should start teaching thier children at home that the police are there to help them and they're not there just to harass them. That is what I'm teaching my boys and now two of them want to be police when they grow up. And just because they may have been in trouble with the law doesn't mean they should pass this down on thier children and stop the cycle of thinking the police are the bad guys.*

R #089 *Both parties must rid themselves of the stereotypes given to each group. . .*

R #096 *Native people have to be given a fair chance which*

many times they aren't. It is not just the police but the general public who look down and make wrong assumptions of the Native community. More native people have to step forward for there people. Some changes have been made but more have to be made. Two changes are the 20th St. police station and the police officers going to inner city schools. Our children should be taught to respect police, because if they aren't its almost a lost cause.

R #114 *This problem will never be completely resolved to everyone's satisfaction. To truly understand (the Indians way of thinking) the Saskatoon City Police should have input from natives from all walks of life.*

Before concluding this chapter, three incidents relevant to this study are worth mentioning as they occurred during data collection. First, when presenting the study to a male occupant of a house on the 900 block of Ave. K, I was told, *"You can tell the cops to go to hell"*, and at that, the door was slammed.

Second, a woman in Westmount was concerned about her husband who had recently been arrested. She claims several officers were involved in the arrest and that excessive force was used. She said her husband has a black eye, trouble breathing due to chest pain and bruises on his wrists because handcuffs were too tight. She worries that if she makes a complaint she will not be believed, that nothing will be done, and that her family will be harrassed by police.

Finally, I spoke at length with a retired couple in Westmount. They stressed the importance of human development regarding attitudes, values and beliefs. They believed a holistic approach, one that entails development of spiritual, community, and family dimensions of life is necessary for change. Police-Aboriginal relations are affected by the

instability of all these. They stressed the need for the police to know the community--to communicate with the people of the community. They were also sceptical of the impact of educational training on the police and the RCMP.

These brief encounters revealed interesting data in themselves regarding; in the first case, hostility towards the police; in the second case, concern over excessive force used by police and fears of harassment by police; and finally, a critical assessment of police-Aboriginal relations and how these relations are, to an extent, the product of wider social problems.

This chapter examined both quantitative and qualitative data gathered. Importantly, the interpretation of factor analysis revealed two primary factors, 'Persecution' and 'Marginalization', which are dimensions of Aboriginal perceptions of their treatment by and relationship with, the police. As well, extensive Aboriginal trouble with police and experiences of physical and verbal abuse were found.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

Having examined the data via statistical techniques and thematic analysis, I am now in the position to: first, restate the objectives and intentions of the study; second, summarize findings; third, relate the findings to the literature review and theoretical perspective; and fourth, assess the implications of the study for police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon, especially as they pertain to policy and possible directions for future research.

When originally proposed, this thesis sought to examine the attitudes and perceptions Saskatoon police and urban Aboriginal people hold regarding one another and their experiences with one another in interactional situations. However, the refusal of the Saskatoon City Police to participate altered the study such that the focus was shifted to an examination of Aboriginal attitudes and perceptions towards and experiences with the Saskatoon Police. This study has examined the thesis that Aboriginal peoples are perceived by police to be a population of 'moral concern'. How Aboriginal peoples "make sense" of their relations with police, irrespective of 'true' police views, is of paramount importance in the production and reproduction of a state of police-Aboriginal relations. The research questions posed in

chapter 1 (p7) asked:

> How do Aboriginal people in Saskatoon view police-Aboriginal relations generally, and the treatment of Aboriginal people as citizens, suspects, offenders, and victims of crime by the Saskatoon police specifically? How do Aboriginal people perceive their treatment by police compared to non-aboriginal people? Do Aboriginal people perceive themselves as a racialized 'Other' by city police? Finally, do socially constructed representations of both Aboriginal people and police by each other play an influential role in 'shaping' and perhaps escalating the interactional processes and hence outcomes of encounters between police and Aboriginal people?

Based upon my quantitative and qualitative research findings, there is evidence that police perceive Aboriginal peoples to be a population of 'moral concern'. Quantitative data analysis was concerned with explaining what attitudes Aboriginal people held in relation to police. Factor analysis revealed two important factors, 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN), which were then used as dependent variables. These represent dimensions of the state of relations between urban Aboriginal people and the Saskatoon police. Perceptions of 'Persecution' and 'Marginalization' are grounded in reality, and contribute to the formulation and reproduction of attitudes held by Aboriginal people about the police. T-tests revealed statistically significant differences in means for independent variables against dependent variables 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) and a Pearson's correlation procedure revealed statistically significant relationships amongst variables (both independent and dependent) used in data analysis.

Based upon information from t-test and Pearson's procedures, the crucial independent variables to be used in the regression analysis were revealed. Regression analysis revealed that the independent variables which were found to be significant on the dependent variable 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) in order of importance as determined by standardized beta-weights are: past physical or verbal abuse from police (ABUSEDPV), years of residence in Saskatoon (YRSOFRES), past trouble with police (TROUBLE), and marital status (MARITALS). The independent variables: past trouble with police (TROUBLE), marital status (MARITALS), and where respondents were raised (RAISED), in this order of importance, were found significant in relation to 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN). These independent variables become predictive criteria by which we can assess attitudes of 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) by and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) from the Saskatoon police.

Regression analysis reveals that 33% of the variance of the dependent variable 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and 16% of the variance in the dependent variable 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN) are accounted for by the independent variables in the regression models. As much variance remains unexplained we may speculate as to what else may account for attitudes towards police. This study dealt primarily with over-policing and abuses of policing. What was rather inadequately examined, and which is likely an important dimension contributing to the state of police-Aboriginal

relations in Saskatoon, is issues pertaining to under-policing. A couple of respondents made reference to police-Aboriginal relations being structured by police inaction as much as by police action:

R #006 *. . . I was told to "Never phone the police again".*
. . . [in regards to a domestic dispute]
R #051 *When they get a call they should be there on time.*

If people believe they receive less committed policing, their attitudes towards police will likely be affected. Had the study documented instances of inadequate police response or failure to respond and approximate response time (all related to under-policing) and treated these as an independent variable, perhaps more variance in the dependent variables could have been accounted for.

Rather surprisingly, age, gender, and indicators of social class (i.e., education, employment and income) were not found in this study to be significant determinants of attitude towards police. This is an interesting and important finding as these variables are frequently regarded to be vital to understanding 'lived' experience, and differences of attitudes.

The theoretical orientation of my thesis arose from an effort to integrate a more 'realistic', non-categorical conceptualization of racism into a left realist criminological perspective and to use this perspective to analyze the state of police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon. As was stated at the outset of this thesis, an Agency/left realist analysis of the state of police-

Aboriginal community relations requires an understanding of the concept of 'race'; a conceptualization of racism; an analysis of crime, how it is generated and its impact on the community; and discussion of policing as social control. Processes of racism, crime, and social control constitute the basis upon which police-Aboriginal relations are socially constructed and how urban Aboriginal people 'make sense' of their relations with the city police.

Interpreting the findings of this study through a left realist/agency theoretical perspective involves understanding all dimensions of Aboriginal relations within Canadian society as a result of socio-economic, political, and historical processes and power relations. The Agency/left realist theoretical orientation of this thesis makes sense of the findings of this study in relation to the thesis argument that police perceive Aboriginal people to be a population of 'moral concern', as follows: 'Persecution' (PRSECUTN) and 'Marginalization' (MRGNLZTN), the primary perceptions held by Aboriginal peoples regarding their relations with police are linked to the Self-Other duality discussed by agency theorists like Miles (1989) in that both imply a comparative reference to another group (i.e., Persecution of Aboriginal peoples vs. 'normal' relations of social control for non-Aboriginal peoples). An inclusionary-exclusionary duality is also implied in Aboriginal perceptions of 'Persecution' as policing is thought to entail a racially selective aspect (i.e., that Aboriginal peoples

are more and non-Aboriginal are less, policed). Perceptions of 'Persecution' and 'Marginalization' by segments of the public, are also predicted by left realists who argue that "law and order" policing which racial minority peoples are often subjected to, deteriorates police-community relations.

This thesis has argued that police-Aboriginal relations are socially constructed and reproduced by perceived connections between 'race' and crime. That Aboriginal people are thought of as a population of "moral concern" certainly applies to the findings here, and this has implications for the social control activities of police. Aboriginal peoples believe themselves to be, as a whole, a 'priority population' in terms of being subject to differential social control practices of police. Aboriginal peoples believe themselves subject to increased levels of surveillance and suspicion.

Ingroup-outgroup relations can be seen to be in play. Theoretically these can both be tied to power relations between the police as agents of social control and the public, the 'objects' of that control, and in the case of urban Aboriginal people, a public thought to be of 'moral concern'. Attitudes arise from historical relations, current experience and modern folklore. How people "make sense" of their experiences plays a vital role in shaping their understandings of the social relations which characterize their world. Perceptions that police are racist regarding Aboriginal people lead Aboriginal people to believe the police play a role in the process of deviance production and

amplification beyond that which their office formally empowers them. Actions predicated upon racial hostility or intolerance constitutes both a violation of the office held by police and of human rights of the victim.

6.1 PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

Implementing changes in policing could occur in three primary areas: personnel and training; community input and police accountability; and in policy, both creation and enforcement. First, with regards to personnel and training of those personnel, the recommendation was made by Hamilton and Sinclair (1991:753) that;

> The Winnipeg Police Department no longer rely on the grade 12 educational criterion for police recruitment and develop approaches which more appropriately test recruits' ability to perform the functions required of police officers.

Given the high number of applicants police forces have each year compared to the number of new positions available it is doubtful that accepted recruits have this minimum standard to begin with. New recruits are far more apt to hold university degrees. As officers are sensitive to issues of standards and the 'high calibre' of their colleagues it may be far more important to produce 'high calibre' Aboriginal students wishing to pursue careers in law enforcement than it is to fill quotas as soon as possible. It is important that future Aboriginal recruits not be regarded by their fellow candidates as "token" members of the force; after all, they will work with these classmates and other officers.

Saskatchewan Police Forces should seek to recruit graduating Aboriginal students form post secondary educational facilities (i.e., The Aboriginal Justice and Criminology Program or Native Studies from the University of Saskatchewan, graduates from the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC), the University of Regina, or the School of Human Justice). The police need to be more active rather than passive in their recruiting of Aboriginal candidates. Secondly, police job management is an essential issue pertaining to police-Aboriginal relations. Job management is concerned with possible discrepancies between the allocation of police resources, the reasons for these allocations and with the public's policing priorities. The police are 'caught' between fulfilling their purported roles of 'fighting' and attempting to prevent crime and with their community service role. Perhaps compounding this is their involvement in generating revenue for the city. At issue is the control of the police. The issue of control of the police is one of police accountability.

Since accountability is a political issue it may be useful to have representation from the Saskatchewan Federation of Indian Nations (SFIN) on municipal police force administration, municipal police commissions, and the Provincial Police Commission. Recommendations of this nature have been made in the dual Report(s) of the Saskatchewan Indian/Metis Justice Review Committee(s) (Linn, 1992a,b; see Appendix 3). Recommendations must be transformed into policy

to be acted upon, monitored, and if necessary, revised. The creation and implementation of policy relating to the control and accountability of police must cease to be reactive in nature and concerned with political damage control (Currie et. al., 1990:40). Image management by local police or by provincial or federal criminal justice systems, even when critical of past performance, serves to "legitimate" these institutions to the public as a whole, as the "system" is perceived to be responsive to the needs of the society "served". Aboriginal justice issues require a sincere commitment by all concerned, beyond image management. Without action following "talk" of commitment to change, as in the mid 1970's Aboriginal justice initiatives, police-Aboriginal relations will remain poor or further deteriorate in the future. Critical assessment of changing policy and procedure has received insufficient attention.

The qualitative data inform us that Aboriginal people view solutions as being of a multidimensional nature. This is the essence of a multi-agency approach to crime control as proposed by left realists. A synthesis of formal and informal means of social control is important to reduce crime. Racist ideology may also be combatted through a multi-agency approach. This entails both formal and informal education combatting racist ideology. Such a struggle must be carried out in schools (elementary, highschool and post secondary), in homes by families, in churches, in the workplace, and by community groups and organizations. On a

micro-level, these are all essential to improving police-Aboriginal community relations. The findings of this study also indicate that solutions will not come solely from within the justice system. Aboriginal people must play an active role in future changes.

Some attention may also be brought to the situation if Aboriginal community leaders politically organize the urban Aboriginal community, protest unjust treatment, and generate ideas for change in relation to what their community needs are. Public involvement is essential in this endeavour as the police cannot have input if the Aboriginal community does not organize to this end. As well, Aboriginal people must want a career in law enforcement. Thus some "action" is needed on behalf of the Aboriginal community. The need for change and the willingness to change cannot remain a rhetoric of reform. The theory of reform must entail a praxis. The reproduction of relations of distrust and hostility are imminent without changes to: policing personnel and training; job management and accountability; and enforcement practices and procedure. Of course these are required in addition to improved material conditions of existence for Aboriginal peoples. A left realist/agency criminological perspective can be understood as a social justice perspective concerned with both the here and now, and with the future regarding both the reduction of crime and racism. Realistically, the public has a central role to play in such social change.

6.2 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should try to gain access to the police and focus on issues of discretion, policy, procedure and professionalism. This entails an examination of: 1) the interactional processes which influence the discretionary powers police possess, and 2) the significance, if any, the police attach to Aboriginal people as a racialized 'Other'. These factors may well be important in accounting for a portion of the Aboriginal people who are drawn into the Criminal Justice System and incarcerated. As well, such a focus may seek to find a difference between official guidelines and those generated and employed on the streets. Furthermore, with regard to the reliance upon cross-cultural and 'race' relations sensitivity training, future research should attempt to assess the resilience of such training on police officers. These are all research issues pertaining to how police act and react with the public.

As stated earlier, if we are to "realistically" examine attitudes towards the police, we should not only look at over-policing and abuses by police, but also at under-policing (i.e., who receives police services, what policing issues receive most attention). Perceptions of and experiences where officers underpolice offenses undoubtedly affect public attitudes towards the police. Future research could also address the specifics of what citizens like and dislike about police (i.e., response times, were they polite, would you divulge information or not to police about crime?)

Comparative research which examines non-Aboriginal perceptions, attitudes towards and experiences with police may be useful to highlight differences in the overall state of police - community relations in specific localities.

Police-Aboriginal relations are not soley predicated upon criminal code violations, but rather, are linked in a complex way to wider social relations which largely exclude Aboriginal peoples from the relations of production in Canadian society. The state of police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon are a symptomatic of the difficulty Aboriginal people face in their struggle social justice and for substantive as well as formal equality.

APPENDIX 1

SIFC Police Questionaire

M ___ F ___
Age ___
Length of service with Saskatoon City Police ___

1) What is your perception of Native people in the city of Saskatoon?

2) What are your feelings on the relationship between native people and the police?

3) As a police officer, what do you think you can do to build a better relationship with the Native community?

4) What do you think the Native people can do to build a better relationship with the police?

5) Would you like to see more Native men and women on the police force?

APPENDIX 2

SIFC Pleasant Hill Survey/Community Police Project

M ___ F ___
Native ___ Non-Native ___
Age ___
How long have you lived in this area? ___
Place of residence: House ___ Apartment ___
Size of family: ___ Adults; ___ Children
Occupation:_____
Marital Status: S ___; M ___; Other ___
Language spoken at home;_____

Survey Questions:

1) How safe do you feel living in the Pleasant Hill area?
   ___ very safe
   ___ safe
   ___ not very safe

2) How safe do you feel it is for your children in this area?
   ___ very safe
   ___ safe
   ___ not very safe

3) How do you feel about the area you live in? Explain.

4) What feelings do you have for the Saskatoon City Police?

5) Have you ever experienced discrimination by the City Police? Why do you think this is?

6) Would you like to see more Native men and women on the police force? If so, why?

7) What do you think the police should do to improve their image in the community?

8) What do you think the police should do to build a better relationship with Native people in the Pleasant Hill area?

9) As a community member what would you do to build a better relationship with the police?

APPENDIX 3

Report of the Saskatchewan Indian Justice Review Committee Policing Recomendations

2.1 the Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert police services and other municipal police forces where appropriate, in consultation with Indian and Metis organizations, immediately implement, or accelerate existing plans to implement, employment equity programs to achieve aboriginal participation equivalent to the aboriginal proportion of the population served.

2.2 the Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert Police Commissions and other police commissions as appropriate include representation from the aboriginal communities of each centre; and that such representatives be appointed only following consultations with Indian and Metis organizations.

2.3 the Saskatchewan Police Commission include at least one representative from the Saskatchewan Aboriginal community, and that s/he be appointed only following consultation with Indian and Metis Organizations.

2.4 an aboriginal liaison/cultural relations officer be established within the Saskatchewan Police Commission to serve as a resource/advisor for municipal police departments and the commission on matters such as cross cultural education and race relations training; aboriginal officer recruitment, supervision and retention; and the provision of policing services to the aboriginal community.

2.5 cross cultural and race relations sensitivity training be provided to all officers and civillian support staff of Saskatchewan police forces.

2.6 such training should be provided to new recruits and on an ongoing basis in-service, and include a strong aboriginal component to familiarize participants with the history and contemporary situation of Saskatchewan Indian and Metis peoples.

2.7 cross cultural and race relations sensitivity training include an evaluation component to assess the impact of such training.

2.8 whereever appropriate, spouses and children participate in training sessions, especially in instances where assignment to a reserve/remote/northern posting is anticipated.

2.9 the Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert police services and other municipal police services as appropriate, in consultation with Indian and Metis organizations and institutions, develop a co-ordinated aboriginal pre-employment training and recruitment program.

2.10 the Saskatchean Police Commission and the RCMP Aboriginal Policing Section, in co-operation with the Canadian Centre for Police-Race Relations, Ottawa, review current recruitment standards to ensure they are not culturally biased against aboriginal persons, and examine the merits of developing screening devices for racial intolerance.

2.11 the RCMP and the Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert police services as appropriate develop programs to assist aboriginal officers to handle the pressures and stresses associated with their work. Such programs could include peer support, employee assistance, counselling and mentoring.

2.12 the RCMP and the Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert police forces as appropriate, in collaboration with aboriginal organizations and institutions, develop an instrument to assess the application of cross cultural skills to police work; and that officer performance appraisals include an evaluation of an officer's application of such skills in day-to-day interaction with aboriginal co-workers as well as members of the wider aboriginal community.

2.13 police administrators be trained to identify signs of racial intolerance and remedial training programs be provided to any staff exhibiting racist attitudes and behaviors.

2.14 where remedial training has not had the desired effect, appropriate disciplinary action should be taken.

2.15 the RCMP provide localized orientations prior to assignment to an aboriginal posting in particular; and that such orientations include meetings with community representitives (e.g., First Nations councils, Metis Regional Councils, hamlet/village/town representatives, etc.).

2.16 the RCMP review its community advisory committee structures to ensure that they are in accord with community-based approaches to policing and accountability, and, more specifically, that they provide for community input into the selection of committee members.

2.17 the RCMP consult with local First Nations, Metis and northern government representatives regarding the desired knowledge and skills of officers to be transferred to remote postings.

2.18 Saskatchewan First Nations communities, in collaboration with the RCMP and federal and provincial departments, determine their policing needs and identify appropriate community-based policing options (e.g., tribal police, satellite detachments, auxiliary officers, the Ventures Program, field placements, ride-alongs), whether under the provisions of the Saskatchewan *Police Act, 1990,* RCMP arrangements or First Nations policing legislation.

2.19 a senior-level aboriginal liason position, preferably staffed by an aboriginal person, be established in the Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert police services and other municipal police services as appropriate to provide a focal point for police - aboriginal community relations and to co-ordinate policy regarding matters such as cross cultural education and race relations sensitivity training; aboriginal officer recruitment, supervision and retention; and provision of policing services to the aboriginal community.

2.20 Municipal police forces, in collaboration with Indian and Metis organizations, examine options to improve lines of communication with aboriginal communities, including community-based policing.

2.21 the Complaints Investigator and municipal police services undertake and/or expand programs to inform the public, and aboriginal communities in particular, about procedures in place to inform the public, and aboriginal communities in particular, about procedures in place to register and investigate complaints regarding police conduct and services. Where warranted, such information should be available in aboriginal languages.

2.22 the Saskatchewan Police Commission and municipal police services collaborate with Indian and Metis organizations to assess options under the Saskatchewan *Police Act, 1990* to develop a citizen's complaint review mechanism credible to the Indian and Metis communities.

2.23 the RCMP Public Complaints Commission undertake a major public education campaign in Indian and Metis communities on its mandate, how to register a complaint, and how a complaint is investigated. Where warranted, such information should be available in aboriginal languages

2.24 provincial and federal government departments examine the feasibility of amalgamating the review of complaints against the RCMP and municiple police forces under a single review agency.

APPENDIX 4

Police-Aboriginal Community Relations Questionnaire (Research Instrument)

This study seeks to examine the state of police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon. Specifically, we are interested in understanding the perceptions and attitudes of aboriginal people towards the police. This involves asking questions about how aboriginal people view their treatment by police. This study tries to assess the extent to which the attitudes and perceptions that both aboriginal persons and police take into or develop during encounters, affect the nature and outcome of those encounters, and impact the wider state of police - aboriginal relations. This research is important and requires your participation for it seeks to examine critical issues of policing, social justice and criminal justice.

This study uses self report data. I would ask you please be sure to complete this questionnaire by yourself without any input from friends or family (unless they are administering the questionnaire to someone who does not read or write in English). This questionnaire should be completed by each member of the household 16 years of age and older. This questionnaire should only take you about 30 minutes. This questionnaire will be picked up within a week of it being delivered to you. The background data section obtains data which may help us to understand the attitudinal responses of participants. Do not be intimidated by the wording of the questions, which are often direct. Please focus on the issue being asked. A final section is left for you to address any issue you feel has been ommitted or requires elaboration.

People who complete this questionnaire are not identifiable so the anonymity of respondents is guaranteed. The results of this study will become public knowledge. The data gathered is intended for use by the University and the John Howard Society. Academic articles which may come from this work will specify that the research was conducted in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

This research is sponsored by Dr. Les Samuelson and Brian Strelioff of the University of Saskatchewan, Department of Sociology. The results of this survey will be made available to individual respondents upon request. If you

have any questions or concerns, or would like the results of the survey, please do not hesitate to call Dr. Les Samuelson (office ph. 966-6935) or Brian Strelioff of the Department of Sociology. (home ph. 652-8468 or office 966-5268). Please direct any written questions to:

Brian Strelioff
C/O Department of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Sask.
S7N-0W0

Thank you for your cooperation and participation.

Police - Aboriginal Community Relations Questionnaire

People who answer this questionnaire are guaranteed anonymity. The more people who complete the questions, the more confidence we will have in the results. This questionnaire should only take you about 30 minutes. Please answer all questions in the space provided. Some written answers are needed. I sincerely thank you for your cooperation.

It is necessary in this study to ask a few questions about your background.

Gender: Male _____ Female _____ Age: _____
Racial / Ethnic Background: Status Aboriginal _____
Non Status Aboriginal _____
Metis _____
Please give Band affiliation, if any: _____
Language Spoken at Home: English _____ Dakota _____
Cree _____ Nakoda _____
Saulteaux _____ Lakota _____
Chipewyan _____ French _____
Other, please specify _____
Raised in the: City _____ Country _____
Please specify where: _____
Education completed: grade 9 or less _____, grade 10 _____,
grade 11 _____, grade 12 _____,
some college/university or technical training _____,
degree from university or technical institute _____
Marital Status: Never Married _____
Married (including common-law) _____
Separated or divorced _____
Widowed _____
Children: Yes _____ No _____
If yes, number of children: Pre-teen _____
teen-years _____
20 or older _____

Employment: Full-time _____
Part-time _____
Unemployed but seeking employment _____
Employed in the home _____
Other _____
Occupation / Trade _____
Fathers occupation: _____
Mothers occupation: _____
Family Income (per year):

less than $5000.	_____	$25,000. to $29,999.	_____
$5000. to $9999.	_____	$30,000. to $34,999.	_____
$10,000. to $14,999.	_____	$35,000. to $39,999.	_____
$15,000. to $19,999.	_____	$40,000. and above	_____
$20,000. to $24,999.	_____		

Years of residence in Saskatoon: _____
Area of city where you live: _____

Please answer the following statements by placing an X on the space above your response. (make only one mark per question). Please answer all questions.

1) Police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon are generally good.

2) Police - aboriginal relations are negatively affected by the views each have of the other.

3) Aboriginal people generally are subject to unnecessary levels of observation and suspicion by police.

4) Most aboriginal people dislike the police.

5) Aboriginal people are generally less respectful of police officers than are non-aboriginal people.

6) Police treat all members of the community equally.

7) The police have less respect for aboriginal people as suspects and offenders, than non-aboriginals.

8) The police have less respect for aboriginal people as victims than non-aboriginal people.

9) Aboriginal people go out of their way to create trouble for the police.

10) The police go out of their way to hassle aboriginal people as compared to non-aboriginal people.

11) Aboriginal people use derogatory language, like calling cops pigs, when talking among themselves about the police.

12) The police are more likely to react resort to physical force when dealing with aboriginal suspects than with non aboriginal suspects.

13) Aboriginalpeople react negativelywhen they have contact with the police because they have negative attitudes towards police.

14) Aboriginal officers are/would be more capable of dealing with aboriginal people than non-aboriginal officers.

15) Aboriginal people have much less respect for the law than non-aboriginal people.

16) Increasing the number of aboriginal officers would improve police - aboriginal community relations.

17) How good are relations between police and the aboriginal community in Saskatoon.

18) The police see aboriginal involvement in crime as due to different cultural traditions of aboriginal people.

19) The police believe aboriginal peoples to be criminal by nature.

20) The police are more distrustful of younger aboriginal persons than of young non-aboriginal persons.

21) There is a lack of trust in the city police by the aboriginal community as a whole.

22) Many aboriginal people who become involved in the justice system, do not understand the legal system.

23) The police are more ready for violence when dealing with aboriginal people than with other members of the community.

24) Hostility between police and aboriginals often rises to the point where police decide to arrest aboriginal suspects.

25) Police often try to force aborigianl people to confess to a crime.

26) Aboriginal people are often the victims of racial hostilities directed against them by police.

27) Police are more apt to expect the worst in encounters with aboriginal people in the downtown core as opposed to residential areas of Saskatoon.

28) Police are more courteous when dealing with aboriginal women than with aboriginal men.

29) Aboriginal women are more apt to receive warnings, as opposed to charges, by police for minor infractions than men in similiar situations.

30) Most aboriginal people are reluctant to make complaints against police when they feel they have been mistreated by police.

31) Among the aboriginal population, women have a more positive view of the police than do men.

32) Among aboriginal people, pressure from your friends to have a negative attitude towards police is an important source of hostility against police.

33) Overall, the aboriginal community in Saskatoon is satisfied with the service provided by the Saskatoon police.

34) Aboriginal people are hostile to police when they feel they have been stopped by police without good reason.

35) In order to improve police - aboriginal community relations in Saskatoon, the aboriginal community must assume as much responsability for change as the police.

36) There is considerable pressure upon police officers by other officers to hold negative attitudes towards the aboriginal people.

37) Police who try to be fair to aboriginal people are looked down on by fellow officers.

38) Stories about the abuse of aboriginalpeople by police result in a generalized negative attitude towards the police.

39) It is possible for police to have negative attitudes towards aboriginal people and not let such attitudes affect their encounters with aboriginal people.

40) A small part of the aboriginal population is responsible for much conflict with police, but this reflects badly on aboriginal people as a whole.

41) Police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon have improved over time.

42) The 'store front' police station on 20th St. has served to improve police - aboriginal relations since it opened.

Please give a written answer to the following questions (Please write legibly).

1) Have you ever been in trouble with the police before? If yes, please explain.

2) Have you ever been abused physically or verbally by the police? If yes, please explain.

3) Have you ever been verbally or physically abusive towards the police? If yes, please explain.

4) What can the aboriginal population of Saskatoon do to improve relations with police?

5) What can the police do to improve police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon?

6) Please feel free to elaborate on any of the above or other issues you feel are important and which have been overlooked or inadequately addressed in this questionnaire.

Thank you for your help with this study.

Note: The response categories available to respondents on questions 1 to 42 were:

strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree

Note: Available responses for question 17 were:

very good	good	undecided	poor	very poor

APPENDIX 5

Coding Guide for Research Instrument

In compiling the data from the statements designed to elicit an attiudinal response, *scantron* form no. T-101714-UOS were used as these allow for computer analysis. Each returned and usable questionnaire was given an identification number beginning with 001. The questionnaire variables and attitudinal responses were coded as follows;

I.D. number beginning with 001: Row 1, Row 2, Row 3.

Gender: Row 4. Coded: 0 for Male, 1 for Female, 9 for missing.

Age: Row 5, Row 6, 99 for missing.

Racial/Ethnic Background: Row 7. Coded: 0 for Status Aboriginal, 1 for Non Status Aboriginal, 2 for Metis, 9 for missing.

Language Spoken at Home: Row 8. Coded: 0 for English; 1 for Cree; 2 for Saulteaux; 3 for combination (combo) English and Cree; 4 for combo English, Cree, Saulteaux and French; 5 for combo English and Saulteaux; 6 for combo English, Cree and French; 7 for combo English and French, 8 for English and Other aboriginal language ie. Chipewyan, 9 for LND.

Raised: Row 9. Coded: 0 for City, 1 for Country, 2 for Both (if both were cheched off), 9 for missing. If a town or reserve is cited: Coded 1.

Education Completed: Row 10. Coded: 0 for grade 9 or less, 1 for grade 10, 2 for grade 11, 3 for grade 12, 4 for some college/university of technical training, 5 for degree from university or technical institute, 9 for missing. If more than 1 category marked, rounded to highest attained education.

Marital Status: Row 11. Coded: 0 for Never Married, 1 for Married (including common law), 2 for Separated or divorced, 3 for Widowed, 9 for missing.

Children: Row 12. Coded: 0 for Yes, 1 for No, 2 for Yes with unspecified # of pre-teen, 3 for Yes with unspecified # of teen-age, 4 for unspecified # of 20 and older, 5 for Yes but unspecified age group, 6 for unspecified # of pre-teen and teen-age, 7 for unspecified # of teen-age and 20 and older, 8 for unspecified # of pre-teen and 20 and older, 9 for missing. If columns 2 to 8 apply (Yes - unspecifieds), Row 13 to 15 will be left blank. Completion of column 0, 1, or 9 necessitates completion of Rows 13 to 15.

Number of Children: Row 13 (pre-teen), Row 14 (teen-years), and Row 15 (20 or older) were coded to indicate the number of children in each age category: 0 to 8 corresponding to number, 9 for missing. *Note: if R12 response was No and number of children not completed, code R13-15 as 0 rather than 9.

Employment: Row 16. Coded: 0 for Full-time, 1 for Part-time, 2 for Unemployed but seeking employment, 3 for

employed in the home, 4 for Other, 9 for missing.

Family Income: Row 17. Coded: 0 for less than $5000., 1 for $5000. to $9999., 2 for 10,000. to $14,999., 3 for $15,000. to $19,999., 4 for $20,000. to $24,999., 5 for $25,000. to $29,999., 6 for $30,000. to $34,999., 7 for $35,000 to $39,999., 8 for $40,000. and above, 9 for missing.

Years of residence in Saskatoon: Row 18 and Row 19. Coded: for 1 to 9 years of residence, 0 plus number. ie for 3 years residence coded 03. 10 or more years coded in that form. Residence less than 1 year to be coded 00, Missing data coded 99. 1/2 years to be rounded upward.

Area of the city where you live: Row 17. Coded: 0 for Pleasant Hill, 1 for Riversdale, 2 for Westmount, 3 for Caswell Hill, 4 for Westside (west of circle: Confederation and Parkridge), 5 for WestEnd (not specific area designation), 6 for College Park, 7 for Eastside (Avalon, Lakeview), 9 for missing.

Variable:	Variable Label:
Gender	GENDER
Age	AGE
Racial/Ethnic Background	REBACKGD
Language	LANGUAGE
Raised	RAISED
Education Completed	EDUCATN
Marital Status	MARITALS
Children	CHILDREN
Employment	EMPLOYMT
Family Imcome	INCOME
Years of residence in Saskatoon	YRSOFRES
Area of city where you live	AREA

Questions 1 through 42 correspond to Row 21 through 62 and are coded as follows:

0 for strongly agree, 1 for agree, 2 for undecided, 3 for disagree, 4 for strongly disagree, 9 for missing. If multiple categories checked, coded 2 (undecided)

Question Nunber And Variable Labels:

1	RELSGOOD	15	LRSPCTLW	29	WARNINGS
2	VIEWS	16	IMPROVCR	30	COMPLANT
3	OBSRVATN	17	HOWGOOD	31	WMNMRPOS
4	DISLIKE	18	CRMDFCLT	32	FRNDSNEG
5	LSRESPCT	19	CRMNATR	33	SATSFIED
6	TREATEQL	20	DISTRTFL	34	HOSTSTOP
7	SUSPECTS	21	LACKTRST	35	ABRESPON
8	VICTIMS	22	JUSTICE	36	PRESNGAT
9	ABCRTTRB	23	RDYFRVLC	37	PFRLKDWN
10	HASSLEAB	24	HOSTLITY	38	STORABUS
11	DEROGLNG	25	FRCCCFES	39	NEGATTDS
12	PHYSFORC	26	RACLHOST	40	SMALRESP

13	REACTNEG	27	EXPCTWST	41	IMPROVED
14	ABOFFICR	28	CRTEOSWM	42	STORFRNT

Thematic Analysis (Coding)

For question #1 "Have you ever been in trouble with the police before? If yes, please explain." Coded on Rows 63 and 64. Variable Label - TROUBLE.

0 --> No
1 --> Yes (unspecified)
2 --> Yes: alcolol related
3 --> Yes: assault
4 --> Yes: minor property
5 --> Yes: major property
6 --> Yes: traffic
7 --> Yes: domestic dispute
8 --> Yes: other
9 --> Yes: as young offender
10 --> Yes: Multiple
11 --> Yes: as young offender and adult
12 --> Yes: fraud
13 --> Yes: not in Saskatoon
99 --> Missing or ambiguous or N/A

For question #2 "Have you ever been abused physically or verbally by the police? If yes, please explain." Coded on Row 65. Variable Label - ABUSEDPV.

0 --> No
1 --> Yes (unspecified)
2 --> Yes: verbally
3 --> Yes: physically
4 --> Yes: both verbally and physically
5 --> Yes: but not in Saskatoon
6 --> Yes: other (ie. knowledge of others, hassled)
9 --> Missing

For question #3 "Have you ever been verbally or physically abusive towards police? If yes, please explain." Coded on Row 66.

0 --> No
1 --> Yes (unspecified)
2 --> Yes: verbally
3 --> Yes: physically
4 --> Yes: both verbally and physically
5 --> Yes: either or both but specified as retaliatory or defensive
6 --> Yes: other
9 --> Missing

For question #4 "What can the aboriginal population of Saskatoon do to improve relations with police?" Coded on Rows 67 and 68.

0 --> Don't know
1 --> Nothing

2 --> Community Involvement
3 --> Communication
4 --> Self blame:
5 --> Workshops and programs
6 --> Education
7 --> Cultural
8 --> More aboriginal police
9 --> Sympathetic, understanding of police
10 --> Other
99 --> Missing or ambiguous

For question #5 "What can the police do to improve police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon?" Coded on Row 69.
0 --> Don't know
1 --> Nothing
2 --> Police involvement in aboriginal community
3 --> Communication
4 --> Improve treatment of aboriginal persons, treat with respect, as human beings
5 --> Education, cross-cultural training
6 --> More aboriginal police officers
7 --> focus on aboriginal youth - school visitations
8 --> Other
9 --> Missing or ambiguous

The concluding remarks of the questionnaire (which stated "Please feel free to elaborate on any of the above or other issues you feel are important and which have been overlooked or inadequately addressed in this questionnaire.") was not coded for thematic analysis as response to this invitation was low and for the most part unessential for analysis. It may, however, be useful in pointing out directions for future research.

APPENDIX 6

Descriptive Data: Frequencies and Percentages

Table 5.1.1 Gender (GENDER)

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	53	39.6%
Female	81	60.4%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.2 Age (AGE)

Age	Frequency	Percent
16 to 29	68	50.7%
30 to 39	29	21.4%
40 and older	30	21.8%
Missing	7	5.2%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.3 Racial/Ethnic Background (REBACKGD)

Racial/Ethnic Background	Frequency	Percent
Status Aboriginal	78	58.2%
Non-Status Aboriginal	11	8.2%
Metis	38	28.4%
Missing	7	5.2%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.4 Language Spoken at Home (LANGUAGE)

Language	Frequency	Percent
English Only	62	46.3%
Cree	11	8.2%
Saulteaux	5	3.7%
English and Cree	32	23.9%
English, Cree, Saulteaux and French	5	3.7%
English and Saulteaux	8	6.0%
English, Cree and French	4	3.0%
English and French	3	2.2%
English and "Other" Aboriginal Language (ie. Chipewyan)	3	2.2%
Sioux language	1	0.7%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.5 Raised (RAISED)

Raised	Frequency	Percent
City	46	34.3%
Country (rural town or reserve)	58	43.3%
Both	22	16.4%
Missing	8	6.0%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.6 Education Completed (EDUCATN)

Education Completed	Frequency	Percent
Grade 9 or less	42	31.3%
Grade 10	22	16.4%
Grade 11	13	9.7%
Grade 12	14	10.4%
Some College/University or Technical Institute	29	21.6%
Degree from University or Technical Institute	12	9.0%
Missing	2	1.5%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.7 Marital Status (MARITALS)

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Never Married	46	34.3%
Married incl. Common-Law	58	43.3%
Separated or Divorced	27	20.1%
Widowed	3	2.2%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.8 Children (CHILDREN)

Children	Frequency	Percent
Yes (total)	104	77.6%
Specified number	(83)	(61.9%)
Did not specify number	(21)	(15.7%)
No	26	19.4%
Missing	4	3.0%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.9 Employment (EMPLOYMT)

Employment	Frequency	Percent
Full-Time	27	20.1%
Part-Time	8	6.0%
Unemployed but seeking	37	27.6%
Employed in the Home	13	9.7%
Other	35	26.1%
Missing	14	10.4%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.10 Annual Family Income (INCOME)

Income (per year)	Frequency	Percent
less than $5000.	28	20.9%
$5000. to $9999.	23	17.2%
$10,000. to $14,999.	19	14.2%
$15,000. to $19,999.	9	6.7%
$20,000. to $24,999.	8	6.0%
$25,000. to $29,999.	6	4.5%
$30,000. to $34,999.	4	3.0%
$35,000. to $39,999.	0	0.0%
$40,000. and above	4	3.0%
Missing cases	33	24.6%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.11 Years of Residence (YRSOFRES)

Years of Residence	Frequency	Percent
very recent to 4 years	53	39.7%
5 to 9 years	22	16.4%
10 to 14 years	23	17.0%
15 to 19 years	11	8.2%
20 or more years	17	12.5%
Missing	8	6.0%
Total	134	100.0%

Table 5.1.12 Area of Residence (AREA)

Area	Frequency	Percent
Pleasant Hill	36	26.9%
Riversdale	21	15.7%
Westmount	22	16.4%
Caswell Hill	8	6.0%
Confederation Park	4	3.0%
Unspecified "West Side"	16	11.9%
College Park	3	2.2%
East Side	4	3.0%
Missing	18	13.4%
Total	134	100.0%

Note: In the early days of questionnaire retrieval, I did not open and check questionnaires for *Area* completion and specification. This is why category 5 (West Side) and 9 (Missing) total 25.3% (N=34). This was an avoidable oversight.

APPENDIX 7

Responses to Attitudinal Statements

1) *Police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon are generally good* (RELSGOOD). SA 1.5% (N=2), A 18.7% (N=25), U 29.9% (N=40) undecided, D 37.3% (N=50), SD 12.7% (N=17).

2) *Police - aboriginal relations are negatively affected by the views each have of the other* (VIEWS). SA 22.4% (N=30), A 47.8% (N=64), U 22.4% (N=30), D 4.5% (N=6), SD 1.5% (N=2), M 1.5% (N=2).

3) *Aboriginal people generally are subject to unnecessary levels of observation and suspicion by police* (OBSRVATN). SA 35.8% (N=48), A 47.0% (N=63), U 9.0% (N=12), D 4.5% (N=6), SD 2.2% (N=3), M 1.5% (N=2).

4) *Most aboriginal people dislike the police* (DISLIKE). SA 23.1% (N=31), A 44.0% (N=59), U 20.1% (N=27), D 11.2% (N=15), SD 1.5% (N=2).

5) *Aboriginal people are generally less respectful of police officers than are non aboriginal people* (LSRESPCT). SA 12.7% (N=17), A 35.8% (N=48), U 23.9% (N=32), D 23.9% (N=32), SD 3.7% (N=5).

6) *Police treat all members of the community equally* (TREATEQL). SA 3.0% (N=4), A 6.7% (N=9), U 20.9% (N=28), D 42.5% (N=57), SD 26.9% (N=36).

7) *The police have less respect for aboriginal people as suspects and offenders, than non-aboriginals* (SUSPECTS). SA 35.1% (N=47), A 41.0% (N=55), U 15.7% (N=21), D 6.7% (N=9), SD 1.5% (N=2).

8) *The police have less respect for aboriginal people as victims than non-aboriginals* (VICTIMS). SA 26.9% (N=36), A 50.0% (N=67), U 14.9% (N=20), D 6.0% (N=8), SD 2.2% (N=3).

9) *Aboriginal people go out of their way to create trouble for the police* (ABCRTTRB). SA 2.2% (N=3), A 9.0% (N=12), U 16.4% (N=22), D 51.5% (N=69), SD 20.9% (N=28).

10) *The police go out of their way to hassle aboriginal people as compared to no-aboriginal people* (HASSLEAB). SA 17.2% (N=23), A 42.5% (N=57), U 22.4% (N=30), D 11.9% (N=16), SD 4.5% (N=6), M 1.5% (N=2).

11) *Aboriginal people use derogatory language, like calling cops pigs, when talking among themselves about the police* (DEROGLNG). SA 13.4% (N=18), A 40.3% (N=54), U 18.7% (N=25), D 24.6% (N=33), SD 3.0% (N=4).

12) *The police are more likely to resort to physical force when dealing with aboriginal suspects than with non-aboriginal suspects* (PHYSFORC). SA 26.9% (N=36), A 45.5% (N=61), U 14.9% (N=20), D 10.4% (N=14), SD 1.5% (N=2), M .7% (N=1).

13) *Aboriginal people react negatively when they have contact with the police because they have negative attitudes towards police* (REACTNEG). SA 19.4% (N=26), A 44.8% (N=60), U 17.9% (N=24), D 14.9% (N=20), SD 3.0% (N=4).

14) *Aboriginal officers are/would be more capable of dealing with aboriginal people than non-aboriginal officers* (ABOFFICR). SA 27.6% (N=37), A 41.0% (N=55), U 17.9% (N=24), D 9.7% (N=13), SD 3.7% (N=5).

15) *Aboriginal people have much less respect for the law than non-aboriginal people* (LRSPCTLW). SA 3.7% (N=5), A 21.6% (N=29), U 17.2% (N=23), D 48.5% (N=65), SD 9.0% (N=12).

16) *Increasing the number of aboriginal officers would improve police - community relations* (IMPROVCR). SA 35.1% (N=47), A 44.8% (N=60), U 14.9% (N=20), D 3.7% (N=5), SD 1.5% (N=2).

17) *How good are relations between police and the aboriginal community in Saskatoon?* (HOWGOOD). very good 0% (N=0), good 9.7% (N=13), U 31.3% (N=42), poor 36.6% (N=49), very poor 22.4% (N=30).

18) *The police see aboriginal involvement in crime as being due to different cultural traditions of aboriginal people* (CRMDFCLT). SA 4.5% (N=6), A 17.9% (N=24), U 38.8% (N=52), D 30.6% (N=41), SD 6.0% (N=8), M 2.2% (N=3).

19) *The police believe aboriginal peoples to be criminal by nature* (CRMNATR). SA 12.7% (N=17), A 41.8% (N=56), U 17.9% (N=24), D 20.9% (N=28), SD 6.7% (N=9).

20) *The police are more distrustful of younger aboriginal persons than of young non-aboriginal persons* (DISTRTFL). SA 20.1% (N=27), A 47.0% (N=63), U 14.9% (N=20), D 14.9% (N=20), SD 1.5% (N=2), M 1.5% (N=2).

21) *There is a lack of trust in the city police by the aboriginal community as a whole* (LACKTRST). SA 24.6% (N=33), A 49.3% (N=66), U 21.6% (N=29), D 3.7% (N=5), SD 0% (N=0), M 0.7% (N=1).

22) *Many aboriginal people who become involved in the justice system, do not understand the legal system* (JUSTICE). SA 26.9% (N=36), A 38.1% (N=51), U 13.4% (N=18), D 15.7% (N=21), SD 5.2% (N=7), M 0.7% (N=1).

23) *The police are more ready for violence when dealing with aboriginal people than with other members of the community* (RDYFRVLC). SA 24.6% (N=33), A 44.0% (N=59), U 21.6% (N=29), D 9.0% (N=12), SD 0.7% (N=1).

24) *Hostility between police and aboriginals often rises to the point where police decide to arrest aboriginal suspects* (HOSTILIY). SA 23.9% (N=32), A 48.5% (N=65), U 20.1% (N=27), D 7.5% (N=10), SD 0% (N=0).

25) *Police often try to force aboriginal people to confess to a crime* (FRCCCFES). SA 35.8% (N=48), A 34.3% (N=46), U 20.9% (N=28), D 9.0% (N=12), SD 0% (N=0).

26) *Aboriginal people are often the victims of racial hostilities directed against them by police* (RACLHOST). SA 32.1% (N=43), A 42.5% (N=57), U 18.7% (N=25), D 6.0% (N=8), SD 1.5% (N=1).

27) *Police are more apt to expect the worst in encounters with aboriginal people in the downtown core as opposed to residential areas of Saskatoon* (EXPCTWST). SA 31.3% (N=42), A 45.5% (N=61), U 14.9% (N=20), D 6.7% (N=9), SD 1.5% (N=2).

28) *Police are more courteous when dealing with aboriginal women than with aboriginal men* (CRTEOSWM). SA 5.2% (N=7), A 15.7% (N=21), U 31.3% (N=42), D 38.8% (N=52), SD 9.0% (N=12).

29) *Aboriginal women are more apt to receive warnings, as opposed to charges, by police for minor infractions than men in similar situations* (WARNINGS). SA 3.7% (N=5), A 26.1% (N=35), U 31.3% (N=42), D 35.8% (N=48), SD 3.0% (N=4).

30) *Most aboriginal people are reluctant to make complaints against police when they feel they have been mistreated by police* (COMPLANT). SA 41.0% (N=55), A 38.8% (N=52), U 14.2% (N=19), D 4.5% (N=6), SD 1.5% (N=2).

31) *Among the aboriginal population, women have a more positive view of the police than do men* (WMNMRPOS). SA 6.7% (N=9), A 23.9% (N=32), U 30.6% (N=41), D 33.6% (N=45), SD 4.5% (N=6), M 0.7% (N=1).

32) *Among aboriginal people, pressure from your friends to have a negative attitude towards the police is an important source of hostility against police* (FRNDSNEG). SA 5.2% (N=7), A 17.9% (N=24), U 33.6% (N=45), D 32.8% (N=44), SD 9.7% (N=13), M 0.7% (N=1).

33) *Overall, the aboriginal community in Saskatoon is satisfied with the service provided by the Saskatoon police* (SATSFIED). SA 4.5% (N=6), A 13.8% (N=18), U 32.8% (N=44), D 32.1% (N=43), SD 16.4% (N=22), M .7% (N=1).

34) *Aboriginal people are hostile to police when they feel they have been stopped by police without good reason* (HOSTSTOP). SA 15.7% (N=21), A 54.5% (N=73), U 14.9% (N=20), D 11.2% (N=15), SD 3.7% (N=5).

35) *In order to improve police - aboriginal relations in Saskatoon, the aboriginal community must assume as much responsibility for change as the police* (ABRESPON). SA 28.4% (N=38), A 56.0% (N=75), U 11.9% (N=16), D 2.2% (N=3), SD 0.7% (N=1), M 0.7% (N=1).

36) *There is considerable pressure upon police officers by other officers to hold negative attitudes towards the aboriginal people* (PRESNGAT). SA 15.7% (N=21), A 30.6% (N=41), U 38.8% (N=52), D 13.4% (N=18), SD 0.7% (N=1), M 0.7% (N=1).

37) *Police who try to be fair to aboriginal people are looked down on by fellow officers* (PFRLKDWN). SA 16.4% (N=22), A 26.9% (N=36), U 40.3% (N=54), D 14.2% (N=19), SD 2.2% (N=3).

38) *Stories about the abuse of aboriginal people by police result in a generalized negative attitude towards the police* (STORABUS). SA 25.4% (N=34), A 47.8% (N=64), U 18.7% (N=25), D 6.7% (N=9), SD 1.5% (N=2).

39) *It is possible for police to have negative attitudes towards aboriginal people and not let such attitudes affect their encounters with aboriginal people* (NEGATTDS). SA 11.2% (N=15), A 28.4% (N=38), U 29.1% (N=39), D 19.4% (N=26), SD 11.9% (N=16).

40) *A small part of the aboriginal population is responsible for much conflict with police, but this reflects badly on aboriginal people as a whole* (SMALRESP). SA 38.8% (N=52), A 43.3% (N=58), U 12.7% (N=17), D 3.0% (N=4), SD 2.2% (N=3).

41) *Police-aboriginal relations in Saskatoon have improved over time* (IMPROVED). SA 3.7% (N=5), A 24.6% (N=33), U 40.3% (N=54), D 23.9% (N=32), SD 6.0% (N=8), M 1.5% (N=2).

42) *The 'store front' police station on 20th St. has served to improve police - aboriginal (relations) since it opened* (STORFRNT). SA 7.5% (N=10), A 21.6% (N=29), U 54.5% (N=73), D 11.9% (N=16), SD 3.0% (N=4), M 1.5% (N=2).

APPENDIX 8

T-tests

Table 8.1. t-tests for independent samples of Gender (GENDER)

GROUP 1 - GENDER (Male)
Group 2 - GENDER (Female)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	51	24.5490	12.072	1.690	1.09	.747	PVE	-1.51	123	.133
Group 2	74	27.9595	12.619	1.467			SVE	-1.52	110.67	.130
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	53	10.3962	3.433	.471	1.25	.385	PVE	-.52	131	.602
Group 2	80	10.7375	3.844	.430			SVE	-.53	119.85	.594

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.2. t-tests for Independent samples of Age (AGE)

GROUP 1 - AGE (16 to 29)
GROUP 2 - AGE (30 to 77)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	63	27.0317	12.378	1.560			PVE	.36	117	.720
					1.01	.967				
Group 2	56	26.2143	12.437	1.662			SVE	.36	115.24	.720
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	68	10.6029	4.316	.523			PVE	-.11	125	.911
					2.10	.004				
Group 2	59	10.6780	2.979	.388			SVE	-.12	119.25	.909

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.3. t-tests for independent samples of Racial/Ethnic Background (REBACKGD)

GROUP 1 - REBACKGD (Status and Non-Status Aboriginal)
GROUP 2 - REBACKGD (Metis)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	83	26.4337	12.104	1.329			PVE	.18	116	.856
					1.29	.347				
Group 2	35	25.9714	13.762	2.326			SVE	.17	57.28	.864
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	88	10.9091	3.953	.421			PVE	1.15	124	.253
					1.59	.115				
Group 2	38	10.0789	3.131	.508			SVE	1.26	87.77	.212

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.4. t-tests for independent samples of Language Spoken at Home (LANGUAGE)

GROUP 1 - LANGUAGE (English Only)
GROUP 2 - LANGUAGE (Aboriginal Language Only or Combination of Languages incl. English)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	61	26.9672	13.506	1.729			PVE	.35	123	.728
					1.38	.204				
Group 2	64	26.1875	11.478	1.435			SVE	.35	117.85	.729
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	62	10.6452	3.846	.488			PVE	.13	131	.899
					1.17	.513				
Group 2	71	10.5634	3.549	.421			SVE	.13	125.14	.899

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Note: Aboriginal language only included in Group 2 due to few cases (see Appendix 6, Table 5.1.4)

Table 8.5. t-tests for independent samples of where respondents were Raised (RAISED)

GROUP 1 - RAISED (City)
GROUP 2 - RAISED (Country or Both City and Country)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	45	28.7778	13.442	2.004	1.32	.290	PVE	1.75	115	.083
Group 2	72	24.6667	11.685	1.377			SVE	1.69	83.79	.095
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	46	9.8261	3.567	.526	1.07	.820	PVE	-1.89	123	.062
Group 2	79	11.1013	3.688	.415			SVE	-1.90	96.82	.060

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.6. t-tests for independent samples of education completed (EDUCATN)

GROUP 1 - EDUCATN (Grade 12 or less)
GROUP 2 - EDUCATN (Post Secondary Education)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	83	27.5663	10.861	1.192			PVE	1.38	121	.170
					1.94	.012				
Group 2	40	24.2750	15.123	2.391			SVE	1.23	59.06	.223
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	90	10.4000	3.696	.390			PVE	-.82	129	.411
					1.02	.926				
Group 2	41	10.9756	3.725	.582			SVE	-.82	76.97	.414

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MARGNLZTN

Table 8.7. t-tests for independent samples of marital status (MARITALS)

GROUP 1 - MARITALS (Never Married)
GROUP 2 - MARITALS (Married Including Common Law, Separated or Divorced, Widowed)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	43	28.9535	13.452	2.051	1.30	.314	PVE	1.56	123	.122
Group 2	82	25.3171	11.806	1.304			SVE	1.50	76.32	.139
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	46	11.5000	4.236	.625	1.68	.040	PVE	2.08	131	.040
Group 2	87	10.1264	3.270	.351			SVE	1.92	73.98	.059

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.8. t-tests for independent samples of whether respondents have children (CHILDREN)

GROUP 1 - CHILDREN (No)
GROUP 2 - CHILDREN (Yes)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	22	28.5455	13.088	2.790	1.25	.454	PVE	.97	115	.336
Group 2	95	25.8105	11.685	1.199			SVE	.90	29.25	.375
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	25	12.5600	3.548	.710	1.01	1.000	PVE	3.14	123	.002
Group 2	100	10.0600	3.561	.356			SVE	3.15	37.04	.003

Std. Dev. - Standard deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.9. t-tests for independent samples of employment status (EMPLOYMT)

GROUP 1 - EMPLOYMT (Some Form of Employment: In Home, Part-time, Full time, Other)
GROUP 2 - EMPLOYMT (Unemployed)

Variance	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		T Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	78	26.6026	13.258	1.501	1.69	.100	PVE	.40	109	.692
Group 2	33	25.5758	10.201	1.776			SVE	.44	77.61	.660
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	82	10.8537	3.726	.411	1.15	.602	PVE	1.10	117	.275
Group 2	37	10.0270	3.989	.656			SVE	1.07	65.40	.290

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.10. t-tests for independent samples of annual family income (INCOME)

GROUP 1 - INCOME ($9999. or Less)
GROUP 2 - INCOME ($10,000. and Above)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	48	26.5625	13.066	1.886			PVE	.29	93	.774
					1.11	.717				
Group 2	47	25.8085	12.384	1.806			SVE	.29	92.90	.773
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	51	10.0196	3.876	.543			PVE	-1.04	99	.300
					1.45	.199				
Group 2	50	10.7600	3.223	.456			SVE	-1.04	96.45	.299

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.11. t-tests for independent samples of years of residence in Saskatoon (YRSOFRES)

GROUP 1 - YRSOFRES (Less than 1 to 9 Years)
GROUP 2 - YRSOFRES (10 or More)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		T Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	68	25.1176	10.374	1.258	2.13	.004	PVE	-1.40	115	.165
Group 2	49	28.4082	15.130	2.161			SVE	-1.32	79.50	.192
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	74	10.4054	3.763	.437	1.03	.931	PVE	-.70	123	.485
Group 2	51	10.8824	3.713	.520			SVE	-.70	108.58	.484

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.12. t-tests for independent samples of area of residence in Saskatoon (AREA)

GROUP 1 - AREA (Riversdale and Pleasant Hill)
GROUP 2 - AREA (All Others)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	70	25.8429	10.512	1.256	1.94	.010	PVE	-.73	123	.465
Group 2	55	27.4909	14.627	1.972			SVE	-.70	94.54	.483
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	74	10.8378	3.734	.434	1.07	.796	PVE	.83	131	.408
Group 2	59	10.3051	3.612	.470			SVE	.83	126.18	.407

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Note: Riversdale and Pleasant Hill have been collapsed in Group 1 as south of 22St. W Although, this was caused by failure to specifically identify the exact area where some respondents lived, this is still a meaningful category as 22 St. serves as a natural boundary for comparison of difference in means.

Table 8.13. t-tests for independent samples of history of trouble with police (TROUBLE)

GROUP 1 - TROUBLE (No)
GROUP 2 - TROUBLE (Yes)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	41	32.3171	11.096	1.733			PVE	3.66	109	.000
					1.29	.382				
Group 2	70	23.6286	12.6286	1.508			SVE	3.78	92.72	.000
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	46	11.5217	3.926	.579			PVE	2.32	116	.022
					1.30	.325				
Group 2	72	9.9306	3.449	.406			SVE	2.25	86.93	.027

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

Table 8.14. t-tests for independent samples of history of physical or verbal abuse by police (ABUSEDPV)

GROUP 1 - ABUSEDPV (No)
GROUP 2 - ABUSEDPV (Yes)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. E.	F Value	2-tail Prob.		t Value	DF	2-tail Prob.
PRSECUTN										
Group 1	62	31.4516	11.536	1.465	1.23	.464	PVE	5.50	108	.000
Group 2	48	19.7500	10.406	1.502			SVE	5.58	105.44	.000
MRGNLZTN										
Group 1	69	10.4058	3.878	.467	1.27	.386	PVE	-.08	115	.940
Group 2	48	10.4583	3.439	.496			SVE	-.08	108.33	.939

Std. Dev. - Standard Deviation
Std. E. - Standard Error
DF - Degrees of Freedom
PVE - Pooled Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN
SVE - Separate Variance Estimate for PRSECUTN and MRGNLZTN

APPENDIX 9

Qualitative Data

9.1 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE BEFORE? IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

This question elicited a wide range of responses, and the willingness of respondents to divulge information varied. Forty six (34.3%) respondents stated "No" or some short phrase to this effect in response to this question.

R #011 *No. I have never been in trouble.*
R #030 *Never. Most of my answers are undecided because I have never been in trouble with the law and I intend to keep it that way.*
R #049 *No, sorry I haven't*
R #051 *No I have never been in trouble with the law.*

Seventy (52.3%) respondents alluded to trouble with police. This includes "trouble" involving traffic violations and domestic disputes. Incidents specified as occurring somewhere other than in Saskatoon are excluded. Fifteen (11.2%) respondents did not answer this question and were coded as missing. Twenty one (15.7%) of those who responded affirmatively did not elaborate at all or much as to the nature of the trouble.

R #040 *Yes (none of your business)*
R #071 *Yes I have been charged for many things. I've also been wrongly accused for crime I have not done. Police will give evidence to wrongly accuse Natives just to teach them a lesson, to get even, or just because they can get away with it. Who would you believe?*
R #076 *Yes but do not wish to discuss it.*
R #080 *No although I have been in trouble with the law, I have no trouble with the police.*
R #088 *Yes. I've been arrested numerous times.*
R #112 *I've being in trouble with the police since I was a 10 year old kid. When I was 12 years old I got slapped across the face by an older cop with 2 cops standing beside me and to this day I still don't know what I did.*

R #113 *Yes, and if I had been white I never would have been arrested or jailed. I know countless other (white) women who either got driven home by the officers or was given time to call friend / family member for ride home.*

R #120 *In my past I have, but of my own accord and the wrong upbringing I recieved but since then and now I've had no bad dealings with the City Police. My own relation with them is generally good.*

R #127 *Yes, I have been, but I do not wish to comment on the trouble. Other than, being very poorly treated at their hands.*

Some of those who stated they had trouble with police cited alcohol as involved. Ten (7.5%) respondents made reference to alcohol related incidents.

R #003 *Driving while impaired.*

R #032 *Yes I have a couple of infractions due to alcohol related situations. I think it's the biggest problem between aboriginal and police anywhere. I think it's mainly alcohol or drug related and that's where I think police take advantage of that and that's where the mis-understanding is between aboriginal and police relations.*

R #057 *When I was in my teens I was always in trouble, as a result I spent time in jail for things such as assault and offences concerning liquor. And when I got older it was because of drinking and driving.*

R #060 *Yes, I've been arrested D.W.I. twice, which I can accept. A lot of other times was picked up for being drunk, but can only say I was picked up due to the fact I was Native always was in white bars. Usually more white females on the floor before I was but bouncers looked at colour differences.*

R #079 *Yes. alcohol related charges.*

R #093 *charged for open liquor.*

R #131 *Yes, because of alcohol, all offences related to alcohol.*

Four (3.0%) respondents made reference to only assault related contact with police.

R #045 *Yes. I was charged with assulting a police officer and causing a disturbance in a public place. I went to court both charges were dropped.*

R #056 *I was charged by the police for assault causing bodily harm. The ironic thing about it is that the person that charged me went to drop the charges and the police claimed responsibility for laying them.*

R #090 *Yes. (Assault)*

R #114 *Yes. Twice I was picked up for someone else's problem. Once I stabbed a boyfriend who was abusing me.*

Seven (5.2%) respondents cited minor property violations as the source of their trouble with police.

R #019 *Have stolen before, and they (police) tried to charge me for other offences in which I was not guilty off.*
R #041 *Yes. I smashed a persons window. That person called the police and they had a talk with me.*
R #043 *Theft, I just tried to steal sun glasses and a deck of cards and then before that a flashlight.*
R #044 *Yes I have but that was a few years ago. I was caught stealing at the mall.*
R #059 *Yes, I have been in trouble, with the police. I was picked up on shop-lifting charges. When I got caught shop-lifting, I was under the influence of pills and booze.*
R #067 *Yes for shoplifting.*

Minor traffic related offences were cited by ten (7.5%) respondents as the reason for their trouble with police. These are minor in nature and primarily involve unpaid parking tickets, speeding, and seatbelt violations.

R #029 *Yes. Driving without a permit.*
R #039 *Yes. Speeding tickets which have only been 5 to 7 clicks over speeding limit. they have never been nice to me. I have knowlege of people being impaired and only getting a 24 hour suspension.*
R #062 *Only one or two seatbelt infractions in my lifetime. Never had any kind of criminal record.*
R #070 *Yes, traffic related.*
R #077 *Yes. The police don't particularly like unpaid parking tickets.*
R #089 *Yes, Unpaid parking tickets etc.*

Only 2 (1.5%) respondents cited domestic dispute as a reason for contact with the police.

R #082 *I had been beaten up by my boyfriends ex-wife and daughters. When I went to the City Police they charged me instead of these trouble makers. I was guilty until found innocent.*
R #028 *Domestic disput - called police on my husband and instead of arresting him they arrested me. (twice).*

Four (3.0%) respondents indicated that they were young offenders at the time of their trouble involving the police. Shoplifting was cited by these two respondents.

R #009 *Yes. I was a young offender. I was apprehended for shop lifting twice. once at 13 and once at 15.*

R #087 *Yes, but I was only 16 years old. I've got caught shoplifting. They kept assuming that their was someone else in my crime. But they tried to push it. But I've did it on my own. I think they just want someone else to jail. I know I've done something bad. But I've known that I'm not perfect, I couldn't help it cause I've never had money to get my own clothes, I've never got anything from my parents.*

Seven (5.2%) respondents indicated they had committed multiple offences.

R #007 *Yes I have been in trouble with the police. I get charged with assault, Robbery, theft over $100.00.*

R #023 *Yes. I have been in trouble with them since I was about 12 with theft charges. over 1000.00 and under 1000.00 failing to report I could say more but other than that I have never had one problem with an officer.*

R #027 *Armed robbery and theft under.*

R #037 *Yes, B & E's, thefts, frauds, assaults, etc., etc...*

R #058 *Yes I have done break and enters and theft.*

R #118 *Yes, when I was younger I was in a lot of trouble I stole a lot and was in and out of court alot for stealing bikes and cars. And BnE's. This went on till I was 21 years old.*

Finally, 5 (3.7%) respondents cited 'tangential' reasons such as follows.

R #102 *Yes, I was walking by the scene of a crime, and they assumed I was responsible for the unlawful act. (Auto-theft).*

9.2 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ABUSED PHYSICALLY OR VERBALLY BY THE POLICE? IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

Forty five (33.7%) respondents assert they have experienced such treatment in Saskatoon. Seventy (52.2%) respondents indicated they had never been physically or

verbally mistreated by police. Sixteen (11.9%) respondents did not answer and were categorized as missing. As well, three (2.2%) respondents had experience of this nature with police but as it did not take place in Saskatoon, it is coded separately.

Slightly over half of those who responded indicated they had never experienced abusive treatment by police. While the majority of these repondents answered with a simple "No", a few of the more quotable responses are cited below. Importantly, even among those who state they have not experienced what they consider physically or verbally abusive treatment, there was knowledge of this such treatment experienced by others as respondents #001 and #070 contend.

R #009 *No. I myself have never had any problems with the police.*

R #051 *No I never been abused or verbally by the police. No I have nothing against the police. there just doing there job.*

R #059 *No, I have not ever been physically or verbally abused, by the police.*

R #077 *No. I don't feel intimidated by the police or other authority figures, They can see this and don't become abusive. Mind you I'm not one to tolerate such crap anyway.*

R #093 *Have never been physically abused nor verbally abused.*

R #096 *No I haven't, it may be because although I am half-native I really don't look like I am.*

R #001 *No but my common-law was, his hair (braid) was pulled to get him downstairs for check up from the car computor. And the cop told me to take a valium and relax. Nice man huh! May the police should take a valium and relax or get laid maybe they would be a lot more friendlier!*

R #070 *No, but I have witnessed this behavior. As well, many aboriginal people have told me of accesive force used by police on them.*

Of the forty five (33.7%) respondents who answered affirmatively, this can be broken down to more specific

experiences although a few of those who responded in the affirmative were unspecific as to the nature or frequency of the abuse. Four (3.0%) of respondents were categorized in a "Yes unspecified" category.

R #069 *Yes I don't think that if one questioned the police there would be even one clean conscience. Police are mere humans, however give a person power above the average & 95% will abuse this power. In my studies of many hundreds of people there is too much police brutality.*

One only has to spend one night in any city cell and you will hear or see abuse happening. As God is my witness this is true.

Importantly, verbal abuse was cited by twelve (9.0%) respondents.

R #039 *Tail light fuse went out on my 73 chev 1/2 ton truck. I had just spent $600.00 on brake drums etc. I was pulled over, the officer hollered and screamed at me threatening to have truck pulled, assumed it was not in good running order. I pulled out my repair bill and showed him. He still wasn't satisfied and told me I had to raise my licence plate up 1/4 inch said it wasn't visible enough. Told me I had to thank him and when I hesitated he said he was going to write a ticket for $100. I had to go to police station next day to show them all was done on the truck and all they did was laugh no one came out to look at my truck.*

R #046 *Yes - was called a welfare Bitch by one, when I complained about my white neighbors abuse.*

R #058 *Yes I have been abused verbally, by police calling me a "fucking liar" for no reason.*

R #061 *Yes I have been verbally abused many times by police. For instance not to long ago I stopped to pick up a friend standing on the sidewalk as soon as I stopped before my friend could get in a cop on a bike raced to my side of the car, he said could I see your drivers, I asked what did I do wrong he yells at me for my drivers again, He checks me on the computor they got nothing on me, by this time another cop in a car pulls up behind me, I was upset because of the treatment they gave me. finally they told me I (parked) in a bus stop. I said things he said things back. They gave me no chance to explain: (many, many, many more incidents)*

R #076 *Yes verbally, why, because I would not cooperate with them. So I was called a dumb bitch.*

R #088 *Yes. On one occasion the sargeant called me a scum bag and told to leave the scene of a crime. Which by the way was in the middle of the road, and I was on sidewalk walking past.*

R #113 *Verbally yes, was treated and talked to like I was scum, not human. Aboriginal people are human!!... Beating, cursing and rough handling is not called for in the police force. The police are supposed to uphold and represent "peace"!!*

R #118 *I was verbally abused but never physically abused. I was raised in Saskatoon most of my life. And every time I was on the street there were some police that seemed to go out of there way to call me down or just make me stand up against a wall downtown and check me out infront of alot of people to make me feel like an asshole. Or come to my home to find out where I was the night before. And if I had friends around they would tell them not to be around me to much or they find them selves in trouble to. Witch I thought was wrong.*

R #126 *Yes, I was verbally abused, and felt 2 inches high!*

R #128 *Yes. They stopped me to ask questions, while I was using the phone at 7-11. They asked what I was doing. I told them, they started using verbally abusive language towards me and my friend. They told us to get the fuck home, so we left without arguement, and as we were doing so, they said stop right fuckin now, we're not done talking to you. So we did as asked, they said other things, then let us go without arguement.*

Fifteen (11.2%) respondents stated they had experienced physical abuse by Saskatoon City Police.

R #017 *Yes. I was a passenger in a high speed chase when we finally got stoped the police drag us out and started kicking and punching us there were two of us people were watching as white people.*

R #027 *Choked - wrong place right time*

R #037 *Yes, they beat the fuck out of me.*

R #056 *When the police came to arrest me, at first I didn't know what for. When I didn't want to go, two officers started choking me.*

R #057 *Just once that I can remember and it was my fault because when this police officer was passing I start making sounds like a pig and wouldn't stop when he told me to shut up so I guess I got him mad so he kicked my ass and told me to get the hell home and grow up.*

R #060 *Yes, physically abused by Matrons at the City Police station. Discriminatory remarks were made about being Native.*

Went to Human Rights was gonna charge matron,

but my prime witness wouldn't appear because she too was scared of the cops here in Saskatoon. I feel I should have gone to court even though my witness wouldn't appear. It would have made other Natives like myself think twice about how cops treat us. (Natives)

R #066 *1- crutches & abroken ankle I was dragged to a drunk tank for being intoxicated; when in reality I was just resting my leg. They muscled me to my feet and rebroke my ankle, threw me in the tank-hosed me down every hour-threw my crutches away. Released in the A.M. without my cruthes - rebroken - to attend myself. tuff task!*
2- "You don't have the same rights here, this is S'toon." When asked if they have the right to search me?

R #071 *Yes, several times physically, Both on the streets and in the police station. Police will verbally abuse people usually when they are allone.*

R #102 *Yes, when the police assumed I stole the car. They thought I had the keys and so they physically abused me for the keys I didn't have.*

R #105 *I was arrested and a car door slammed on my leg while my leg was still sticking out. Without the concern of the police officers if it was hurt or not. They also one year, they sprayed water on me to wake me up. Only to tell me to leave, at 6:00 am in the middle of winter.*

R #109 *Yes been pushed hurridly into van*

R #117 *Yes, a number of times. I was beaten badly because I'm an Indian, and every white police officer hate Indians, I know it, and that's why more natives in jail.*

R #124 *Yes/ both physically and mentally.*

R #129 *1) Yes, stopped for .08 and police escorted me to a wall store front told me to spread legs etc. then kneeded me in rectum area for no apparent reason.*
2) Been physically assaulted when handcuffed, thrust forcibly into back area of car.

R #133 *Yes I was drunk and they started to push me around then a lady police officer hit me.*

While both preceeding sections have refered soley to verbal or physical abuse, six (4.5%) respondents stated they had experienced both verbal and physical abuse by Saskatoon City Police.

R #032 *Yes I have been assaulted physically and verbally by the police while under the influence of alcohol. Not only in Saskatoon but also in other communities.*

R #045 *Yes, I was physically & verbally abused same time I*

was charged in above answer.

R #080 *Yes. I was handcuffed in such a way that caused physical injury. Plus, an officer told me I was a menace to society and ought to be shot. Both of these incidents happened over 15 years ago.*

R #094 *First time a cop slapped me so hard I got a black eye, he tried to make me say I did it. This was in Regina. I was 18yrs. About a year ago a cop called me everything you could call a woman, he was so rough with me I had a fractured collar bone, but didn't do anything about it. Saskatoon. I was 24 yrs.*

R #107 *Yes, I had my shoulder broken. I been spread eagle over a table and had my pants pulled down while they stood around and laughed. I had them unholster their guns when I and a friend talked behind a older apartment building in my car. I often been called stupid idiot, asshole, etc.*

R #127 *Yes to both questions, again I do not wish to comment on the situation.*

For those comments which did not thematically fit into the above categories, a category "other" was included. This accounted for eight (6.0%) respondents.

R #006 *Not so much verbaly or physically abusive but I was told to "Never phone the police again" on one such occasion stated above" [domestic dispute]*

R #043 *Not really physically but they let their fucking dogs on me for no fucking reason. I hate you guys for that and there is no forgiveness for those two cops that did that!!! Those fuckin assholes just about killed me. I should kill those fucking mutts. Assholes! I am really pissed off with all of you shitheads*

R #062 *Yes, twice when I've had the seatbelt infractions, they treated me quite rudely as if I committed theft. One reason why I couldn't wear the seatbelt was becuase I was pregnant and developed gall bladder infection at the same time. The pressure of the seatbelt was painful. I tried to explain this to the policeman but he wouldn't hear me out, He just yelled at me to pull out my identification at time I did. There is no place we are aware of that we can go, to voice our complaint or explanations.*

R #085 *I was asked a series of unneccessary questions while visiting the city before moved to S'toon. I was just minding my own business going to the store.*

R #086 *Yes [verbally]. The RCMP has threatened me with a jail term, if I didn't tell them where my daughters where abouts. They harrassed me by coming to my door with these threats and by watching my place. My experience with some Saskatoon police whenever they*

did a routine check. I find their attitude disrespectful they talk down to you. I dread the thought of being stopped by some of them.

R #091 *Yes, as a staff member and when questioned by a Saskatoon Police Officer. ie I went to a local bar with a friend aboriginal male, well educated & working for CS Corrections, 11 ys ago. We were both treated very hostile & both were accused of being drunk. Police were looking for an male Indian & my friend was mistaken for him (4 Police pulled their guns on him) & told me to keep my mouth shut. We only had one drink each & they said we were drunk!*

9.3 HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PHYSICALLY OR VERBALLY ABUSIVE TOWARDS POLICE? IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

Eighty-eight (65.7%) respondents to this question indicated they had not been physically or verbally abusive towards police. Twenty-one (15.5%) responded in the affirmative. Three respondents made comments or related stories which did not answer the question. These were coded as "other". Twenty-two (16.4%) respondents did not complete answer this question and were categorized as missing.

Some of the comments of those who stated they had not been verbally or physically abusive towards police were:

R #002 *No not that I can recall.*

R #031 *No, I have not.*

R #033 *No not really but they sure can be mean when they want to be.*

R #051 *Are you crazy? I'd never do that to any police officer.*

R #061 *Just to state my case and ask why but never physical or verbal abuse when it comes to times like this it is hard to have self control sometimes I almost lose it because they push me to the limit.*

R #077 *No. I don't have much to do with them, besides who in their right mind would become abusive verbally or physically towards the police. The chances of being hauled in would be far greater. Not a smart thing to do.*

R #081 *No, I have not been in front of them but I did feel at times that they acted unfairly in certain situations. I would voice my opinion to my peers*

afterwards. I did this because I felt if I had told the police how I felt I would have been arrested as well.

R #127 *No, but I have felt like many times, but have reframed due to repercussions that occur from it.*

The following responses are by subjects who assert they have been verbally or physically abusive to police.

R #005 *Yes, when I hear police arresting aboriginals when it seems they were not doing anything.*

R #032 *Yes I have been verbally and physically abusive toward the police only after they been abusive toward me. It's just a reaction in otherwords I'm defending myself for nothing I did wrong to recieve such treatment.*

R #037 *Yes, I got 6 attepted murder raps dropped to various assaults of them cops.*

R #043 *Fuck yah! after that dog encounter what do you think? You would too if you were in my shoes!*

R #045 *just retaliated*

R #058 *Yes I have been verbally abusive when the police called me a "fucking liar".*

R #069 *For myself, yes, I was abusive before I became an adult. Then of course I knew or was taught that without a system of policing the Euro styled judicial system we have it Society would be crazy. Speaking of the present I keep care not to be abusive in any way.*

R #071 *Yes, I had assaulted officer John Popowich. He grabbed me from behind, I didn't know who he was. He did not identify himself.*

R #088 *Yes, I treat them as they treat me!!*

R #107 *Yes, I am a proud man, when they begin, I begin.*

R #108 *Yes when they wouldn't arrest some drunk that tried to break into my home.*

R #112 *I would bad mouth cops, because they weren't looked upon as protectors but as people that harrassed us.*

R #114 *Yes. When I detect prejudism by a police officer I try and stick up for myself verbally.*

R #117 *They don't allow you to explain, even if they do they won't believe a thing you say. And no, I never try anything like that but if they push me hard with violence I have to try and protect myself.*

R #121 *Yes I called them name.*

R #128 *Yes, when they used language with me for no reason so I used it back.*

R #131 *Yes because of related alcohol.*

R #133 *Yes. I hit her [officer] and he [officer] jumped me and started kicking until I couldn't walk.*

Three (2.3%) respondents were categorized "other" as

responses did not "make sense" in relation to the question. Two of these responses were:

R #016 *Lots of times they don't come around when you need them or at the wrong time.*

R #074 *There has been bully policemen near communities or reserves that was under the bully police. Those police are usually bigger than average ordinary individuals. They know they are physically powerful and they take advantage of their size so they are usually abusive because they know they can overpower any oposition ..?.. anyone dares confront them even when the native has no intention of being abusive its the police that opens the situation that may lead to violence Thus in this situation I objected the way the youth was handled. He had on a white shirt which was torn off his back He had confronted the police objective to the mightly police for something that the police had accused the boy. The boy had asked the police to go to the reserve to see the Chief where he (the boy) can explain his innocense so the police throw him in the police car but instead of going to the reserve he drove to this secluded spot There he blooded the boys face shirt torn off his back etc. Thats where I came along with another worker (white youth social worker) I stopped and asked what was going on. I was on my way to the phone. In no uncertain terms I was told by the police to be on my way. I left but stopped to see the proceedings. The youth (handcuffed) was ..?.. thrown inside and they drove off. I immediately followed but instead I went straight to RCMP ..?.. office and related what we saw.*

This is likely the form of story that when related to others adds to the folklore that police treatment of Aboriginal people is brutal.

9.4 WHAT CAN THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION OF SASKATOON DO TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH POLICE?

One hundred five (78.3%) responses were originally thematically coded as: do not know, nothing, community involvement, communication, self action, education, more aboriginal police, sympathetic or understanding of police,

and other. Twenty-nine (21.6%) respondents did not comment and were coded missing. Categories "do not know" and "nothing" have been collapsed. Categories: "community involvement", "communication" and "sympathetic or understanding of police" have been collapsed to form a category the central theme of which is more positive interaction between police and Aboriginal peoples. It must also be noted that these categories are not always mutually exclusive. Often education and communication were mentioned by respondents as important to improving police-Aboriginal relations, but for clarity of presentation, they have been categorized by what seemed to be the dominant theme expressed.

Fourteen (10.4%) respondents stated they either did not know what could be done or that nothing could be done.

R #003 *I have never had too much to do with the police, so I don't know.*
R #027 *Don't know.*
R #043 *I have no fucking idea. You tell me!*
R #094 *I don't know.*
R #103 *What can you do?*
R #116 *Don't know*

R #018 *nothing what can they do. The police won't listen to what we have to say, if we could.*
R #037 *Not a whole fuck of alot.*
R #061 *Their are alot of things people can do to improve this but never never completely cure it. as the years go by I don't doubt that it is going to get worse.*
R #070 *I really can see no changes in relations with the police and further I see no concrete solutions. I believe that Aboriginals have a negative view towards police because of a reaction to the way they have been treated. Also, If police take steps (it is up to them they hold the power) the Aboriginal community will react positively.*
R #102 *Nothing. No one listens or cares.*
R #117 *None or whatsoever, not unless theres a mircale it would be amazing or people have to change both the*

whites and Indians.

R #126 *Nothing!*

Another central theme which arose was that of more positive interaction between Aboriginal people and the police. Thirty-seven (27.6%) of those surveyed indicated the belief that action along these lines would facilitate an improvement in police-Aboriginal relations.

R #004 *I think that Native people should take more of a role in the city. We have a lot of benefits and we should take advantage of it. It will be hard to change the attitudes of the native people.*

R #011 *Get involved with the community, go to self help clinics if needed etc.*

R #081 *I think the aboriginal people should become more involved with the community as I see happening with the schools (St. Mary's, Pleasant Hill). I also think the police station on 20th is good for relations but it should be "full time" so that the downtown core population will be more exposed to police and vise versa.*

R #086 *The willingness to meet our responsabilities by standing up for our rights to respect ourselves and others. To overcome being sensitive and feeling victimized by some of the officers negativeness. One way to overcome this is to get involved with the community and allowing people to get to know you.*

R #006 *More understanding on both sides is necessary.*

R #009 *If we as aboriginals could just learn to trust the police and be less offensive towards them and visa versa then maybe we could all be happier.*

R #020 *???????? To have a non-Aboriginal or Aboriginal person within the Police Force to work together and not to be intimidated with each other.*

R #023 *I don't really know but I think either side could be just a little more respective towards each other.*

R #034 *To improve relations between the police and the aboriginal people, the effort has to go both ways and not always be one sided.*

R #046 *Sit down type conference with police and Natives. More understanding of Native ways and Culture is needed.*

R #055 *the aboriginal people should just stay away from the police. when around the police try to solve the problem by talking it out.*

R #056 *The aboriginal population of Saskatoon can improve relations with police by simply avoiding them or when they do encounter the police they should behave in a*

courtious civil manner.

R #057 *I think they need to talk more and the police should try to understand when your down and out and unemployed that you sometimes go to extremes just trying to survive. And that just because of a few people not all the other people are the same as in the police force there are good and bad cops.*

R #059 *I'm having a problem answering this, all I can say at this time, is that, they can "try" to be more friendlier even if it is a few moments of conversation.*

R #062 *There are many aboriginals who will react to the way police treat them. If the police are respectful so will some natives. We are an example. However, most times we do not react to rude treatment but we feel intimidated and frustrated.*

R #064 *Request more police involvement at the community level. Invite officers to meet children in informal situations. To inform and teach children at a young age to relate to police officers as their to help and protect them.*

R #071 *Stay on their reserves or in there homes (out of sight out of mind) a few bad apples spoil the whole bunch. we need to be more honest with the police, they need to do the same. attitudes need to change, we need to be more open and friendly towards each other, we are all human. maybe we should start acting like humans; instead of acting like animals. we need to learn to respect the police.*

R #092 *Set up some type of aboriginal committee with the RCMP & City Police so that ideas and strategies can be exchanged on as to how native and police relations can be improved.*

R #112 *If the police showed a positive attitude towards Natives, they would show some respect back.*

R #134 *Most times the trouble stems from lack of understanding and language barriers. An educator or volunteer worker may be needed to inform aboriginal people of policies set up in cities.*

R #010 *To have more positive attitude toward the peace officers.*

R #012 *try to be good and stop looking at the color of police because they are only doing their jobs.*

R #026 *I don't think there is a solution because there is people who keep getting into trouble that the police get to know and get tired of because they get fines and jail time but don't learn then there's the people who don't get into trouble all the time and the police try to talk to you and help you but if you treat them right they treat you right.*

R #051 *They should respect the police force, just like they would respect thier own way of living up to thier elders.*

R #058 *Don't think that all police are bad they are just doing there job.*

R #063 *Being more receptive towards police involvement in the aboriginal population. Start giving the police the benefit of doubt instead of assuming guilt before innocent.*

R #076 *I suppose the aboriginal people could start to listen to what the police have to say whenever they are arrested. Instead of being stubborn.*

R #090 *Stay out of trouble. Teach their children respect and that includes police officers; Explain the good things that police do; like arresting the ones that break the law ie. protecting us & our homes from robbery, theft, assault, drunken drivers. The list goes on & on and if the young ones know this it will be instilled in them and they in turn can see police officers the way they should be seen. I feel that among the aboriginal population only the lawbreakers have the hatred for police. I personally have a lot of respect for them. I've worked in various parts of the justice system and except for a few; generally it was good.*

R #096 *An understanding has to be reached on both sides there are certain areas of the city that are looked down on because of the native population. native people should be encouraged to help regardless of there past recordsetc. The people have to see that the police will help, that this is what they are there for, not just abusers etc. I feel this is what native people, at least most of them see the police as.*

R #097 *I think that aboriginal people have to start showing alot more respect for the police. I think any problems they've had with the police are their own fault!!*

R #100 *there is one thing young parents can do is teach their children to respect the police... I have heard people tell their children "Behave or the police will put you in jail". that's wrong. Another one would be. If a parent should happen to be apprehended in front of children. The police are always the bad ones. these little people understand more than they are credited for. They grow up in fear of police.*

R #111 *It's not only a matter of aboriginal people, it's also the police. But I think they could be a bit more friendly to them. Not all police are bad people. Some police are there to help in any way they can. the aboriginal people should see that.*

Interstingly, fifteen (11.2%) respondents made reference to what I term "self action" as an avenue to improving police -Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon.

R #002 *Try staying less out of trouble.*

R #005 *aboriginal people should get rid of the bad attitudes they have about the police.*

R #015 *Clean up their act and this would change alot of things.*

R #016 *Get along better with them Stay out of trouble like drinking & doing drugs. Change their attitudes towards each other*

R #022 *They should behave and smarten up. maybe they could get along with the police.*

R #031 *-Not be so critical towards the police.*
-Its allways, one aboriginal making it bad for the whole population.
-Stay out of trouble and learn there next generation to be courteous, and not to do bad.

R #040 *Stay out of trouble.*

R #041 *The aboriginal can clean up their act towards the police.*

R #049 *Some should straighten out their act and treat each other as a human being. We are all equal and no one has any power over another.*

R #050 *Stay out of trouble.*

R #066 *Produce sincere recognition to our own problems. These do not deal with police. Our whole culture, trust in our elders has been slowly stolen. We are a strong people. Witness recognize us as the soveirgn peoples. More recognition goes to our inhabitants in this city, land....*

R #075 *I strongly believe, that the aboriginal people need to come together (if at all possible) to form a cirle, where they can start healing themselves, including the RCMP members themselves. Then we can start exchanging the hurts and painswe have within us. WHY? are we bitter, why is there so much violence, why is there so much anger, & low self esteem. We have to come together (compromise) & have workshops & have group discussions, this will be the beginning, but to have a regular follow up on this project. Include elders and all ages.*

R #077 *This has got to be one stupid question. Us Indian people can only look after our own and stay within the law, all children should be taught right to wrong. How the police choose to act towards this attitude is up to them (individually). Personally I don't think they would have a problem with it.*

R #087 *Not to take crime into their own hands and stop all the violence and take care of the community.*

R #107 *protest, have a inquiry to get everything out in the open, so the healing can begin.*

Twelve (8.9%) respondents stated that various educational approaches could facilitate an improvement in

police-Aboriginal community relations. Among these were schooling, workshops and programs and cultural awareness.

R #028 *Teach them manners about RACISM!*
R #029 *Education*
R #032 *To have a better self awareness of their culture and heritage. To be proud of their nationality. To stay away from alcohol and drugs to improve relations with the police instead of bein under the influence and having a culture clash and misunderstand of each other's.*
R #047 *I suggest that aboriginal leaders should take the responsibility of educating their community so they can improve thier attitude towards life and respect to others..."*
R #048 *Keep their young in school. Spend time with family. Learn to have a good clean attitude towards civilization.*
R #053 *-Work with their own people,*
-councelling,
-role models,
-Start programs that bring police in more contact (positively) with their people.
R #069 *Become more educated to the law as it truly is! There is simply too much nievity within the native population. However this can never come to pass unless there is communication between two parties it is fact that the situation is hopeless.*
There should be laison people who are native to work with natives. In a community with a large native population ie. Winnepeg, Regina & S'toon. the aboriginal issue is touchy & very possibly explosive while more and more natives are becoming educated the system will have to wait. I believe in 25 years lots will happen. But what about the casualties.
R #093 *Workshops and seminars on cross-cultural training.*
R #110 *Go to more schools, elementary. Get to the little kids while they are young instead of when they are too late!*
R #118 *I think we have to start with are children. I remember when I was young. Every time I did something wrong at home my mother would tell me the police would come and take me away to jail I think if police would just try and talk to us and just think were nothing but trouble all the time. I'm not saying that all police are like that. Because I've met a lot that are willing to be understanding. I think we all have to start understanding that we are all the same.*
R #119 *-Education - information*
-Reduce feelings of paranoia ie. -don't take a negative response as a racist response

-*Start education sooner. From the beginning. Parent's should show positive attitudes to police.*

R #124 *offer more alcohol and drug programs also workshops and other employment*

Fifteen (11.2%) respondents conveyed their desire to see more Aboriginal police on the Saskatoon force.

R #007 *They should have more native policeman on the force.*
R #019 *Have more aboriginal people as police.*
R #030 *Hire more aboriginal police.*
R #045 *Have more Native officers.*
R #060 *-More Native police in Saskatoon. Chiefs and Natives have conferences with police to talk about problems. -Have police have ride alongs of Native areas to intervene with situations that deal with Natives. -Where Natives can go to talk about their run-ins with police. I feel this should be done because there are so many Natives that have been mistreated but are scared so they try to forget the incident ever happened.*
R #105 *Have aboriginal people who are not in the police force. No matter if their Aboriginal police, work within the police station. Who would not be intimiated by the other police officers (Aboriginal or not). A person or persons who would not turn his or her back on anyone who is lower than they. This person should be around anyone who is arrested and try to be made to confess. Have F.S.I. have a lawyer service 24 hours a day.*
R #106 *I believe we should have more aboriginal police officers. There has been too much stero-typing and that is where the abuse from police officers come in.*
R #108 *have more Native on the Saskatoon Police force. To have a Better relation to the Police.*
R #113 *1. More exposure to what police do, go thru (when a Native is sober, he/she can spend time with police on their calls and observe).*
2. more Native policemen
3. Liason workers for communication
4. Native courtworkers to help with the process in appearing before J.P, Judge etc.
R #114 *Lobby for more aboriginal police officers. Also Indians could try & not drink so much. But in order to do that Indians must be able to find jobs so they get at least a part of their self respect back. Depression drives a lot of people to drink or drugs.*
R #129 *-Stand up for what's right. -Report cases of police harassment -Report physical abuse. -Stand up and be counted. -Write to M.L.A. about abuse by police towards*

other natives.
-Get other natives involved.
-Have a native group you can go to, to report this behavior.
-More Native police.
-Have a native police officer handle your case.
-Above all - be proud of yourself - you have accomplished something.

Finally, there is the category of "other" which twelve (9.0%) respondents have been categorized as their comments are not subsumed by the affore mentioned categories.

R #033 *I wish they [police] can have more respect for Natives. (Note: this answer was given to Q-4 but would be more appropriate for Q-5)*

R #036 *Major problem is racism. If ther's a white boy and a Indian boy walking to a school function at night who would most likely be stopped and asked what are you doing and going?*

R #039 *I believe that the aboriginal people are very loving and giving & caring; however they have been treated badly by the white population so they react as any human being will to mistreatment.*
The aboriginal people have lost the trust. so I believe its not what they can do to improve relations, its more like; change the attitude of the white population then you will see more trust in the aboriginal population.

R #127 *Get rid of racist police would be a start in the right direction. A test should be formulated to test their racial attitudes toward indians. Failure of test should mean, failure to be accepted as a recruit.*

R #133 *KILL PIGS*

9.5 WHAT CAN THE POLICE DO TO IMPROVE POLICE - ABORIGINAL RELATIONS IN SASKATOON?

Question five asked "What can the police do to improve police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon? Approximately one hundred (75.0%) respondents provided information in response to this question, while the remaining thirty-four (25.4%) were categorized as missing. Responses were thematically categorized and collapsed into the following categories; 1)

don't know / pessimistic, 2) police involvement in the aboriginal community inluding school visitations and communication, 3) improve treatment of Aboriginal persons, 4) education and cross cultural training and more aboriginal police, and 5) other.

Eight (6.0%) respondents either stated they did not know or that they were pessimistic about, what the police could do to improve relations with the Aboriginal communtity.

R #002 *I don't really know what to say.*
R #012 *I really don't know.*
R #020 *???*
R #050 *I wouldn't know.*
R #077 *In the whole ther will always be racism. But I really don't see how the police can improve such conflict, when it does happen. ...*
R #116 *Don't know*

R #037 *Not alot.*
R #117 *I don't think there's any, since both sides don't want to change for the better, police department will never change for Indians in the future, it will get worse, take my word for it.*

The focus on youth via school visitations and on improving communication and interaction among officers and Aboriginal people was conveyed by sixteen (11.9%) respondents.

R #063 *Start having more community relations officer in the school with high native population so they can be percieved as people also and children can start with a positive attitude toward the police force. Become more involved in the aboriginal social functions.*
R #064 *-the police should be involved at the school level by placing officers in the elementary & secondary schools as community relations officers. This was done at my high school in Calgary & teenagers were then more comfortable with the officers as a whole.*
R #072 *The aboriginal people and police should try harder to work together so that future generations should not have to endure the same attitudes towards one another. start at schools to teach crime prevention to young people that on the road to distruction.*

R #087 *They can talk to kids and parents in schools. And tell them what they think of all the things that are happening in the community.*

R #090 *Continue to have a lot of contact with students in school. This not only builds trust and respect for children but the adults as well.*

R #095 *I think the police should have visits with kids in elementry schools. Not just once while the kids are in elementary but a few times. Tell what they do and have question periods. Also to the schools that have alot of aboriginal students.*

R #104 *They should make themselves more available to aboriginal organizations to explain their roles plus help explain some laws and how to avoid any pitfalls a person may get into with the law.*

R #019 *Talk to more aboriginal's.*

R #059 *If the police can "show", that there willing to make an effort in having better relations, with the aboriginal people. I am sure, the aboriginals would be willing, to give it an extra effort, also. For an example: "Instead of coming up to a "native", and asking for I.D. all the time, they should try asking a person how they are.*

R #098 *get more involved with one + other put yourself in the other persons shoes for awhile and see both sides.*

R #099 *They need to crack down on the younger generation up to 18 yrs. The police need to encourage the younger (gen.) to look at the future. I also think we need to communicate with each other. They need to look at the community, at those that are trying , instead of those that are not trying The ones that do try their best are not taken serious at all.*

R #105 *Have police officer's hang around Native Centre and not be in uniform. But in street ordinary clothes. For them to talk to native's about life as a native, their feelings, thoughts, and why's. But not ask questions as a police officers, but as if they were the people they were talking to. Don't ask any cop questioning that who criminate themselves.*

R #111 *The police doen't have to assume that all aboriginal people are vicous. that they have to be rough. They can try and talk to them. You can't expect every aboriginal people to be friendly to police that don't like them. Try get ones that can talk to aboriginal people in a friendly way to work with aboriginal people.*

R #019 *-Hire more non-whites -make these officers more visible to public.*
-Hold meetings between police + the community - specifically the natives - encourage attendance.

R #120 *like I said both sides have to come together.*

Starting to respect each other. because I believe on both sides is discrimination against each other. I believe their has to be a more understanding between both sides. I do believe because of one bad apple all aren't bad. Neither do you treat all the same because of one.

The most frequently cited theme was that of the belief that the police need to improve their treatment of Aboriginal people. This theme was expressed by twenty-six (19.4%) subjects.

R #005 *The police could be nice to aboriginal peoples. Not to look down at them suspiciously because they are Native. But to say "Hi!" to them. That would be different.*

R #009 *If they "the police" could be less judgemental of all aboriginals maybe they wouldn't have as many difficulties with the aboriginals.*

R #016 *Be less hateful & abusive towards aboriginal people attitudes needs improving Take the time to get to know the people before judging them.*

R #027 *Don't know Treat everyone equal.*

R #028 *Learn to treat everyone equally. No matter what color or race they are.*

R #031 *-Not to be so harsh on aboriginals*
-Not have negative attitudes towards one person because all people are the same.
-Have more workshops at schools for the younger generation to learn and know about the police force. That their not that bad and that their there to help and work together as a community. Also that were all trying to help one another no matter what race, color or creed.

R #041 *The police can stop suspecting aboriginal people for things they probably haven't done.*

R #042 *The police can stop suspecting and stopping aboriginal peoples when they see them near where a crime has been committed.*

R #045 *Stop thier prejudust.*

R #046 *use more respect to natives.*

R #047 *Do thier job and see to it that everybody is treated fairly, being an aboriginal or not;as being part of a community everybody should be equal regardless of race, religion, color, education & etc. The law that the police are enforcing should be the same to everybody regardless and to remind them (the police) that they are not the law but "Agent of person with authority."*

R #049 *Treat each person as a person and not treat them by the color of their skin.*

R #055 *I think the police should stop comparing Indians. all Indians aren't like. To quit treating indians like criminals.*

R #056 *The police can improve relations with the aboriginal peoples of Saskatoon by not treating them like criminals, instead treat them like ordinary human beings, because not all aboriginal people are bad. A lot of aboriginal people in Saskatoon are decent law abiding citizens.*

R #057 *Try be more understanding and treat everyone equally.*

R #058 *Do not think that all aboriginals are bad or drunken bums.*

R #071 *Don't be so quick to point their fingers toward Natives treat us like humans, we aren't Dogs. we all bleed the same colour. Police only have respect for the white population. they should try to respect Natives. Some of us can be nice. Some of us can and do have feelings. our feelings are just as fragile as what theres are. we do feel the same things fear, excitement, happiness, sadness, pain, they all hurt just as much or feel just as good.*

R #085 *Say a friendly hello and not have a phony attitude about anything especially being friendly.*

R #102 *Stop looking down on aboriginals*

R #103 *Treat the Native population just as you do your own.*

R #106 *Stop stereotyping Natives*

R #118 *I think all the police have to remember that we all have the right to be treated the same as everyone else. Not to be judged on our race or color. And to just deal with use on one to one. And judge use by other...? There are good and bad in everyone. Not just in one people.*

R #124 *treat aboriginal peoples as human beings*

R #130 *I think that the police should look at aboriginal peoples as equal to the white community. We're all human beings.*

Improving police-Aboriginal relations in Saskatoon was also thought to be attainable by training and policy oriented changes to department. Education and cross cultural training along with hiring more Aboriginal police officers was cited by thirty-two (24.6%) respondents.

R #015 *Learn more about the culture. Communicate more with them too. Be more open and receptive to them.*

R #029 *Educate them of our culture.*

R #030 *Not to look at all natives as being from the same ethnic background. There are many types of cree which make up most of the native groups but they all have different customs and beliefs. ....ALL NATIVES ARE*

NOT THE SAME AS EUROPEANS ARE NOT ALL THE SAME.

R #053 *-Learn more on aboriginal customs & ways of life -understand their history and struggle in a white world. -Become more involved with Metis & status people. -Understand the dynamics of poverty & abuse and how people are affected by it.*

R #061 *Perhaps if they were trained for dealing with minorities. The book Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba: The Justice System and Aboriginal People Vol.1 has some excellent suggestions in Chapter 16.*

R #069 *In my opinion there has to be very much bridge crossing, before the evolution of aboriginal - police situations can ever begin to see light. There should be an elder to teach the native values to the police system. There simply has to be UNDERSTANDING in all areas. Books cannot teach everything. there has to be verbal interaction. More 'humble' natives have to be in the force. Before a law can be enforced, the population has to be made aware of what law is!*

R #075 *During the RCMP training, to have a good honest orientation. I once heard Niel McDonald lecture in Regina, who I believe lectures to RCMP trainees, who I thought was excellent, but there again afterthey train, is that where it ends? Again I say there should be refresher courses a reminder for the members. The newer trained members can be easily mislead, when they hear the negativeside of the aboriginals. Maybe it would help if there were more native RCMP members & I also mean the city police.*

R #086 *Police should be made aware that Indian people are individual and we all fulfill our needs differently, but be aware most Indian people are different from the general population. Some things that are important to the general population are not as important to Indian people. Most importantly I think police could be more proffessional in the way they deal with natives and not be affected by their feelings of dislike or hate.*

R #088 *Have them take some sort of informational sessions / lectures on the native. try to understand us, not prosecute us.*

R #092 *They too can set up police committees to do the same. The RCMP & City Police could also recieve cross-cultural training to help them understand the aboriginal peoples & their culture better.*

R #093 *To understand what Native people are all about. Study their attitudes values economy.*

R #107 *They need education, to look at aboriginal as a proud people, not animals. They have to realize that there is a culture shock for these people.*

R #112 *To be more educated about aboriginal backgroung*

either from the city or reserve, and push thier personnal views aside.

R #113 *= More cultural awareness*
= If a police man/women lived the way I lived maybe they would know where I'm coming from / maybe he/she can assist me in realizing I have choices in where I can go from here.
= Most police men/women have come from good families never had experienced hunger, discrimination and low-self-esteem!!

R #114 *Take more courses in social work.*

R #126 *They can be educated much more on Native people and their culture!*

R #001 *Hire more aboriginal police, no special constables, no special police force for the aboriginals, just more aboriginals on the job.*

R #003 *Maybe get some more Native police. Ther aren't very many in the city that I know of.*

R #006 *Change attitude toward native people and have more native policemen. Have a screening system and send out natives and non presjust white officers to deal with police calls involving natives.*

R #011 *Hire more aboriginal officers make them visible in both aboriginal and non-aboriginal areas. Also hold self help and community assistance programs. Get involved with aboriginal youths similar to a Big Brother's type program?*

R #017 *Have more Aboriginal police.*

R #018 *Have more aboriginal police.*

R #032 *Have more aboriginal police in the police force. Not to be so quick to criticize an native if he/she is under the influence or other. To have more depth of our culture as therefore their's.*

R #039 *I believe more aboriginal police officers would improve the relations in Saskatoon. It would be like "building bridges" - where their has been gaps - I feel it would defuse the racial tensions and attitudes on both sides.*

R #040 *Hire more aboriginals.*

R #048 *Add more natives to the police force. keep contact with other children organizations around the city.*

R #060 *More Native Cops.*

R #070 *-hire more Aboriginals*
-spend less time in Aboriginal neighborhoods (ie. Riversdale)
-stop using accessive force when arresting Aboriginals. let more Natives off with a warning rather than fining them.
-give intoxicated Natives a ride home rather than to than to the drunk tank.
-be more sympathetic to the sub-standard socio-economic conditions Natives are in.

R #074 *One possible answer would be to have more Indian or*

aboriginal police both male and female but native police will have to be trainedin an aboriginal setting with more aboriginal psychology and spirituality involved. ... Police have for too long have been brought up to be brutal because of the ideas of white supremacy power hungry administration. For so long power has been in the white hands and any way to try to go against the status quo was disaster so how can relations improve but go from bad to worse. Improvements have to be sincerely revued It is time to try and work something for both white and aboriginal relationship to improve. In my opinion more native police set up to be worked out. I am as an aboriginal concerned because I have grandchildren growing up but not among a biased society but as equals. So long as we have a domineering society that is better than other Canadian we have a problem. We want to be people (real) not just Indian. White societies churches etc. will really have to smarten up. otherwise there is a distinct possibility of a real war because we can't just keep taking it in the chin.

R #096 *More native police officers, an understanding of natives and for the police not to have such a negative attitude towards native people. Police also have to have some respect and trust for native people.*

R #115 *Have more Police that are aboriginal.*

R #127 *As I suggested in quest 4, then recruit more natives & teach patience & understanding of Natives should be part of the cirriculum at the training centre for recruits.*

The remaining eighteen (13.4%) respondents were thematically coded into an "other" category for their comments were not viewed to fit within the afore mentioned categories.

R #004 *They shouldn't take their bad attitudes to work. They should try to help more.*

R #010 *To change the negative attitude to a positive one towards the native population.*

R #022 *I got nothing to say about that but they try there best. And I'm thankful for that.*

R #051 *When they get a call they should be there on time.*

R #066 *-we don't all have violent tendencies like the white*
-we do have ideas of finding a better way of speafing to others (we do respect other cultures)
-quit taking it for granted ("color - means conviction")

"Take extra classes on inherent right to land and the meaning of our creator!" Please

R #076 *First of all they can start to take us serious. Whenever we have a complaint nothing is done about it.*

R #081 *I think the police should consider how aboriginal people feel ie. their culture, values. Also they should consider minorities lifestyle's because their lives are considerably different from middle class and their are usually reasons behind their criminal behavior. I also feel that the 20th St. office should be open full time instead of only temporarily.*

R #097 *I believe the police have really done all they can there are alot more important problems to worry about for the police force.*

R #100 *It would be up to each officer weither they wanted to change their relationship with aboriginal people as a whole or an individual. Ther is no two peoples alike. There are some police officers that are pretty good with Native people. As an aboriginal person raised in a foster home. I grew up with the impression that <u>all</u> Native men were lazy, don't work, welfare bums, live off women with children. So what I'm getting at is it's almost impossible to change everybody. We're all human.*

R #110 *Try to change they're negativity towards Natives before they start fighting back. Natives are people just like someone who lives in Lawson Heights, only Natives didn't get the same opportunities as them.*

R #128 *Same statement as in question 4.*
Have Police explain fully for reasons, they are questioning, stopping, and using abusive language. With an apology.

R #131 *be honest.*

R #134 *I have not seen the police station set up at 20th street as you mentioned, but I think this is the first step.*

9.6 PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ELABORATE ON ANY OF THE ABOVE OR OTHER RELATED ISSUES YOU FEEL ARE IMPORTANT AND WHICH HAVE BEEN OVERLOOKED OR INADEQUATELY ADDRESSED IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Responses here seemed to fit into the following themes: positive towards police; critical of police; those who knew of stories of abuse; those advocating formal and informal education of both groups; critical assessments of power relations; and critical comments about the research . First,

there were those who seem to be positive towards police.

R #002 *...any time I had to call police they were always there to help me.*

R #022 *I thank the city of Saskatoon, for having the protection of our people in the west side - by having the city police on 20th St.*

R #090 *I feel that most of the questionnaire was inadequately addressed. I feel that the majority of the aboriginals who dislike police are the lawbreakers also there are a few police who 'can't stomach' the aboriginals but that is very few. Generally I feel that they do an excellent job.*

R #097 *I am a Metis woman but I feel that far too much attention has been given in this study and in society as a whole as to the rough treatment that we aboriginal people are being given. I think we have to start taking responsability for at least part of the problem. Thank you for the opportunity to be of help.*

As well, there were those who were critical of the police.

R #027 *Why do the police only patrol in the native bars on 20th, not the other bars? The handcuffs seem to be tighter on natives (ie. marks)*

R #043 *Leave me alone I haven't done anything wrong for so many years now. I now am against crime.*

R #062 *Many Natives do not go out of their way to be rude, but become that way because they have been provoked by police officers who use their authority to hassle these individuals, My husband and I are an example as well as my relatives and friends, and the majority of use are not alcoholic drinkers or drug abusers. Sometimes they hassle us for things that they'll voluntarily overlook in white people such as stopping on the street to pick someone up. This has been an actual observation.*

R #066 *Higher ranked officers "shit" on the attempt to assimilate native officers into "their system" The need of rank 'versus' population is in more desperate need than ever before. I suggest the possibility of Aboriginal officers (not already brain-washed) be positioned in stronger positions - upon deservance - to deal and bring more programs to understand the strength and respect natives have been raised from time immemorial to move in this delayed recognition.*

R #069 *Much work has to be done yet. Surveys like this are helpful. Not as helpful as direct action would be. The problems exist in the past and the present, unless much understanding is done, and work the future looks bleak. The ball's in the Police's hands, if they act something may come of it that is positive. From past experience I don't have much trust in the issue though.*

I pray to the Creator this study will indeed help, because not only natives would be helped The Canadian population as a whole would benefit. Good Luck.

R #102 *Police are being paid to do thier job not assume.*

R #107 *The police must treat the aboriginal home with respect. They often walk right into a home, ask question not related to the problem or call for assist, they flash flashlights into small children faces, even though the lights may be on.*

R #113 *The attitude a police officer has on the person (s) he's dealing with is the key factor!*
-all people are human!
-all people don't live by the "book"
-Police officers must see the "Grey Area"

A couple respondents attested to the impact which stories of abuse have on views.

R #086 *Some of my answers are affected by stories told to me by relatives or friends. I do agree that natives have to be heard in order to make changes. I think open mindedness is important to come from both sides. Natives have to become involved in the communities to become part of them.*

R #092 *I have heard alot of stories where native people have been verbally or physically abused by the RCMP + City Police. all I have to say is that non-aboriginal people can also have negative attitudes towards police and that they too have probably been abused in the same ways. I can also say that not all aboriginal or non-aboriginal people alike disrespect the police. Many of them do respect the police as I am sure many officers respect them as well. It basically depends on the character + attitudes of both sides on how they decide to treat one another.*

This respondent views problems partially created by vices people have.

R #032 *I don't have a problem with alcohol nor am I a drug user or in other words I don't take any pills or chemicals while I drink. I drink 2 or 3 times a month. The biggest problem between aboriginal people and police is alcohol or drug related. the problem is within ourselves. I'm not saying that we are incapable of living a productive life but have to overcome this problem of alcoholism and not to be pushed around because of our race.*

Formal and informal education for both police and Aboriginal

peoples regarding history and mutual respect was cited as important.

R #028 *Just learn to get along and cope with one another.*

R #057 *I think the parents should start teaching thier children at home that the police are there to help them and they're not there just to harass them. That is what I'm teaching my boys and now two of them want to be police when they grow up. And just because they may have been in trouble with the law doesn't mean they should pass this down on thier children and stop the cycle of thinking the police are the bad guys.*

R #089 *Both parties must rid themselves of the stereotypes given to each group. all people should treat and respect people for who they are If we can get by the skin color the racial orientation and the negative attitudes, all our goals will be reached.*

R #091 *People, no matter who they are should be made more aware of the historical background of aboriginals. ie. Treaty Right Indian Act, ed., reserve life etc etc.*

R #095 *I am teaching my kids at home that police are their to help. There is one other thing my kids wave at the police but most of them act as if they do not see them and keep driving. I have to explain that they are busy and they do not have the time sometimes to wave. I do feel bad when my kids think there is something wrong with the police. It is the police that look like they are site seeing, those are the ones that I am talking about.*

R #096 *Native people have to be given a fair chance which many times they aren't. It is not just the police but the general public who look down and make wrong assumptions of the Native community. More native people have to step forward for there people. Some changes have been made but more have to be made. Two changes are the 20th St. police station and the police officers going to inner city schools. Our children should be taught to respect police, because if they aren't its almost a lost cause.*

R #100 *I feel if anything can be done would be to start with recruits. have them volunteer with some native group set to know the type of people they will be dealing with. The thing is to get out and learn what makes people do things they do weither it be right or wrong. There should be more native officers about 50-50 would be great or just a dream.*
- and thank you for your interest and concern

The following respondents were generally critical of power relations which affect Aboriginal peoples. These must be

viewed as related to the existing state of police-Aboriginal relations.

R #075 *(Power & Control) This stems back from generations. such as the residential schools, sure there was some good, but yet so much damage - Today alot lack parenting etc. Children grow up without the parenting love. and some had to try & survive the abuse.*
- Maybe some will say, this is the past & should be forgotten, How can it be shoved aside? How can this be broken? when like a chain that goes from one generation to generation. There is so much chaos.
- counselling is needed.
- Mental health matters.
- Whoalistic way of life.

R #114 *This problem will never be completely resolved to everyone's satisfaction. To truly understand (the Indians way of thinking) the Saskatoon City Police should have input from natives from all walks of life.*

R #117 *I feel that white people are making some few stupid laws and Indian people couldn't function the way white people are today and yet they want us to live the way they are. I say this is still our land, and we the aboriginals should make the law, not the whiteman, this is our home, you're the customers. Everything Indian does is against the law.*

Finally, both positive and negative comments were made about the research questionnaire.

R #064 *alot of my answers are just my perception obviously since I have not been involved in the justice system, nor has anyone I know. The answer undecided does not necessarily reflect my view which perhaps should be not applicable or no knowledge in this area.*

R #070 *-in this survey you refered to Aboriginal people by using a lower case "a" rather than an upper case "A", which is, of late, being generally used by academics when refering to a people. Do you use a lower case "c" when you refer to Canadians?*

R #072 *I'm glad to take part in this survey. It is nice to know that people are starting to see the light on behalf of the native communities. I wish ther were more survey's done so that we can be heard wether good or bad. Like most communities we to want a say in a lot of things. But thanks again for letting me take part in this.*

R #081 *I feel that the questions (most) are ambiguous and therefore they were hard to answer. That is why I was pretty undecided as to how to answer most of them....*

R #088 *Good questionnaire, glad to help!!*

R #127 *-Quest 1,2,3 are a little to personal*
-An important issue not really considered by this questionnaire is how more natives could be recruited by to force.
-I hope this questionnaire will do more than be an attitude survey, Indians have been studied to death, very little has been done to help them at all, to overcome their problems.

R #128 *Thank you for taking an interest but I would like to see your view and what U of S plans to do about problems in our city about the police and the aboriginal society.*

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