Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer Program

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Science

ABSTRACT

Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer Program
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The Selkirk First Nation (SFN) community safety officer (CSO) program in Pelly Crossing, Yukon, was established in 2019 to better respond to SFN citizen needs and fill the operational gaps of the RCMP. The SFN CSO program offers a unique example of a decolonized, Northern Indigenous community led CSO program operating in the Far North rooted in self-determination and self-governance working alongside the RCMP. This project focused on examining the strengths, tensions, and challenges of the SFN CSO program, along with the impacts of the program on self-governance, self-determination, and reconciliation with the RCMP in Pelly Crossing. Two final areas explored were key elements for formulating a CSO program in the Far North and how the SFN CSO program can provide crucial feedback for improving RCMP-administered policing for Northern Indigenous nations and communities.

Key Words: Community Safety Officer Programs, Decolonization of police, Indigenous Criminology, Indigenous Governance, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, & Selkirk First Nation.

Acknowledgments

I want to acknowledge and thank Selkirk First Nation, especially Chief Sharon Nelson, for the tremendous support throughout this project. I thank the SFN citizens who provided their knowledge, time, and energy by communicating with me via email or participating in a Zoom interview in support of this project.

I also want to acknowledge and thank Gina Nagano, founder and CEO of House of Wolf and Associates Inc., who provided great support for this project throughout and helped connect me with SFN. I would like to express my gratitude to Pelly Crossing RCMP for recognizing the importance of this project and participating in a Zoom interview.

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Dedication

For Selkirk First Nation.

This project is for the future generations of Selkirk First Nation.

May the future bring salmon back to the rivers and streams of the region.

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Glossary of Key Terms

Key Term	Definition
Community safety officer programs (CSO)	Gina Nagano founder and CEO of House of Wolf and Associates Inc. defined the Community safety officer programs (CSO) as "eyes and ears of the community, [which] includes checking in on elders, helping people get home safe if, for example, a person is "a little intoxicated," said Nagano, and help keep "an eye on the children that are out and about." (Rudyk, 2021, para 2-3). Community "Safety officers are unarmed and act as an intermediary between the RCMP and citizens" (Gignac, 2020, para. 5).
Decolonization	Corntassel (2012) defined decolonization as "offer[ing] different pathways for reconnecting Indigenous nations with their traditional land-based and water-based cultural practices. The decolonization process operates at multiple levels and necessitates moving from an awareness of being in struggle, to actively engaging in everyday practices of resurgence" (p. 89).
Indigenous Criminology (IC)	Cunneen & Tauri (2016) defined Indigenous Criminology (IC) as a criminological theory that "provide[s] the basis for a new explanatory model for understanding Indigenous peoples' contact with the criminal justice systems: one that is firmly based in the historical and contemporary conditions of colonialism and settler colonialism" (pp. 10-11).
Indigenous Governance	Fondahl & Irlbacher-Fox (November 2009) defined Indigenous Governance as a term that "denotes forms of social and political organization, and decision-making of [I]ndigenous peoples informed by the imperatives of their unique cultures and worldviews" (p. 3).
Pelly Crossing	Yukon Bureau of Statistics (2023) defined Pelly Crossing as being "located along the Klondike Highway and on the bank of the Pelly River, 282 kilometres northwest of Whitehorse and 254 km southeast of Dawson City" (para. 1).
Reconciliation	McIvor (2022) defined Reconciliation as per the TRC as "the Truth Reconciliation Commission [TRC] described reconciliation as a process establishing and maintaining respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples" (para. 1).

Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)	A National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians 2023 special report titled: Policing Mandate of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police defined the RCMP as "Canada's national police service. It was established as the North-West Mounted Police in 1873 [and] [t]he RCMP's Federal Policing responsibilities were established in 1920 with the amalgamation of the Royal North-West Mounted Police and the Dominion Police" (para 1, & 8).
Selkirk First Nation (SFN)	Council of Yukon First Nations (2025) defined Selkirk First Nation as being "located at the village of Pelly Crossing on the Klondike Highway in the Central Yukon. The Selkirk First Nation is part of the Northern Tutchone language and cultural grouping and is closely connected with their Northern Tutchone neighbours, the First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun in Mayo, and the Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation in Carmacks."
Self-Determination	Article 3 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples defines self-determination as "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. This guarantees the right to freely determine their political condition and the right to freely pursue their form of economic, social, and cultural development" (UN General Assembly, 2007, p. 4).

Chapter 1: Introduction

Today, the administration of policing services by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in the Far North of Canada is, at times, a more challenging undertaking than in other regions of Canada, due to extremes in weather conditions, geography, and isolated RCMP postings.[1] [2] Exacerbating the challenges present in the Far North is a Western Eurocentric framework of policing known as colonial policing, which was the framework that would inform the formation of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), which would later be known as the Royal-Northwest Mounted Police (RNWMP) in 1904 and then in 1920 would change its name again to the present-day RCMP.[3] The NWMP would go on to occupy a significant role in specific colonial policies or initiatives that targeted Indigenous nations across Canada. The role of the NWMP in regard to colonization in Canada was that "the [NWMP] occupied a central role in managing and containing the Aboriginal population as white settlement advanced" (Comack, 2012, p. 24). The northern territories, including the Yukon, Northwest Territories (N.W.T.), and Nunavut, can trace their current relationship with the RCMP back to colonial initiatives or policies supported or carried out by the NWMP or RCMP.

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[1] The Nunavik Police Service is the only stand-along police service in operation within the Far North besides the RCMP. There are also sheriffs in operation within each of the three northern territories that provide security at court buildings, within courtrooms, oversee prisoner transport, the enforcement of civil orders that may include the seizure of land, assets, and the serving of certain court documents. Sheriffs maybe equipped with limited defensive weapons that can include pepper spray, baton, body armor, and specialized training.

[2] Far North, as it appears throughout this paper, will be defined as the region of Turtle Island, a.k.a. North America, that is north of the 60th parallel, including the three Canadian Territories of the Yukon, Northwest, Nunavut, along with parts of Nunatsiavut, Nunavik and Alaska.

[3] Western Eurocentric refers to a European view and understanding of the world that many Western nations have utilized for defining and implementing concepts that include law, justice (including policing), and governance.

The environment examined above for present-day policing across the Far North of

Turtle Island has, at times, created an unequal distribution of justice for Northern

Indigenous nations and communities that the RCMP currently serves.[4] The distribution of

justice is unequal in terms of Northern Indigenous community members in the Far North

feeling as though there are not enough RCMP members, some police being disconnected

from the communities that they serve in, or community members not always feeling

respected by police, which has led to inquiries of police abuses focused on racism or

abuse of power claims and calls for more Northern Indigenous community input into

potential solutions (CBC News North, 2015; Commission for Public Complaints Against

the RCMP, August 2010; Morritt-Jacobs, 2018; Paktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, &

Comack, 2020; Roache, 2018; Rohner, 2018; Weber, 2018).

In addition, RCMP members that are posted across the Far North, at times, face

underlying issues that can occur for officers, such as isolation from other officers or staff

and burnout, which can lead to fatigue or more serious mental health problems (Bell,

2020; CBC News North, 2020b; CBC News North, 2009).

In recent years, several significant documents and reports focused on the state of

policing in Indigenous communities have emphasized the importance of decolonization

efforts that focus on Indigenous community-led solutions rooted in Indigenous self-

determination and self-governance as a crucial factor for improving the administration of

justice policy in Canada for Indigenous communities, including policing. A potential

model for examining the impact of Northern Indigenous self-determination and self-

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[4] Turtle Island is in reference to present day North America and is rooted in the creation story for many Indigenous Nations that is centred around dirt from the floor of the ocean being placed on a turtle's shell, which eventually grows into the land mass known as Turtle Island.

governance in an RCMP-administered policing model in the Far North is the Selkirk First Nation (SFN) Community Safety Officer (CSO) program. The SFN CSO program was established in 2019. Moreover, the SFN CSO program works within the current RCMP-administered policing structure, including the Government of Yukon and other justice and health organizations. This project will examine the impacts of the SFN CSO program in relation to Strengths, Tensions, and Challenges, as well as impacts on the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP, and other areas to be discussed further below in the Purpose Statement section.

Positionality

I am a non-Indigenous third-generation Alaskan who grew up in interior Alaska in a region encompassed by the unceded traditional territory of Lower Tanana Athabascan peoples of the interior Athabascan Nation. My childhood was shaped by the land, animals, and weather (-55 F/-48 C below will teach you many lessons), all of which helped make me who I am today. My interest in carrying out this project is because, throughout my life in Alaska, I witnessed Northern Indigenous friends, extended family members, co-workers, and other community members being discriminated against by the police for simply being Northern Indigenous. The most impactful of all these incidents occurred during my childhood when four Northern Indigenous young men were falsely imprisoned by the Fairbanks Police Department in 1997 (I was 10 years old at the time) for the murder of a white high school football player (Saul, 2016). Each of the members of the Fairbanks Four would be forced to serve 18 years in jail, stemming from bias in the police and the District Attorney's office. Moreover, I also acknowledge that there are challenges that can exist for police in the Far North, as a childhood friend with whom I played hockey was working as an Alaska State Trooper and was killed in the Northern

Indigenous Alaska community of Tanana in 2014. The many moments of discrimination, hate, violence, and abuse of power fuelled me to enroll in Trent University's PhD program to conduct non-Indigenous ally research to better understand the current policing climate in the Far North. Ally, for this proposal, will be defined as a non-Indigenous individual whose work focuses on "disrupting oppressive spaces by educating others on the realities and histories of marginalized people" (Deer, Boldo, Fast, Sioui, Richardson, Raye, Puskas, Lainesse, & Reid, n.d., p. 2). In addition, Selkirk First Nation is located in a region of the Yukon, which has a similar natural environment and makeup to my home community in Alaska, which helps me connect with the environment and surroundings of the Far North. Moreover, my drive to partner with Selkirk First Nation is to improve the current policing environment and possibly provide a blueprint for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada and Alaska to better their relations with the RCMP or the state police in Alaska. Lastly, I recognize my privilege as a non-Indigenous Caucasian who is pursuing a PhD at the university level. As highlighted above, I have a personal connection to the Far North. I will always place the needs and wishes of Selkirk First Nation above my own, as I am an outsider who has chosen to conduct a shared search for knowledge focused on the Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer program in partnership with Selkirk First Nation. I will anchor this project in respect and honour of the knowledge provided by Selkirk First Nation citizens to support this project.

PhD Committee

My PhD committee includes retired York Regional Police Chief Dr. Armand La Barge and Dr. Mark Dockstator, an associate professor in the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies and former president of First Nations University. My PhD supervisor

for this project is Prof. David Newhouse, former Chair of Indigenous Studies at the

Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies at Trent University.

Purpose Statement

SFN is a Northern Tutchone First Nation located 3 hours north of Yukon's capital

city of Whitehorse (see Appendix A & B - Maps of SFN). As noted earlier in 2019, SFN

established a CSO program, one of the first Northern Indigenous CSO programs to

operate in the Far North. The Far North in Canada has one main police service, the

RCMP, which has a challenging job administering policing services via an organization

that had previously carried out colonization policy for the Canadian Government. This

has resulted in a mistrust in the police across the Far North due to incidents of abuse of

power on the part of the RCMP, which is of significant concern as serious community

issues are present within certain communities related to substance abuse and bootlegging,

and violence (Busch, 2019; CBC News North, 2018; CBC News North, 2019; Dept. of

Justice Canada, 2021; Eberts, Stanton, & Yeo, 2020; George, 2022; Gulli, & Treble,

2010; Hong, 2020; Morritt-Jacobs, 2020; VICE, 2015). Partnering with SFN for this

project presented a crucial step in supporting one of the Far North's first Northern

Indigenous CSO programs, but also for understanding how SFN citizens, including CSOs

and Pelly Crossing RCMP, view the success and drawbacks of the current CSO program

including if SFN citizens feel safer with the CSO program compared with the previous

RCMP standalone model of policing. I contacted Gina Nagano and SFN Chief Sharon

Nelson via email in 2019 regarding the SFN CSO program and the possibility of a project

focused on the SFN CSO program. After a few emails, phone calls, and Zoom meetings,

Gina and Chief Nelson were both quite supportive of this project that would be able to

provide SFN with important knowledge about the current state of the SFN CSO program

while also gaining further insights into the impacts of the SFN CSO program. Moreover,

partnering with SFN was also crucial for understanding how SFN citizens view the SFN

CSO program and the possibility of the SFN CSO program being a blueprint for

improving policing across the Far North of Canada within an RCMP policing model. This

project aimed to center the views and perspectives of SFN community leaders and

knowledge holders, elevating Northern Indigenous lived experiences with the SFN CSO

program and Pelly Crossing RCMP. A qualitative case study research paradigm guided

by SFN leadership would be agreed upon as the method and methodology for this

project.[5] [6]

      The results of this study about the SFN CSO model will also provide Northern

Indigenous communities across the Far North crucial feedback on how a CSO program

that is entirely administered and staffed by a Northern Indigenous nation works within

the current structure of RCMP-administered policing services. Improving RCMP policing

services in the Far North for Northern Indigenous communities has been a priority for

generations due to systemic issues with the RCMP that have resulted in distrust of the

RCMP by Northern Indigenous nations and communities (Rogers, 2019; Rohner, 2019;

Weber, 2018). This is due to many Northern Indigenous communities viewing the RCMP

in the Far North with an unease or distrust that stems from a history of colonial policing,

along with respect being an issue for specific communities in the Far North and the

RCMP not always appropriately responding to Northern Indigenous community needs

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[5] Qualitative Data as defined by Terrell (2016) as "Nonnumeric text-based data such as interviews, recordings, and the like" (p. 264).
[6] Case Study as defined by Terrell (2016) as "Research in which specific focus is given to a particular situation, group, or person over a finite period of time" (p. 256).

(Dendys & Gibbons, 2010; Griffiths, 2019). In addition, to the importance of re-examining the relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and the RCMP due to distrust or unease, the relationship between police and Indigenous peoples across Canada will also be examined in this study.

The remainder of this chapter will examine the main research question and interview key questions that were formulated to guide this project. Additionally, a detailed overview of SFN, along with the factors that led to the establishment of the SFN CSO program in 2019, will be examined. Additional issues relating to the state of RCMP-administered policing in SFN, the Yukon, and the Far North to be discussed include limited duration and isolated postings, staffing issues, and issues related to RCMP policing rural regions. Several other issues to be discussed will focus on distrust of the RCMP by certain Northern Indigenous individuals pertaining to two incidents of abuse of power in the Yukon, perceptions of the RCMP in the Yukon via findings from a 2020-21 Yukon Police Council Yukon-wide Community Perceptions of the RCMP survey, interactions between Yukon RCMP with individuals living with FASD, along with concerns related to dismissals of sexual assault in the Yukon by RCMP, and contributing issues of the relationship between the police and Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Further context for the issues listed above pertaining to the administration of RCMP policing services in SFN, including the issues that led to the formation of the SFN CSO program and the Yukon, will be provided in Chapter 4, the literature review chapter. The literature review chapter will include a detailed examination of the RCMP's attempts at Indigenization in regard to improving their relationship with Indigenous peoples. Moreover, a historical analysis of the establishment of the NWMP is also included in the

literature review portion of this study to highlight the colonial worldviews that informed

the creation of the NWMP as a colonial policing force that oversaw aspects of the Indian

Act within the Prairies, along with other actions that the early NWMP took part in that

sought to control and suppress Indigenous Nations, communities, and peoples.[7] The

colonial policing model would influence the RCMP when the force entered the Yukon

during the Klondike Gold Rush era around 1896 and further expanded the force's

presence in the 1920s boom of hunting tourism, and with the building of the Alaska

Highway in the early 1940s. Many additional colonial policies that the RCMP actively

supported within other regions of the Far North during this period will also be examined

to highlight further the depth that the force went to when it came to administering

colonial policies that negatively impacted Northern Indigenous Nations, communities,

and peoples. The historical analysis provides essential context for the current relationship

between the RCMP and SFN citizens. Lastly, several significant government, non-profit,

and non-governmental organization reports, and documents will also be examined to

highlight the importance of Indigenous self-determination and self-governance as crucial

factors for improving the administration of justice policy in Canada for Indigenous

Nations and communities, including policing rooted in decolonization.

Therefore, SFN was partnered with for this project, as the SFN CSO program is

viewed as a crucial step to counter RCMP policing models in the Yukon that are rooted in

colonial policing, along with providing an opportunity to examine the impact on Northern

Indigenous self-determination and self-governance within SFN regarding community

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[7] Historical Analysis as defined by Wyche, Sengers, & Grinter (2006) is "a method of discovering, from records and accounts, what happened in the past [via] historical analysis, researchers consider various sources of historical data such as historical texts, newspaper, reports, diaries, and maps. The method is commonly used by historians to gain insights into social phenomena" (pp. 37-38).

safety and policing services. The findings of this study also provide essential feedback for ways to support reconciliation between SFN and the RCMP. Lastly, the knowledge provided by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders offers critical feedback and insights into what makes a Northern Indigenous community safety officer program successful within an RCMP-administered policing model.

Main Research Question & Interview Key Questions

The main research question that guided this study was: What are the challenges, tensions, and strengths of the SFN CSO program? To answer the main research question for this project, a list of nine interview key questions also referred to as key questions was formulated that focused on better understanding the SFN CSO program strengths, challenges, and tensions. In addition to the interview key questions focused on strengths, challenges, and tensions, the next set of interview key questions focused on topics that included how the SFN CSO program impacted SFN citizens' feelings of safety compared to the RCMP-only model and if the SFN CSO program has impacted the Pelly Crossing RCMP. What are the key elements for formulating the SFN CSO program? The final set of interview key questions focused on reconciliation and whether a CSO program, similar to the SFN CSO program, could be a model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to improve community safety within an RCMP policing model. Lastly, there are two opening questions and one closing question before and after the nine interview key questions. The two opening questions include one focused on biographical information and the other on what the policing environment for SFN was like before the formation of the CSO program. The closing question is focused on how the SFN CSO program could be a model for Northern Indigenous nations across the Far North for improving community safety within an RCMP policing model. See Appendix E & I for a

complete list of the main research questions and the nine interview questions formulated

for this project for SFN community leaders, knowledge holders, and Pelly Crossing

RCMP.

Selkirk First Nation (SFN)

Selkirk First Nation (SFN) is a *Thi'Ts'ach'an Huch'an* (Northern Tutchone)

people who were historically known as Beaver House along the River People, as stated

by Crow Elder Lizzy Hall for a video series focused on the story of Selkirk First Nation

(SFN, 2019a).[8] The connection to the river is due to the crucial importance that the Pelly

River had in influencing many traditions, customs, and beliefs of the ancestors of present-

day SFN citizens. Traditionally, Northern Tutchone peoples of the Pelly River region

were distinguished into two groups: the people on the Upper Pelly and Lower Pelly.

Present-day SFN, located in and around Pelly Crossing and Fort Selkirk, are within the

Upper Pelly group of Northern Tutchone peoples (Council of Yukon First Nations, n.d.).

The Pelly River would continue to be an essential location for the ancestors of

SFN citizens, serving as a place to teach and learn sacred traditions, such as fishing,

constructing fish camps, and participating in other ceremonies, as well as a key mode of

transportation. The Pelly River would be an important avenue for expanding trade with

other Northern Indigenous nations, including Tlingit and Southern Tutchone, at a specific

location at the mouth of the Pelly River on the banks of the mighty Yukon River. This

location was significant as many ceremonies took place there, including potlatches,

dances, and other traditional activities of great importance. Eventually, a trading post

would be built on the site in the 1840s, as the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) expanded

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[8] Some SFN citizens also have Southern Tutchone ancestry.

into the region, along with other outsiders. The trading post would be known as Fort Selkirk. It would be the flat land present on both sides of the Selkirk River at the confluence of the Selkirk and Yukon Rivers, where Fort Selkirk was built, that would result in SFN citizens being known as "Hucha Hudan people, meaning Flatland People" (SFN, 2024, para. 1). The Selkirk dialect of Northern Tutchone is the traditional language that is spoken by citizens of SFN and is rooted in the traditional territory of SFN that encompassed the lands around Fort Selkirk as well as the present-day location of Pelly Crossing. Both the Northern Tutchone and Southern Tutchone languages are both "members of the great Athapaskan language family." The Athapaskan language family is comprised of three separate regions where Athapaskan languages are spoken that include: "Western Hemisphere: The American Southwest (Arizona, New Mexico), the Pacific Coast (Oregon and Northern California), and the far North including most of the interior of Alaska and a large section of the N.W.T, Yukon and B.C." (Na-Cho Nyak Dun, n.d., p. 3). Tlingit is the only Northern Indigenous language in the Yukon that is not a part of the Athapaskan language family.

SFN citizens continue to practice sacred traditions on the Pelly River and the many other rivers in the Yukon River drainage region, including the Stewart, Ross, and McMillan Rivers. Dating back to the 1970s, SFN citizens, in cooperation with the Yukon government, have been working to preserve and maintain Fort Selkirk due to its importance to SFN traditions, customs, and beliefs. The total approximate population of SFN citizens "is 671 and growing every year. About 40% of the citizens reside in Pelly Crossing while the other 60% live elsewhere in the Yukon and across Canada" (SFN, 2024, para. 2). The North Klondike Highway dissects the region and runs right through

Pelly Crossing highlighted by the Pelly River Bridge. SFN citizens moved or were coerced by the government to move to Pelly Crossing from Fort Selkirk when the North portion of the Klondike Highway was constructed in the 1950s. The construction of the Klondike Highway occurred around the same time as when the Alaska Highway was built, along with other minor roads in the Yukon. The building of the highways greatly impacted the fur trade and other on-the-land subsistence activities. This would also end the use of sternwheelers as a primary means of trade. An additional migration would occur from Minto when the final portion of the highway to Dawson City was completed.

Today, Pelly Crossing is home to the majority of SFN citizens who live on the current settlement lands. The community has grown to include the Selkirk Centre (Yets` Kät Ku), which is a grocery store and gas bar that also houses post office boxes, ATM, and motel rooms, campgrounds with space for RVs, Eliza Van Bibber School, which is K-12, a satellite campus of Yukon University, Hets'edän Kú', which translates in English to "Learning House," a baseball field, swimming pool, curling/hockey rink, SFN offices, RCMP post, community hall, health centre, and the Big Jonathan Heritage Centre. The Big Jonathan Heritage Centre is a smaller replica of the much larger home of former Selkirk Chief Big Jonathan, who once had the most prominent house in Fort Selkirk. The home was important as Chief Big Jonathan hosted dances, potlatches, and other community gatherings in Fort Selkirk. Today, Fort Selkirk is a Yukon Historic site. It is co-managed by SFN and the Yukon Government as per "Chapter 13, Schedule A, of the Selkirk First Nation Final Agreement." Beginning in 1992, a management plan was established for Fort Selkirk (Yukon Government, n.d.a, para. 4). The most recent Fort Selkirk Management plan was updated in 2021. Fort Selkirk remains an essential site for

learning, teaching, and preserving SFN traditions, customs, and beliefs. Moreover, an

SFN-owned and operated riverboat tour company known as Tutchone Tours is owned by

SFN citizen Teri-Lee Isaac, along with "her partner William," who leads guided boat day

trips to Fort Selkirk that begin in Minto Landing (Yukon Government, n.d.b, para. 1).

The citizens of SFN are proud, tough, and resourceful people who live in

harmony and respect with the natural environment of the Pelly River Valley. The

traditional customs and beliefs that *Thi'Ts'ach'an Huch'an* peoples follow and pass

down to the next generation, "can be attributed to the teachings of Hudé Hudan (People a

long time ago) [as well as] Sothän Leḱánëte, Leyaele, Ná Le Trāa, and Netśin tu (caring,

sharing, respect, and teaching)" govern our customary, Dooli, and traditional laws"

(Mease, 2008, p. 13). Citizens of SFN are working hard to protect and revitalize

traditional customs and beliefs that are the anchors of *Thi'Ts'ach'an Huch'an* traditional

law, which are rooted in two key values: *Dän Ki,* and *Doòli*.[9] The first key value that

informs SFN traditional law is known as "Dän Ki or the "First Nation Way [, which has

been the] system of survival for [SFN citizens dating back] thousands of years" (SFN,

n.d.- b, p. 5). The second key value that informs SFN traditional law, including Dän Ki, is

Doòli, which "is a way [SFN citizens] show respect for plants and animals, and towards

each other. [Citizens of SFN] follow Doòli at fish-camp in order to show respect for

salmon and to teach others" (p. 5). Moreover, Doòli is an "enduring process of learning

how to live in balance and harmony with everything in the physical and the spiritual

world beyond" (p. 5). Both Dän Ki, and Doòli and all Northern Tutchone traditional law

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[9] Some SFN citizens have been "strongly influenced by Christianity or the Residential Schools remain skeptical of *Hudé Hudan* or *Dooli* - but this is slowly changing as more of the younger generations attend and take part in community meetings and gatherings with their parents or grandparents" (Mease, 2008, p 119).

is "guided by the Four Major Principles: Caring, Sharing, Respect and Teaching" (p. 5). Each of the Four Major Principles is crucially important. However, as Elder Danny Joe highlighted, respect is held above the other three major principles as he stated that "[r]espect is the number one traditional law" (p. 7). SFN Citizens follow the Northern Tutchone clan system tradition for social organization, which means that SFN is a matriarchal nation where all SFN Citizens follow their mother's clan. SFN has "two clans: Wolf, and Crow" (SFN, 2024, para. 4). Each clan helps to strengthen connections among family members and the natural environment since emphasis in Northern Tutchone "society [is] based on the concept of the group – emphasis was not placed on the individual but the community as a whole" (para. 5).

The present-day settlement land of SFN covers "4,739.68 square kilometres" in the interior of the Yukon Territory, and the largest community in the region is Pelly Crossing (SFN, 2022c). The landscape of the area that encompasses the SFN settlement lands is dominated by endless majestic rolling hills of boreal forests made up of white spruce, along with scatterings of black spruce and paper birch throughout the "Pelly River Valley in the Central Yukon Plateau" (Benkert et al., March 2011, p. 2). The rolling hills of spruce and birch are cut through by the Pelly River, which meanders through the community of Pelly Crossing. The Pelly River is inherently connected to the traditions, customs, and beliefs of the citizens of SFN, as highlighted above, particularly in relation to salmon. The valley is ever-changing due to frequent forest fires, which have intensified over the past decade as a result of climate change (Ritchie, 2021).

On the land, traditional subsistence activities that SFN citizens partake in include berry picking, hunting, trapping, tanning moose skin, beading, drum making, sewing, and

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preparing furs to be made into mittens, jackets, hats, or other clothing items (SFN, 2023).

Many animals live across the region that include moose, bears, beaver, red fox, rabbit,

porcupine, squirrels, snowshoe hare, wolverine, northern river otter, marten, shrew,

weasel, lynx, mink, along with many different species of birds such as robins, the hairy

woodpecker, grouse, raven, bald, and golden eagles, ptarmigan, and many migratory

birds. The region's fish include lake trout, several whitefish species, arctic grayling,

burbot, and slimy sculpin. Many of the animals, birds, and fish listed above hold a

spiritual importance to Northern Tutchone people's traditions, customs, and beliefs.

In addition to the many animals, birds, and fish listed above, two animals and a

specific fish hold crucial spiritual significance to SFN citizens, including the crow, wolf,

and Gyó, which translates to 'the salmon' in the Northern Tutchone language. Two

species of salmon, chum and chinook, travel into SFN territory yearly via the Yukon and

Pelly Rivers along their journeys to their spawning grounds. Gyó are at the heart of SFN

traditional knowledge, customs, and beliefs that are centred on learning and the passing

down of knowledge to the next generation at fish camp since "[g]oing to family fish-

camps along the Pelly River is part of being an SFN citizen" (SFN, n.d.- b, p. 1). Fish

camp for SFN citizens is a "place where [SFN citizens] gather, celebrate culture, share,

pass on knowledge, practice Doòli, and harvest fish and other animals that provide [SFN

citizens] with nutrition and sustenance" (p. 1).

SFN is a self-governing First Nation having signed a First Nation Self-

Government Agreement that is known as the Selkirk First Nation Self-Government

Agreement and the Selkirk First Nation Final Land Claims Agreement with the

Government of Canada and the Government of Yukon "in the summer of 1997 at a

ceremony that was held at Minto" (Beaumont & Edwards, n.d., p. 19). At the same

ceremony in the summer of 1997, SFN leaders signed the Selkirk First Nation Final

Agreement, the Implementation Plan, and the Umbrella Final Agreement Implementation

Plan. It must be noted that the SFN Self-Governing Agreement would not entirely go into

effect until October 1st, 1997. Both agreements align with Chapter 24 of the 1993 Yukon

First Nations' (YFN) Umbrella Final Agreement, which applies to all fourteen Yukon

First Nations. The Umbrella Final Agreement was negotiated and signed

 by the Government of the Yukon, the Government of Canada, and the Yukon Council of

First Nations in 1993.[10] The Umbrella Agreement also stipulated a specific amount of

land that each of the eventual fourteen First Nations was able to select from when it came

to choosing each First Nation's settlement lands since the "Yukon First Nations [would]

receive a combined total of Settlement Lands of approximately 41,595 kilometres (or

8.5% of the total land area of the Yukon)" (Ratification Committee, April 2005, p. 1). In

addition, the agreement also provided $242.6 million (based on 1989 dollars, which

means the amount gets higher over time because of inflation)" for supporting each of the

eventual fourteen Yukon self-governing First Nations regarding financial compensation

as well as other areas of support if agreed upon within a self-government agreement.

    The parameters for the SFN Self-Government Agreement and the SFN Final Land

Claims Agreement detailed above are rooted in the 4,739.68 square kilometres of

settlement lands as per the YFN Umbrella Final Agreement that defines settlement lands

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[10] Negotiations between the Government of the Yukon, the Federal Government of Canada, and the Yukon Council of First Nations to develop the Umbrella Final Agreement date back to 1973 when former Chief of Champagne and Aishihik First Nations and leader of the Yukon Native Brotherhood Elijah Smith presented to then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau a position paper titled: Together Today for our Children Tomorrow that "proposed governments re-envision how colonial and Indigenous N]ations could work together under a treaty framework" (Gignac, 2021, para. 5).

as the "defin[ing] the territorial limits of a self-governing First Nation's full political, legal, and administrative jurisdictions" (Nadasdy, 2017, p. 114). Nadasdy (2017) went on to further describe the crucial importance of settlement lands as "[i]t is on their settlement lands – and only on their settlement lands – that Yukon First Nations exercise full self-government authority, including significant powers of governance, taxation, management, regulation, and administration" (pp. 114-115). The Umbrella Final Agreement defines two types of settlement lands: Category A and Category B. Category A settlement lands guarantee that a First Nation will have complete ownership and control "of the land's surface, including forest resources, and any [A]boriginal rights or title continue to the extent they are consistent with the Final Agreement [as well as] full ownership of what is below the surface, such as minerals, and oil and gas" (Ratification Committee, April 2005, p. 3). Category B settlement land follows a similar definition as Category A concerning "ownership of the land's surface," but with "Aboriginal rights or title continue to the extent they are consistent with the Final Agreement" (pp. 3-4). In addition to the two types of settlement lands defined by the Umbrella Final Agreement, there are four other types of defined lands: Fee Simple Settlement Land, Site Specific Land, Retained Reserve Land, and Non-Settlement Lands.

Each of the Fourteen First Nations within the YFN Umbrella Final Agreement oversees jurisdictional matters over "many forms of land use," including hunting that at times interacts with [the] Yukon Government's jurisdiction over land use "in complex ways" (Nadasdy, 2017, p. 117). Each specific First Nation self-governing agreement also stipulated that First Nation individuals will have a voice via representation on boards and/or committees that allow First Nations to nominate citizens to serve as

representatives for an array of issues relating to the land, water, and natural resources management that include wildlife, fish, water, heritage resources, special management areas, along with potential development of natural resources via surface rights focused on access issues, land use planning, and dispute resolution (Ratification Committee, April 2005). In addition, SFN, as per the Umbrella Final Agreement, established a development corporation soon after signing the SFN self-governing and Final Agreement, along with implementation plans in 1997, known as the Selkirk Development Corporation. The development corporation's website states that it "was created to contribute to the economic prosperity of the SFN by being a part of strategic and profitable business ventures that maximize opportunities in the traditional territory and elsewhere" (Selkirk Development Corporation, n.d.). Each Northern Indigenous nation in the Yukon that signed on to the Umbrella Final Agreement and completed negotiations for a self-governing agreement established development corporations to "function as the business arm of the First Nation, generate wealth for the citizens of each corporation's respective First Nation, and to reinvest directly or indirectly to the local economy" (Yukon Chamber of Mines, n.d., para. 5).

The SFN self-governing agreement is clearly defined by the SFN constitution, along with all aspects of SFN society, including eligibility and enrollment, settlement land, tenure and management of settlement land, access to land by the military or Crown, expropriation, special management areas, land use planning, development assessment, heritage, water management, fish and wildlife, forest resources, non-renewable resources, financial compensation, taxation, economic development measures, and resource royalty sharing. The SFN constitution, coupled with the SFN self-governing agreement, also

addresses all aspects of the Yukon Indian Self-Government, including subjects for negotiation that include Education, health, social services, justice, and employment opportunities. Other areas included focus on transboundary agreement, dispute resolution, Yukon Fish and Wildlife Enforcement Trust, and training for settlement implementation. A year later, in 1998, SFN finalized an implementation plan for a self-government agreement.

The importance of the signing of the self-governing and land claims agreements was monumental for SFN since before each agreement above was signed, SFN Citizens "were under the auspices of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) and did not have the autonomy to create policy and law" (Mease, 2008). Yukon First Nation peoples in the late 1960s and early 1970s chose to pursue an alternative route to treaties, which was epitomized by the formation of the Yukon Native Brotherhood (YNB) in 1968. Leaders of the newly formed YNB believed that treaties would not fully protect their rights to sovereignty or uphold their land and resource rights. Later, in 1973, the YNB would merge with the Yukon Association of Non-Status Indians to form the Council for Yukon Indians (CYI) to amplify their ability to continue the fight for the protection of First Nation people's inherent rights to sovereignty, autonomy, and title to land that had begun in the late 1960s. The CYI would eventually negotiate the 1993 final umbrella agreement that would become "a framework for negotiating the individual Final Agreements" with all fourteen Yukon First Nations (Government of Yukon, 2022).

SFN operates via Chief and Council, which report to the annual general assembly meeting, which meets once per year as per the SFN constitution, which was a part of the 1997 self-governing agreement that was discussed earlier. The assembly allows all SFN

citizens to "hold their government accountable" (SFN, 2022a). Moreover, "the Assembly is composed of all governing bodies and all Selkirk First Nation Citizens [and] [it] provides leadership, direction, priorities and mandates for Selkirk First Nation" (SFN, 2022a). The council comprises six total members, including an equal number of Crow and Wolf councillors with two representatives from each Clan, along with a single Elder and youth councillor to round out the entire makeup of the council. Additional councils and governing bodies of SFN include the Elders Council, the Family Heads, and the Justice Council. All are accountable to the Assembly (SFN, 2022e). It should be noted that the Justice Council, at the time of writing this document, was in the planning stages of forming that council.

Along with councils and other governing bodies, SFN Citizens are also eligible to be nominated and appointed to several boards as SFN Citizen representatives, who work alongside SFN Council members and other government officials on various topics, including housing, Enrollment, Education, Lands, Citizenship, and the Constitution. The current services and programs that SFN administers include health and social programs, citizen development, daycare, capital works, lands and resources, heritage, finance, and governance. Furthermore, SFN also "collaborate with the federal and territorial governments in a government-to-government relationship to ensure that [SFN] Citizens receive programs and services comparable to those provided across the territory" (SFN, 2022e).

With that said, SFN has worked hard to assert its right to self-determination, as seen in several programs or initiatives that SFN has formulated since the finalization of the 1998 SFN self-governing agreement implementation plan. Programs or initiatives

established by SFN include the protection, conservation, and oversight of the land and

wildlife via a Department of Lands & Resources (L & R) that oversees protection

programs for Beaver Dams, the conservation of Chinook and Chum Salmon, and the

waters of the region. The L & R also oversees the hunting and fishing permission slip

program that provides written consent for a non-citizen of SFN to hunt or fish on either

category A or B settlement lands.

Moreover, according to the terms of the SFN self-government agreement, the following

three sacred and culturally significant areas were identified as requiring protection. SFN,

in cooperation with the Yukon Government, oversees protection plans including Ta'Tla

Mun, Ddhaw Ghro, and Llutsaw Wetland, which were all identified as "Special

Management Areas in the Final Agreement and will be designated as Habitat Protection

Areas" (Beaumont & Edwards, n.d., p. 19). The L & R also includes a Heritage Branch

that is focused on preserving the Selkirk dialect of the Northern Tutchone language,

along with "developing material for teaching Dooli (Traditional Laws) to Selkirk people,

recording historic and burial sites within the Traditional Territory" (SFN, 2023). SFN

also established a traditional law project, Dooli, and a Justice Committee. More recently,

in 2023, SFN voted to have Eliza Van Bibber School join the newly created First Nation

School Board (FNSB), which was established in 2022. This move will provide SFN with

more autonomy over the Eliza Van Bibber School curriculum, which better aligns with

Northern Tutchone traditions, customs, and beliefs. Eliza Van Bibber School joined

FNSB beginning in the 2023-24 school year.

Issues that Led to the Formation of the SFN CSO Program

The Selkirk First Nation (SFN) Community Safety Officer (CSO) program was

established in 2019 during a time when the nation was in a state of crisis due to issues

around bootlegging, violence, alcohol or drug use, and a strained relationship with the RCMP. Moreover, several unique factors present within SFN that may at times heighten the potential for crime and/or violence to occur include the remoteness of SFN, which makes response times or additional support more difficult as SFN is located at 465 Km on the North Klondike Highway (NKH) a two-lane rural highway, which is 3-hours south of Dawson City, and 3-hours north of Whitehorse (the NKH is also subject to closures due to wildfires, rock slides, and flooding). Intergenerational trauma stems from many SFN citizens being forced to attend Residential or Day Schools, and/or other SFN citizens who were included in the 60s Scoop. Stable housing for SFN citizens, as there is currently a waitlist for houses to be built in SFN. Other issues include staffing issues at the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment and the bootlegging of alcohol into SFN. When it comes to the issue of bootlegging in SFN, it should be noted that SFN is "not a dry community, [but it] does not have any licensed liquor establishments" (Hong, 2020, para. 6). A 'dry community' in the Yukon is when a community via a vote has banned the sale, distribution, and production of alcohol. In the Yukon, there is currently only one 'dry community' and that is the Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation community of Old Crow, which has established a "liquor prohibition regulations [, which prohibits] the possession, consumption, production, and importation of alcohol in any form is illegal" (Joannou, 2015, para. 2). Each of the unique factors listed above impacted the state of crime and/or violence in SFN in a unique way to varying degrees.

In 2017, a "violent crime changed [the] community; it was time to make positive changes" (MacIntyre, 2019, para. 1). The incident of violence that took place in SFN that significantly impacted the citizens of SFN was the murder of SFN citizen Derek Edwards

that took place on December 13th of 2017. Charabelle and Lynzee Silverfox murdered

Edwards after all three individuals, along with Lynzee's partner, Vance Cardinal, had

been hanging out together in Pelly Crossing on December 12th, which also included

drinking alcohol at times and in the morning of December 13th when a "violent

altercation" occurred stemming from "Charabelle [awakening] to Edwards trying to

remove her pants and [Charabelle then] yelled for Lynzee and Cardinal" (Elliot, 2022,

para. 6). The incident that followed would result in Edwards losing his life in a violent

chain of events as detailed by the "autopsy after the fact [, which] found [that] Edwards

had been stabbed 13 times, suffered 18 puncture wounds consistent with arrow injuries, a

deep slash to his throat and other injuries." (para. (11). After a lengthy investigation, both

Charabelle and Lynzee Silverfox "were initially charged with first degree murder,

forcible confinement and interference with or indignity to a dead body [, but later] [o]n

the day of trial, March 28, both sisters entered guilty pleas." (para. 2-3).

In addition, the distribution and sale of illegal drugs and alcohol brought into SFN

by bootleggers had also been a significant issue occurring in SFN for several years. This

was highlighted in 2019 by a "months-long investigation by the territory's Safer

Communities and Neighbourhoods (SCAN) unit" into Richard Hager, one of the most

notorious bootleggers of alcohol in SFN. The investigation resulted in a petition being

filed with the Yukon Supreme Court by Jeff Simons, the director of the SCAN unit, who

"requested an order to stop the illegal sale of liquor at 14 Jon Ra Subdivision, a home

owned by Selkirk First Nation and occupied by Richard Hager" (Hong, 2020). The

SCAN unit had previously issued a formal warning to Hager to stop the illegal sale of

alcohol since SCAN had been monitoring Hager's bootlegging of alcohol into SFN from

November of 2019 until April of 2020, due to numerous complaints made to SCAN about

Hager. In total, SCAN had received 17 complaints from SFN citizens about bootlegging

dating back to 2018, and "[t]wo of those complaints had been about Hager bootlegging

from his home, with the property also being the subject of several calls to police for

alcohol, drugs and/or violence issues" (Hong, 2020). One of the SCAN investigators Kurt

Bringsli described the profound impact that Bootlegging can have on a First Nation, such

as SFN in that bootlegging "exploits vulnerable members of the community, including

elders, underage residents, and people with addictions, [and] women and girls are

particularly at risk to exchange sexual favours for liquor" (Hong, 2020). SFN signed a

protocol agreement with the Yukon SCAN unit in 2019 to "help [the community] with

this particular issue," as stated by former SFN Chief Darian Isaac when interviewed for a

2020 Yukon News story about Hager's bootlegging.

A report dating back to 2007, published by Inukshuk Planning & Development

titled: *Selkirk First Nation/Pelly Crossing Integrated Community Sustainability Plan,*

further highlighted how certain issues have been a concern within SFN for several years,

as the report had stated that "alcohol and family violence remain a concern" (p. 31).

Moreover, the trend of SFN dealing with crime and/or violence was further highlighted

by a 2015 Yukon Bureau of Statistics report titled: *Police-reported Crime Statistics in*

Yukon found that per "[c]riminal [c]ode [v]iolations (excluding traffic) by type, [n]umber

of actual incidents" reported to the RCMP Pelly Crossing detachment saw a significant

amount of violent criminal code violations. The report found that in 2012, there were 70

violent criminal code violations, 71 in 2014 and 46 in 2015 (Yukon Bureau of Statistics,

2015, p. 4).

Gina Nagano, SFN CSO Program Developer and President & Community Safety

Specialist with House of Wolf & Associates Inc. further elaborated on the state of crime

in SFN that had reached a crisis point before the formation of the CSO program by

stating that "I was asked to come to the community as a result of a number of initiatives

that were going on, in terms of violence in the community, the fatalities, the homicides

that happened [in SFN], the bootlegging issues, the drug trafficking issues" (Rudyk,

2019, para. 11).

As highlighted above, exacerbating the state of crime in SFN has sometimes been

the state of the relationship between SFN citizens and the RCMP. The relationship

between the RCMP and citizens of SFN dates back to 1898 when the NWMP and the

Yukon Field Force used Fort Selkirk as a field post. Fort Selkirk holds great significance

for the citizens of SFN, as it is a region known as Huchá Hudän, from which the name for

the Northern Tutchone peoples of SFN originated. Currently, the RCMP Yukon has a

detachment post located in Pelly Crossing. As of 2020-21, 3 RCMP Regular members

were assigned to the Pelly Crossing detachment.[11] 2 of 3 RCMP Regular members

assigned to Pelly Crossing are assigned via the Territorial Police Service Agreement, and

one additional RCMP Regular member is assigned via the First Nation Policing Program

(RCMP, 2022d). The relationship between SFN citizens and the RCMP has not always

been ideal, as several reports have shed light on significant issues that have negatively

impacted the relationship between SFN citizens and the RCMP. The first issue that

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[11] Regular Member as defined by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Regulations, 2014 "means a person who is appointed to a rank in the Force [i.e. rank of an RCMP police officer that can include: Cadet, Constable, Corporal, Sergeant, Staff Sergeant, Inspector, Superintendent, Chief Superintendent, Assistant Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, and Commissioner] and includes a special constable." (Government of Canada, 2025, para. 5).

negatively impacted the state of the relationship is the rate of sexual assault allegations in Pelly Crossing being dismissed as unfounded by RCMP members. A second issue was highlighted by a 2010 Review of the Yukon's Police Force authored by the Commission for Public Complaints Against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, which highlighted how certain SFN citizens who have been diagnosed with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder have been treated by RCMP members in Pelly Crossing. A final issue that has been brought to light more recently is the ability of RCMP Yukon members to build trust with Indigenous peoples as per a 2020-21 Yukon Police Council survey focused on Yukon community perceptions of the RCMP highlighted several issues Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon indicated are of concern when it comes to trusting the RCMP in the Yukon.

A 2017 report published by the Globe and Mail focused on the state of sexual assault claims dismissed by the RCMP in the Yukon and found that the Yukon Territory had very high rates of police dismissing sexual assault claims across the territory for the 13 Yukon communities examined for the study. Pelly Crossing ranked sixth highest out of the 13 Yukon communities examined from 2010-2014, with a rate of 12% being dismissed and 3 out of a total of 25 allegations being dismissed (Thomson, 2017). A then employee of the Yukon Women's Coalition, Collyn Lovelace, who is now a Yukon Government policy analyst with the Women and Gender Equity Directorate stated that "[h]ow these cases are dealt with in the criminal justice system can be very problematic" (para. 6). Lovelace went onto highlight how the dismal of a sexual assault allegation can also factor into a woman choosing "not to report a sexual assault to the RCMP, including past negative experiences with police, fear of reprisal from the assailant, and worries that

police won't believe them" (para. 9). Furthermore, Lovelace also stated how officers at times believe the "rape myths [and] the belief systems of the officers themselves, contribute to the problem" (para. 11). Rape myths include stereotypical views that the victim was assaulted because they were either wearing specific clothing, were intoxicated or because they were at a party. The notion that only strangers commit sexual assault also falls under the categorization of rape myths.

The 2010 Review of the Yukon's Police Force also found that "[i]n the community of Pelly Crossing, the FASSY [The Fetal Alcohol Syndrome Society of the Yukon] clients [had] reported being mistreated and ridiculed when they report for probation at the RCMP detachment" (p. 29). The same report also highlighted that the Pelly Crossing RCMP Detachment had three complaints in 2010. However, it must be noted that the report did reflect on possible issues with the current state of the RCMP complaint reporting system in that "[i]t is counter-intuitive for [Indigenous] people to lodge a complaint with the RCMP, as there is a feeling that there will be no results from complaining to the same organization they perceive as being the source of the problem" (p. 29).

The Yukon Police Council released a report in 2020-21 titled: *Community Perceptions of the RCMP* that examined survey responses from across the Yukon that included responses from seven northern communities that included Pelly Crossing, Ross River, Faro, Dawson, Carmacks, Old Crow, and Mayo that were all grouped in the results into one category titled North Region. The North Region respondents were asked to identify, out of 12 options, the critical factors that the RCMP needs to focus on for establishing trust with Yukoners in their region. The top four critical factors ranked by

North Region respondents were as follows: 1) Understand my community and its people (91%), 2) Being seen as a partner in crime prevention/education (85%), 3) Timely, sincere communication (83%), and 4) Understanding Yukon history and Indigenous Relations (83%) (Dulac, et al., March 2021, p. 6).

.   The following section will examine additional issues that SFN citizens may deal with at times, along with other Northern Indigenous nations, and communities in the Yukon, and the Far North in relation to the administration of policing services. The issues to be examined will include RCMP officer isolation regarding limited duration posts, isolated posts, response time issues, the contract policing model including an overview of the Yukon Territory Police Service Agreement, staffing of operational communication centre (OCC) positions, and rural policing concerns relating to the RCMP raised by the 2020 Portapique, Nova Scotia Mass Casualty Commission (MCC). All the issues to be examined in the next section have the potential to heighten further distrust of the RCMP in the Far North.

Additional Issues: Limited Duration, Isolated Postings, Response Times, and Contract Policing

SFN and the Yukon, at times, can be a very isolating environment for Northern Indigenous community members dealing with crime or other issues. Still, this environment can also be isolating for RCMP members posted in the Far North. Isolation combined with extreme weather conditions and vast distances between backup or other social service workers can lead to burnout, stress, and other mental fatigue issues for RCMP members across the Yukon and the Far North (Barton, 2017; CTV News, 2017; Morin, 2017). The first few additional issues to be examined will include limited duration, and isolated postings, response time issues, and the contract policing model.

Limited Duration & Isolated Postings. As of 2017, the RCMP in the Yukon had a total force of 135 officers posted across 15 detachments, including Yukon RCMP Headquarters for M Division, located in Whitehorse (Morin, 2017). Many, if not all, of the postings across the Yukon are known as "limited duration posts (LDP), for three or four years, and afterwards have the opportunity to pursue a more diverse range of career experiences in less distant or urban settings" (Ruddell & Jones, 2018, p. 2). LDP postings for officers can also place a considerable burden on an officer's family regarding opportunities for children or spouses. In some tight staffing situations, some LDPs have required spouses to help with paperwork or even guard prisoners (RCMP, 2009). Officers are also usually required to multitask while posted to an LDP in other social services roles, such as acting as a social worker, janitor, child or youth worker, administrative staff, paramedic, or cell guard.

In addition, many LDP RCMP postings across the Far North can be defined as isolated posts (IP), which refers to an RCMP post that has limited services, such as emergency and social services, a remote location for travel, and, at times, almost no backup to support RCMP members.[12] The Treasury Board of Canada defines IP postings as "communities that face unique challenges related to small populations, harsh climate, and/or limited access by commercial transportation or all-weather roads" (Gazette, 2009, p. 10). Three former RCMP regular member officers elaborated on the unique challenges faced by RCMP officers working at IP postings in the Far North for an article in the RCMP magazine Gazette, which focused on the challenges of policing in remote communities

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[12] Member as defined by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act (2019) states that a "member means any person who has been appointed under section 5 or subsection 6(3) or (4) or 7(1) and who is employed with the Force"
(p. 2).

within the Far North. The three former members included Constable (Cst) George Cook, who had been posted to the Yukon detachment of Old Crow, Corporal (Cpl) Wendy Martin, who had been posted to a detachment in northern Labrador at Cartwright, and Superintendent Andrew Boland of the Northwest Region. The unique challenges described by the three former officers included staffing, budget, being on call 24-7, support, transportation, services, weather, infrastructure (facilities to some houses may lack house numbers), equipment, limited access to specialized units, guns, family support, amenities, such as grocery stores, and response times.

Cst Cook described the unique environment of a small Far North IP detachment with three assigned officers by stating that "[t]here-member detachments such as mine (Old Crow) are common in the North. Training, vacation, medical appointments, and court commitments often take one member out of the community, leaving only two members available for duty." He described how officers working at an IP post "face months with little or no time away from work. We are either on shift or on call every day" (Gazette, 2009, p. 12). In addition, due to limited staff or resources for partner agencies that can include Yukon Family and Children's Services, Yukon Sheriff's Office, and the Canada Border Services Agency RCMP officers posted to IP detachments within the Yukon may also have to take on the work of one or more of those three partner agencies as was the case for Cst Cook when he was posted to Old Crow and his souse was forced to lend him a hand. Cst Cook recalled how his "wife ha[d] guarded prisoners for [him] while [he was] gone to a domestic call: [his wife] brought [their] two-year-old daughter to the detachment and watched the prisoner until [he] returned" (p. 12).

Cpl Martin further discussed the issue of staffing and response times relating to IP posting located within the Far North. Staffing issues are a serious problem that can significantly impact the level of policing that is offered to the citizens of an IP community along with the safety of both the community and officers, including the overall mental and physical health of an officer, as highlighted above officers posted to an IP are usually always on call. Therefore, "find[ing] the right person suited for the job has to be one of the most challenging aspects of remote policing." Cpl Martin went on to state that "it can be difficult to find people who are willing to sacrifice two, three or even four years without access to such basic amenities as medical and recreational facilities, supermarkets and paved roads" (Gazette, 2009, p. 12). Superintendent Boland expanded on the issue of staffing by highlighting how the motives behind certain officers requesting a remote IP posting can also be a factor since "[a] two-year posting can feel very long if a person took the post only for personal reasons such as finances. The members must want to be there, to serve the people in the community" (p. 13).

Response Time Issues. The staffing issue can also factor into another significant issue within the Far North for IP postings: Response times. Many factors can impede response times for RCMP officers from an IP posting, including weather conditions, mode of transportation (such as boat, snowmobile, or small plane), and the natural environment. However, several RCMP divisions and detachments have established additional backup programs in place to support IP officers, such as relief units that provide backup for IP postings when one officer is away or relying on satellite detachments that are all located near a central hub that can be located hundreds of kilometres away by road, plane or boat. Officers may also be deployed from, or if there

are not enough resources within a 2-officer IP posting, the final option would be to have

both officers put into a permanent standby mode for their entire posting. It must be noted

that the final option "involves a significant degree of personal sacrifice, and it also raises

concerns about officer well-being over the long term." Cpl Martin further expanded on

the issue of response times from IP posting in the Far North by discussing how the

distance officers may have to cover when responding to a 9-11 can "affect the number of

calls for service in remote areas. If we cannot be there to respond to the immediate

complaint, the communities will often elect to deal with the violent and serious issues

themselves" (Gazette, 2009, pp. 12 & 14).

The issue of response times in the Far North was detailed in a 2014 CBC News

North article that focused on the RCMP's response times in the Northwest Territories

(N.W.T.). The article quoted the then board member of the Native Women's Association

of the N.W.T. Terry Villeneuve who highlighted one of the most pressing concerns that

can occur concerning RCMP response times in the N.W.T. become seriously delayed in

that "[t]he largest concern in the small communities is the fact that you can't get a hold of

the RCMP when you need them" (para. 4). RCMP in Yellowknife noted that staffing

issues for the dispatch centre were also a significant concern. Still, the outlook for

improved response times was not good at that time. Sergeant Ledoux of the RCMP in

Yellowknife also added that "Yellowknife on a Friday night is a busy place, and unless

your matter is urgent, life or death situation, there are other calls that take priority" (CBC

News North, 2014, para. 7). Sergeant Ledoux went onto state that "[d]epending on the

urgency of the call, it may wait until tomorrow morning" (para. 8). In addition, many IP

RCMP posts across the Far North may not have the ability to use a road to access an

emergency and at times will instead use an aircraft or helicopter, boat, or snowmobile. These alternative transportation methods in the Far North can also further hamper response times from IPs and heighten the chances of weather factoring into longer response times. Ruddell, Lithopoulos, and Jones (2014) further highlighted how in rural police postings, such as the Yukon, "[a] lack of responsive services could reduce public satisfaction in the police and may contribute to a loss of legitimacy; especially if the residents in these out-of-the-way locations feel that their rural or Aboriginal status makes them less valued" (p. 789).

A real-world example of the ramifications of longer RCMP response times from IP or rural RCMP posts was examined in a 2022 Toronto Star editorial board piece that focused on the impact that rural RCMP posting may have had when it came to the September 2022 stabbing spree of 28 people on the James Smith Cree Nation that is located in rural central Saskatchewan. The stabbings resulted in 11 deaths and 17 injuries. The closest RCMP post was located in Melfort, SK, which resulted in responding "officers had to travel 45 kilometres from Melfort[, SK], [and] they didn't arrive until 38 minutes after first being notified of the stabbings" (Star Editorial Board, 2022, para. 2). The Star Editorial Board (2022) went onto further describe several issues that mirror problems present in the Far North in that the "vast rural areas, the wait times for police to arrive during an emergency can stretch to an hour or more – which raises the question of whether emergency services even exist in some parts of the country" (Star Editorial Board, 2022, para. 6). The response by RCMP to the stabbing spree that occurred in James Smith Cree Nation was an embodiment of problems that can arise when it comes to RCMP rural and IP postings.

Yukon Territorial Police Services Agreement. All three Northern Territories of

Canada have, in the past eleven years, signed 20-year policing agreement contracts with

the RCMP, except for the Nunavak region of Inuit Nunagat, which has its own police

service (CBC News North, 2012a; CBC News North, 2012b). The current Yukon

Territorial Police Services Agreement (TPSA) was signed in 2012 on April 1st and "will

be in effect until March 31, 2032" (Yukon Government, 2012). The agreement between

Canada and the Yukon Territory clearly defines the role, responsibilities, and authority of

the RCMP 'M' Division to act as the Yukon's territorial police service officially. Eight

key items were included in the current agreement signed in 2012 that include: 1)

Investments into policing infrastructure (i.e. the building of new detachments, and

member housing) via a joint planning, and approval process,[13] 2) An enhanced contract

management committee, 3) Cost mitigation mechanisms that recognize the higher costs

associated with policing in the Far North, 4) Community input into the hiring process of

senior RCMP members, including detachment commanders, 5) Enhances the reporting

and accountability mechanisms in regard to the cost and quality of policing being

administered in the Yukon, 6) Maintains a cost-sharing formula for policing in the Yukon

where Canada the federal government pays 30% and the Yukon pays 70% of the costs of

RCMP policing in Yukon, 7) Harmonizes police professional standards with standards

defined by the Yukon Justice Minister, and 8) This agreement sets rigorous reporting

requirements for vacancies, complaints, finances, and annual reports to the Yukon

Minister of Justice. The agreement also provided the Yukon "Minister of Justice greater

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[13] As of January of 2021, the RCMP in cooperation with the Justice Department of Yukon via the TPSA
planned to build two new detachments in the Yukon at Faro, and Carcross, and renovate a third RCMP
detachment located in Ross River (Windeyer, 2021a).

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control and accountability with respect to the territorial police service" regarding the

setting of goals, priorities, and objectives for the RCMP in the Yukon, along with a voice

within the approval process "on plans to construct detachments and other policing

infrastructure" (Yukon Government, 2012). The former Yukon Justice Minister, Mike

Nixon, summed up the agreement's importance as solidifying the RCMP partnership that

"confirms the RCMP is our police service of choice and signifies a new relationship

based on transparency, trust and accountability" (Yukon Government, 2012). The prior

Yukon Territorial Police Service Agreement had expired on March 31, 2012, and was

signed in 1992.

Contract Policing. Contract policing for the RCMP is a common mechanism for

administering policing services to Indigenous and rural communities across Canada,

which is usually focused on a specific number of RCMP detachments that are spread out

across a large region due to sparse populations. This can result in response times by the

RCMP in certain areas that may be 30 minutes or more, depending on the weather and

the mode of transportation. Taylor (2023) expanded on response times of RCMP within

contract policing that can take 30 minutes or more as "a distance that underscores the

realities of the contract policing model that spans the country's rural and Indigenous

communities, made worse by widespread vacancies" (para. 22). In some areas of the Far

North specialized response teams may be based thousands of kilometres away elongating

response times for the most serious situations. This was the case in Nunavut when, in

2017, RCMP Nunavut's emergency response team, dispatched for the most violent

situations, was relocated "2,000 Km from Iqaluit to Montreal" (Driscoll, 2017, para. 1).

Officer Burnout. Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North deal with a significant amount of strain and frustration when it comes to response times for RCMP officers from an IP or LDP posting within contract policing models in the Far North. At times, RCMP officers also deal with considerable burdens due to being posted to IPs or LDPs. This can result in burnout of RCMP officers or frustration with their job to an officer's family in terms of opportunities for children or spouses, and even in tight staffing situations, some LDPs or IPs have required that spouses help with paperwork or even guarding prisoners, as noted above (RCMP, 2009). The issue of burnout was highlighted by the head of the RCMP in Nunavut, Chief Superintendent Amanda Jones, when discussing issues around RCMP abuse of power incidents when she stated that "officer burnout in small detachments with big social problems may be contributing to officer conduct that has sparked outrage in Nunavut" (CBC News North, 2020b, para. 1). Ross (2009) interviewed constable (Cst) Mike Simpson regarding his experiences with burnout while working in Igloolik, Nunavut with one other partner at an IP posting. Cst Simpson stated that he "remember[ed] the mental, physical, and emotional strain [that] he and his lone partner encountered during a particularly busy period." He went on to describe how he has "never been [that] busy [as he was] that three weeks [and how his] partner went on stress leave a few months later." Cst Simpson would also be "close to being burned out [and] was quite fatigued on all levels" (Gazette, 2009, p. 14).

Ruddell and Jones (2018) elaborated on the many roles that officers may have to fill for an IP or LDP post or even in a more urban environment in the Far North that "[t]here can be a steep learning curve for new officers as they must quickly learn how to manage any conceivable policing problem with few outside supports" (p. 4). A significant issue

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with the LDP model of policing is that Northern Indigenous communities in the Yukon is

that RCMP members might not be able to form strong positive connections with Northern

Indigenous community members or feel comfortable with the community. Ruddell and

Jones (2018) highlighted this issue in that "officers [at times] are not in the community

long enough to form relationships with residents, and that does little to reduce the long-

standing distrust of the police in Indigenous populations" (p. 5). Doolittle (2017) elaborated

on distrust when it comes to the LDP model in the Yukon in terms of officer turnover rates

by stating that

> [I]n the Yukon, for example, about 15 per cent of the territory's police rotate out.
> Barbara McInerney, executive director of the Yukon Women's Transition Home
> Society, said it can feel as if, just when police and advocates are starting to make
> progress, the officers leave and a new batch shows up (p. 6).

RCMP & **Operational Communications Centre (***OCC***)** *Staffing Issues*

The issues around LDP and IP RCMP postings have been magnified over the past

few years in certain areas of the Far North due to staffing shortfalls for frontline RCMP

members and RCMP Operational Communications Centre (OCC) employees. In 2017,

the Yukon faced an RCMP member shortage due to workload issues after eight

homicides in 12 months from 2016-2017. The then RCMP Superintendent and officer in

charge for all criminal investigations for the Yukon, Brian Jones, further elaborated on

the staffing issues by stating that in "[l]ong term, that type of energy and effort isn't

sustainable for our people" (Morin, 2017, p. 4). In addition, Morin (2017) went on to

state that "this was not the first time the territory's police force has called for outside

help" (p. 3). George (2019) expanded on RCMP staffing concerns within the Far North as

he detailed RCMP staffing issues across Nunavut when he quoted the RCMP's Inspector

of criminal operations, Mark Crowther who stated that "[w]e need 30 more members in

Nunavut" (para. 3). George (2019) went onto state that the RCMP in Nunavut were also facing "a big infrastructure deficit" (para. 6). Barton (2017) further elaborated on the issue of staffing in Nunavut by stating that "[o]f 148 funded positions, 12 are vacant, for a vacancy rate of 8.1 per cent" (para. 2). Current RCMP vacancy rates across the Far North as of February 1 of 2023 were as follows: the N.W.T. (15%), Nunavut (8%), and Yukon (4%) (Tumilty, 2023).

Far North OCC Staffing Issues. In addition to facing frontline RCMP member staffing challenges in the Far North, the RCMP has also dealt with vacancy issues for OCC employees. The vacancy rate for each of the northern Territories for OCC employees in 2018 was 28% for the Yukon, 36% for the N.W.T., and 56% for Nunavut (Nicholson, 2018, para. 6). The primary duties of "OCC operators [is to] take calls from the public and perform risk assessments for the officers they dispatch to the scene. They are often tasked with calming the person on the other end of the phone" (Nicholson, 2018, para. 7). RCMP frontline member and OCC staffing issues in the Far North have been a concern for over a decade dating back to a Policing in the Territories report completed in 2007. The report found that one "[c]ommunity member said phones in some detachment offices go unanswered even during the day, depending on the operational situation facing offices at any given time" (Scott Clark Consulting Inc., 2007, p. 45). The report also found that "[c]ommunity participants often expressed the belief that some RCMP members are not suited to living and working in small northern communities" (p. 47).

Issues with RCMP Policing Rural Regions. Dr. Michael Boudreau, a professor of criminology at St. Thomas University, highlighted in his response to the 2020

Portapique, Nova Scotia mass shooting that the RCMP, as a police force, was never meant to police large rural regions similar to the Far North. Dr. Boudreau stated, "[i]f we learn nothing from this tragedy, we have to learn that rural policing for the most part [in Canada] is broken." He went on to explain how "the RCMP wasn't built for [rural policing] in small and remote communities [and] that] [t]hey were meant to be a national police force that deals with things like domestic terrorism, human trafficking, and the drug trade" (Thomas, 2023, para. 3-5). In addition, the Mass Casualty Commission (MCC), which was formulated after the 2020 Portapique, Nova Scotia mass shooting, released a seven-volume final report that touched on several key topics that included policing (volume 5). Volume 5 highlighted a need for the RCMP in the future to better value rural policing since "the RCMP's career model undervalues rural general duty policing" (MCC, 2023, p. 474). The undervaluing of rural policing by the RCMP was further discussed within volume 5 by Dr. Chris Murphy, a retired professor of sociology at Dalhousie University and University of King's College, and Cal Corley, the current chief executive officer for the Community Safety Knowledge Alliance, and former assistant commissioner of the RCMP and former director of the Canadian Police College. Dr. Murphy and Mr. Corley would make the following conclusion about the current state of the RCMP's undervaluing of rural policing:

> [T]he [RCMP] must rely on deploying new, inexperienced recruits to small communities in rural detachments. While some members adapt and do very well in rural settings, many prefer to police in more urban settings. Consequently, many have limited involvement in the local community and spend much of their off-time away (MCC, 2023, p. 474).

Volume 5 of the MCC report also touched on two recommendations (54 & 55) that focused on re-examining aspects of the LDP model and establishing an orientation program for new

officers posted to rural postings. Recommendation 54 emphasized a need for a new specialized rural policing stream that allows certain RCMP regular member officers to stay in a community if that community supports them. If the community supports the officer, additional training and/or education should also be made available that focuses on key topics relating to rural policing. Recommendation 55 highlighted a need to establish an orientation program for new regular member officers who are posted to rural postings that is done in partnership with the local community and provides "an introduction to other community safety providers such as healthcare providers and women's shelters" (MCC, 2023, p. 480). Moreover, further highlighting the need to re-examine the current role and function of the RCMP within the Far North was a 2023 proposed report that focused on a plan to reformulate the RCMP into a Canadian version of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the U.S. The proposed plan "would see the force out of front-line, day-to-day policing, and focused on issues like national security and terrorism, financial crimes and organized crime." The reformulation plan of the RCMP was viewed as controversial by many, but it "ha[d] gained support from the [then] prime minister, [and then] Public Safety Minister Marco Mendicino and senior Mounties" (Vega, 2023, para. 3). A proposed plan such as the one described above clearly demonstrates that the current role and function of the RCMP in the Far North needs to be reviewed, since some of the many influential individuals in Canada seem to support the need for some change to occur.

Exacerbating the current challenges in the Far North for the RCMP regarding response times, contract policing, IPs, LDPs, frontline members, and OCC employee staffing issues, along with the undervaluing of rural policing and a need to re-examine the role and function of the RCMP, is a distrust of the RCMP across the Far North by

Northern Indigenous peoples. The issue of distrust in the RCMP among Northern

Indigenous nations, communities, and individuals in the Yukon and across the Far North

will be examined further in the next section.

The following section will examine the issues of distrust in the Yukon between

the RCMP and Northern Indigenous Peoples to be explored via abuse of power incidents

involving two Indigenous individuals in the Yukon, issues relating to the professionalism

of RCMP when working with individuals living with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder

(FASD), public perceptions of the RCMP in the Yukon via a 2010 Commission for

Public Complaints against the Yukon RCMP, high rates of dismissal of cases of sexual

assault in the Yukon, and excerpts from a 2020-21 Yukon Police Council Community

Perceptions of the RCMP survey. Two additional factors will also be examined regarding

potential barriers to reform of the RCMP, including the Image of the Mountie relating to

public perception of the RCMP and the issue of RCMP Self-Reflection as it relates to

oversight and harassment of officers of colour, including Indigenous individuals and

women. This section will be followed by a section that examines the state of the

relationship between the police and Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Distrust of Today: Abuse of Power, Dismissals & Perceptions of the RCMP in Yukon

Several issues that provide context for possible factors within the environment of

policing in the Far North, where distrust between the RCMP and Northern Indigenous

peoples may occur in the Yukon, have been discussed up to this point regarding the role

that RCMP officers played in actively supporting colonial policies that negatively impacted

Northern Indigenous Nations, communities, and peoples in the Yukon that included the

expansion of Residential, Day, and Boarding Schools in the Yukon, the expansion of

Canadian sovereignty that expanded a Eurocentric view of the land coupled with the issues examined above focused on the state of LDP and IP postings, contract policing, response times, and staffing issues within the Far North. The environment in the Yukon concerning the relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and the RCMP is not a monolith, as each Northern Indigenous individual has their thoughts, views, and beliefs that factor into each Northern Indigenous individual's view of the RCMP in the Yukon. Still, the issues highlighted above have been put forth as significant factors that could negatively impact the relationship and/or one's view of the RCMP in the Yukon by Northern Indigenous peoples.

Abuse of Power: Raymond Silverfox & Inuk-Dene Teenage Girl

All the issues examined up to this point contribute to a state of *distrust* between Northern Indigenous peoples and the RCMP of the Yukon. Two real-world incidents that involved the RCMP in the Yukon and Northern Indigenous individuals amplified feelings of distrust, as the two incidents resulted in loss of life and serious injury.

Raymond Silverfox

The first incident occurred in 2008 when a Northern Indigenous man from Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation, Raymond Silverfox, passed away in hospital due to significant complications incurred during a medical emergency in a jail holding cell at the hands of RCMP officers after being left in a jail holding cell without proper medical assistance for 13 hours "from 5:30 am until 6 pm on Dec. 2, 2008" (CBC News North, 2010b, para. 1). During the 13-hours Silverfox was not given the proper medical care he required after he vomited 26-times while in the cell. The attention Silverfox did receive from RCMP members at the Whitehorse jail in the absence of medical care was "ridicule

and mockery" (CBC News North, 2010b, para. 1). Silverfox would later die in hospital from acute pneumonia.

Inuk-Dene Teenage Girl

More recently, this past April of 2023, a 17-year-old Inuk-Dene teenage girl was left with a "dislocated kneecap, torn ACL[,] and torn tendons and muscles around her kneecap" as the result of an interaction with RCMP officers in Whitehorse. The teen had been drinking with friends when RCMP officers arrived, but she was left alone when her friends were able to get away. Briann Gagnon is the teens' mother and described the incident as "heartbreaking. As a parent, you put trust in public servants and you trust them with your livelihood, with your children, and I feel like [it has] failed." The RCMP also failed to contact the teen's family for 12 hours after the incident occurred and "initially [attempted to] contact the girl's father who has a no contact order in place" (Connors, 2023, para. 1, 8, 15 & 16). The RCMP have claimed that the incident was an accident, to which Gagon stated in response, "[t]his is not an accident, regardless of the situation and what she endured with her injuries. That was an accident to get your knee dislocated?" (Connors, 2023, para. 18).

Further expanding on the state of *distrust* between Northern Indigenous peoples and RCMP, along with the painful and dehumanizing death of Raymond Silverfox at the hands of RCMP, coupled with the severe injuries sustained by the 17-year-old Inuk-Dene teenage girl in Whitehorse at the hands of the RCMP a 2010 Commission for Public Complaints Against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Yukon report found widespread mistrust and anger towards the RCMP in the Yukon. The report summed up the responses to several questions posed to Northern Indigenous peoples living in the

Yukon. One such question that was posed to Northern Indigenous peoples focused on whether Northern Indigenous peoples felt RCMP members were well prepared to serve in the north:

> Yukon RCMP members were largely described as being disconnected from the communities in which they serve. Moreover, the RCMP members sent to the Yukon are seen as too young and too inexperienced, with very limited understanding of the environment in which they will have to work (Commission for Public Complaints Against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, August 2010, p. 3).

Moreover, the report further expanded on the issue of inexperienced new Yukon RCMP members in that "RCMP members who are posted to the Yukon rarely receive adequate and necessary training [to] deal with the particulars of the Yukon and its population" (p. 30).

Individuals Living with FASD & Issues Relating to Professionalism of RCMP

The report also went on to highlight several additional issues relating to the professionalism of RCMP officers, focused on the mistreatment and/or ridicule of Yukon citizens diagnosed with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) by RCMP officers.[14] The Fetal Alcohol Syndrome Society of the Yukon (FASSY) staff mentioned in the review that "their clients have complained about interactions with the RCMP[,] staff reported that there were (and are) some incredible police officers but there are too many who have zero tolerance towards people dealing with FAS or street people in general" (p. 29). FASSY representatives also went onto state that "they believe the RCMP views them as the enemy [and that] RCMP officers have accused them of enabling clients" (p. 29). Furthermore, "FASSY staff also alleged that women in relationships who are subjected to domestic violence are poorly treated by RCMP members. Women get criminally charged for

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[14] Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD) is a term used to describe a range of neurodevelopmental deficits that can occur as a result of prenatal alcohol exposure (PAE) (Chudley, et. al., 2005, p. S1).

domestic-violence crime, while they are simply attempting to defend themselves against their violent partner" (p. 30). FASSY had also highlighted several examples of clients who had been subjected to "excessive use of force when in a [jail] cells [that included one] client who came to the FASSY with cuts and bruises, alleging to have been beaten in [a jail cell]" (p. 32). A second example of a FASSY client in Haines Junction being mistreated by RCMP was also discussed in the report that described a client not being adequately secured during transport in a police vehicle and the driver of the vehicle slamming on the brakes which resulted in the client having "two black eyes and broken glasses" (p. 32). The importance of focusing on FASD in the Yukon as it pertains to Northern Indigenous peoples is due to the high occurrence of FASD within Northern Indigenous peoples incarcerated at the Whitehorse Correctional Centre (WCC), since as of 2016-2017 "64 percent of inmates [at WCC] were First Nations, according to the territorial government's statistics" and prior to the release of the 2017 Yukon Governmental statistics a 2015 auditor General of Canada report focused on the WCC "found rates of mental health issues and fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD) were higher among Yukon inmates than among the general population" (Russell, 2017, para. 1). The 2015 auditor General report went onto state that "[a]n estimated 90 percent of offenders struggled with substance abuse" (para. 1). A 2016 Health Canada study offered further preliminary evidence of the complexities that inmates at the Whitehorse Correctional Centre face via "the prevalence [of FASD] within the Yukon justice system is about 17.5 per cent" (Joannou, 2016, para. 2).

A Crown employee speaking on the basis of anonymity further elaborated on this issue of a disconnect between northern Indigenous communities and police in the Far North as people being "a bit intimidated by the police. There are cultural factors. Most of the cops

are southern Canadians who come up for a few years" (Doolittle, 2017, p. 3). Further highlighting the issue around policing in the Yukon, a CBC News North (2010c) article quoted Ruth Massie, at the time the interim Grand Chief of the Council Yukon First Nations, who stated that "[r]acist attitudes and cultural stereotypes in relation to First Nation people [are] part of the institutional structure of the RCMP and widespread throughout its ranks" (para. 3).

Dismissals of Sexual Assault in Yukon by RCMP

Moreover, several issues examined earlier in this paper focused on negative factors impacting the state of SFN citizens' relationship with the RCMP in Pelly Crossing, including a high rate of dismals of sexual assault claims by RCMP members, along with the results of a 2020-21 Yukon Police Council Community Perceptions of the RCMP survey can be applied across the entire Yukon as contributing factors of distrust between Northern Indigenous peoples and Yukon RCMP officers.

Garrison (2017) highlighted key findings of a 2017 Globe and Mail report that examined sexual assault cases being dismissed by police across Canada between 2010 and 2014. The process for a sexual assault complaint to be dismissed as unfounded by the RCMP follows a similar process in that once a complaint is brought to the RCMP, they will "automatically open an investigation" into the complaint, and if after the investigation, "the case is deemed to be unfounded [which] means that police have determined that no crime has been committed or attempted" (para. 4). After a sexual assault complaint has been deemed unfounded by police, the case is closed. It is erased from the public record, and it must be noted that in the report, regions of the country with higher rates of female police officers had lower rates of dismal sexual assault complaints. The report found that,

on average, 19% of sexual assault cases had been dismissed by police across Canada between 2010 and 2014 (para. 3).

Regarding the Yukon, the report found that the rate of sexual assault cases being dismissed across the Yukon as unfounded by the RCMP was significantly higher than the national average for most of the thirteen Yukon communities examined in the report. The five communities in the Yukon with the highest dismissal rates for 2010-2014 were: 1) Dawson had a 35% dismissal rate, 2) Whitehorse had a 29% dismissal rate, 3) Ross River had a 25% dismissal rate, 4) Watson Lake had a 21% dismissal rate, and 5) Mayo had a 20% dismissal rate (Garrison, 2017, para. 2). One of the issues that may have factored into a high rate of dismals by RCMP officers in the Yukon between 2010-2014 was highlighted by Diane Pertin, a former Women's advocate with the Victoria Faulkner Women's Centre located in Whitehorse who stated that "[p]olice can be very black and white (about reporting), [and Petrin went onto state that] [t]hey take a very business-like standpoint sometimes and it can be very hard on women" (Garrison, 2017, para. 9). An additional issue that may have been a factor in the high rates of dismissals of sexual assault complaints in the Yukon is a "[p]erception about drugs and alcohol may also play a factor in determining when police find a case unfounded" (para. 12). The issue of drugs and alcohol possibly factoring into the high dismissal rates in the Yukon was expanded upon by former Court Watch Yukon employee Reem Girgrah who stated that "[a] very high number of sexual assaults in the Yukon occur while the woman is passed out, [and] [t]here's stigmatization of women who have substance and alcohol problems and this is a big issue nationwide." (para. 13).

Due to the high rates of sexual assault complaints being deemed by RCMP as unfounded in the Yukon advocates had pushed for the RCMP to conduct a formal review in cooperation with advocates in the Yukon focused on the state of sexual assault complaints being labeled as unfounded since "Yukon's sexual assault rate is 3.5 times the national average and the rate of cases deemed unfounded is 25 per cent in the territory, compared with 19 per cent nationally" (Windeyer, 2021b, para. 16). A formal review was eventually set-up in 2018 by the RCMP known as the Yukon Advocate Case Review that partnered with civilian Women's groups in the Yukon that was formulated "to examine sexual assault cases police labelled unfounded or where no one was charged" (para. 2). The review had processed "around 80 cases" up until March of 2020 when the "RCMP's national headquarters ordered Yukon RCMP to shut the project down, citing privacy concerns" (para. 3). The shutting down of the review process came as an enormous shock to women's group advocates in the Yukon as was clearly articulated by Anne Maje Raider, Executive Director of the Liard Aboriginal Women's Council who stated, "I was like Wow, what the hell?" and Raider went onto to also mention that "I was really shocked" (para. 9). Women's groups in the Yukon would file an access to information request for the privacy assessment documents that detailed why the RCMP had chosen to shut down the Yukon Advocate Case Review, but they had yet to receive a reply. Executive Director of the Yukon Status of Women Council, Aja Mason, also pointed out that "advocates have lobbied the RCMP to reverse the decision without success" (para. 14). Mason went on to highlight how the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWGs) final report, along with others, call for an increased role of the public when it comes to the oversight of the handling of sexual assault cases by police. Any further reviews of the high

rate of sexual assault cases in the Yukon being labelled as unfounded will have to go through the RCMPs own internal review process known as the Sexual Assault Investigation Review Committee, which Mason called "too secretive" and "an internal process, a closed system that has very little transparency, if at all" (para. 18-19). It must be noted that the women's group advocates mentioned that Yukon RCMP M Division in Whitehorse supported the review and cooperated with Yukon women's groups that assisted in the review.

Perceptions of the RCMP in Yukon
The results of a 2020-21 Yukon Police Council Yukon-wide Community Perceptions of the RCMP survey provide further evidence of distrust between Northern Indigenous peoples and the Yukon RCMP. The survey examined Yukoners' views of the RCMP, including questions focused on trust in the RCMP and Yukoners view of the state of their relationship with the RCMP in the Yukon. Survey respondent results were divided into several sociodemographic categories: age, sexual orientation, and Indigenous, white, and visible minorities.

RCMP Trust and Engagement with Yukoners
The first question to be examined was question B, which stated, "How the RCMP fares at building relationships of trust and engagement with Yukoners," and the respondents were provided three options for answering that question, which included: Excellent Job, Reasonable Job, and Poor Job. The answers of Indigenous respondents to question B were ranked from highest to lowest in terms of the percentage of Indigenous peoples who chose each of the three possible answers for question B. The highest response rate for Indigenous peoples who answered question B was 'Poor Job', with 48% of all Indigenous respondents in the survey, indicating that most Indigenous respondents deemed

the RCMP had done a poor job of building trust and engagement with Yukoners. The second highest response rate for Indigenous peoples for question B chose the answer option labelled 'Reasonable Job' with 30%, and the least selected answer option for question B for Indigenous peoples was the answer option labelled 'Excellent Job which came in at 14% (Yukon Police Council, March 2021).

Key Areas for Yukon RCMP: Establishing Trust with Northern Indigenous Peoples

A second question from the survey to be examined was question D, which asked respondents to think about "Critical factors in establishing trust with Yukoners." Respondents who answered question D were provided 12 options for ranking their top four factors for the RCMP to establish trust with Yukoners. Indigenous respondents ranked the following four options as the most critical factors for the RCMP to establish trust with Yukoners, from most to least. The highest-ranked option for question D for Indigenous respondents was "Understand my community and its people," with 89% choosing that option. This was followed by "understanding Yukon history and Indigenous Relations" with 86% and "a clear process to address complaints" with 79%. The fourth highest-ranked critical factor chosen by Indigenous respondents was the option labelled "timely, sincere communication," with 79% (Yukon Police Council, March 2021). A third and final section of the survey regarding Indigenous peoples' responses is section E, which focuses on respondents agreeing or disagreeing with eight statements about "[t]he extent to which the RCMP currently exhibits certain trust-building qualities." Respondents were provided the options of 'agree' or disagree' when answering the eight statements focused on how the RCMP in the Yukon currently exhibits certain trust-building qualities in their day-to-day work. Out of the eight total statements that made up section E, most Indigenous respondents chose 'disagree' for six out of the eight statements. The six statements and the

breakdown of responses from Indigenous respondents were as follows from the highest

percentage to the least for Indigenous respondents that chose 'disagree': 1) Understands

Yukon history and impact on Indigenous peoples (Disagree: 49% & Agree: 22%), 2)

Demonstrates transparency and openness (Disagree: 48% & Agree: 24%), 3) Understands

my community and its people (Disagree: 45% & Agree: 27%), 4) Understands the issues

facing my community (Disagree: 43% & Agree: 33%), 5) Provides timely and sincere

communication (Disagree: 42% & Agree: 24%) & 6) Demonstrates integrity and honesty

(Disagree: 39% & Agree: 30%). The two remaining statements showed that most

Indigenous respondents chose to 'agree' over 'disagree.' The two statements and the

breakdown of responses where the majority of Indigenous respondents chose 'agree' were

as follows from the highest percentage to the lowest: 1) Visible and present in the

community (Agree: 41% & Disagree: 28%), & 2) Involved in the social fabric of my

community (Agree: 39% & Disagree: 26%) (Yukon Police Council, March 2021).

Northern Indigenous Communities Viewing RCMP as Being Disconnected from Communities

Furthermore, the situation in terms of Northern Indigenous communities viewing

the RCMP as being disconnected from the communities that they serve has led to

inquiries of police abuses that are centred around racism and abuse of power claims

(Rohner, 2018; CBC News North, 2015; Weber, 2018; Roache, 2018, Commission for

Public Complaints Against the RCMP, 2010; Paktuutit Inuit Women of Canada &

Comack, 2020; Morritt-Jacobs, 2018). An example of the claims of abuse of power by

the RCMP culminated in a $600 million proposed class action lawsuit on behalf of

Northern Indigenous peoples living in the three northern territories "which seeks $500

million in damages and $100 million in punitive damages from the RCMP" (CBC News

North, 2018, para. 2). The lead plaintiff in the case is Joe David Nasogaluak who "claims he was assaulted by RCMP and subjected to racial slurs during an arrest when he was 15 years old" (Hudson, 2023, para, 5). The poor treatment that the lead plaintiff Nasogaluak alleges in the proposed lawsuit highlights how "Indigenous people[s] [in the Far North] have been subjected to excessive force by RCMP in the three territories" (CBC News North, 2018, para. 2). In addition, the lawsuit details a systemic issue relating to abuse along with a lack of oversight of the RCMP in the Far North that was described as an "epidemic of police assaults that take place in the Territories, and that the federal Crown has been "systemically negligent" in funding, oversight, operation, supervision, control and support of RCMP detachments and officers" (Hudson, 2023, para, 3). It should also be noted that the Federal Government, via a filing by the Attorney General's office, had filed a request to appeal the class action lawsuit. Still, as of 2023, a "decision by the Supreme Court of Canada cleared the way for a class-action lawsuit against the Federal Government for the behaviour of RCMP officers in the Yukon, N.W.T. and Nunavut" to proceed (para, 1).

The excessive use of force described in the lawsuit relating to the actions of the RCMP mirrors that of the actions of the RCMP in the Yukon in the 2008 death of Raymond Silverfox in a Whitehorse jail and the 2023 incident that involved a 17-year-old Inuk-Dene teenage girl in Whitehorse. Several additional incidents in Nunavut and the N.W.T. followed a similar pattern of RCMP abuse of power and negligence in carrying out their duties in the Far North. Benson (2020) highlights one incident of abuse of power that took place on June 1, 2020, that saw an RCMP member use the door of a police truck to strike an Inuk man to the ground. Benson (2020) went on to state that there is a

"systemic practice of violence and unnecessary force toward Inuit by the RCMP in Nunavut" (para. 4). The state of RCMP-administered policing in Nunavut has led to "[a] growing number of Nunavut leaders [to call] for a territory-wide review of the RCMP [, due to] more than 30 cases [of] allegations of police brutality, misconduct, and insensitivity" including the incident highlighted above that took place on June 1 of 2020 (Rohner, 2020c, para. 1). Furthermore, the CEO of Nunavut Legal Aid, Benson Cowan authored an op-ed piece in the Globe and Mail in June of 2020 titled: *The RCMP is failing in Nunavut"* (para. 1*)*. Meanwhile in the N.W.T. Bird (2020) highlighted how in 2020 the RCMP was negligent in oversight when they failed to inform residents of Charter Community of K'asho Got'ine (Fort Good Hope) in the N.W.T. of an abusive officer posted to the community. The officer was Randy McKay, and he had "pleaded guilty to sexual assault while stationed in Saskatchewan several years prior" (para. 5). Upon finding out about Officer McKay's past guilty plea to sexual assault, residents of Fort Good Hope were furious, and many described losing trust in the RCMP. One resident stated, "[w]ould I trust [the RCMP] now that I have grandchildren and there are children all around? I don't think so." (para. 3). While another resident described how "she has lost trust in the RCMP" (para. 14). More recently in 2023 a Fort Smith man, Kelly Canadian "filed a formal complaint against RCMP, claiming they used excessive force that left him with fractured vertebrae in a Fort Smith cell" (Pressman, 2023, para. 1). The incident involving Canadian occurred when he was "in custody at the time for failing to appear in court" for an unspecified charge. Canadian was alleged to not "want to return to his cell" after a virtual bail hearing when two officers attempted to move Canadian back to a cell. During that time, officers claimed Canadian attempted to assault

them and spit at them, which led the officers to place a spit hood over Canadian's face. The incident would be captured on surveillance video inside the cell when two officers, later joined by a sergeant, are seen "bring[ing] Canadian to the ground and repeatedly push his face into the cement floor, and the video shows a sergeant putting his knee on the back of Canadian's neck" (Pressman, 2023, para. 4). The sergeant can also be seen in the video pointing his finger in the back of Canadian while communicating some message. That same sergeant can also be seen later grabbing Canadian's right arm and twisting it backward while his knee is on his neck. Two other officers entered the cell several different times during the incident that was caught on video, but did nothing to stop it; instead, they offered help in carrying out the excessive force/assault or stood by and watched. The officers involved would later charge Canadian "on five counts of assaulting a peace officer. He [would be] found not guilty on all counts" (para. 6). The territorial court judge "Christine Gagnon said she found no reason for police to lay the assault charge against Canadian, other than the fact that their use of force would likely be subject to scrutiny" (para. 8). When one of the officers was asked about the incident, he stated that "I punched him three or four times to the side of his face, hard enough for him to stop assaulting me, [and that] he punched him another three or four times in the stomach area" (para. 17). It should be noted that at the time of the incident the sergeant involved had two prior complaints, "one for excessive use of force and the second for discreditable conduct" (para. 32).

In June 2020, the state of RCMP administered policing in Indigenous communities regarding abuse of power was summed up by former Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and the now former Assembly of First Nations (AFN) National Chief Perry

Bellegarde. Trudeau had stated during a press conference on issues around policing in Indigenous communities that "[s]ystemic racism is an issue right across the country, in all our institutions, including in all our police forces, including in the RCMP" (Tunney, 2020, para. 2). The issue of RCMP abuse of power was also highlighted by now former AFN National Chief Bellegarde "two days after a Metepenagiag First Nation man was shot and killed by New Brunswick RCMP" Bellegarde stated that "[t]his pattern is too systemic, too much violence, too much people getting hurt and too much people ending up dead, and it doesn't have to be that way" (Morin, 2020, para. 1-2).

The following section will examine additional issues impacting the relationship between police and Indigenous peoples within the Far North and across Canada that, at times, may contribute to the state of the administration of policing services in the Yukon by the RCMP. The additional issues to be discussed in the next section include police misconduct, Civilian Review and Complaints Commission (CRCC) Issues, surveillance, use of force, and the national inquiry into the high rates of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.

Contributing Issues: Indigenous Peoples & the Police in Canada

The issues relating to policing Indigenous nations and communities, including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis across Canada, are serious issues not limited in scope to only the Yukon. Several impactful incidents or inquiries between First Nations, Inuit, or Métis peoples across Canada may, at times, have contributed to a strain on the state of the administration of policing services in the Yukon by the RCMP. The incidents or inquiries range from police misconduct, CRCC Issues, the use of surveillance, to the use of force and the national inquiry into the high rates of missing and murdered Indigenous women

and girls. The first two issues to be examined below will be police misconduct and surveillance.

Police Misconduct

Police misconduct that has targeted Indigenous peoples across Canada includes many types of actions that police services have carried out. One such example of police misconduct that may amplify concerns at times with police by Indigenous peoples across Canada is the Starlight Tours.

The Starlight Tours took place from 1990 to 2000 in the Prairie city of Saskatoon, SK, where the Saskatoon Police Service drove First Nation individuals outside of the city limits during the wintertime to leave those individuals outside of the city to die. It began with Neil Stonechild, a 17-year-old Saulteaux First Nation teen whose frozen body was discovered on November 29, 1990. Ten years later, on January 29, 2000, the frozen body of 25-year-old Onion Lake First Nation member Rodney Nastius was found on the outskirts of Saskatoon. Five days after the body of Nastius was found, the body of a thirty-year-old Cree man from Saulteaux First Nation, Lawrence Wagner, was discovered on February 3, 2000, in a similar location to where the bodies of Stonechild and Nastius had been found. The turning point was when Darrell Night told of his treatment at the hands of two Saskatoon Police officers on the night of January 28, 2000. Early in the morning of January 28, Night was picked up by two officers and driven out of Saskatoon in the back of a police car. Night was left in a similar location as Stonechild, Nastius, and Wagner. Still, he survived by walking "about twenty minutes to [a] power plant from where the police officers had dropped him off in minus-25-degree Celsius weather" (Comack, 2012, p. 119). The impact of the Starlight Tours continues to factor into policing to this day in many First Nations, Inuit, or Métis communities. Brenda Wheeler,

who had been an organizer and a leader in establishing the Grandmothers Vigil for Justice to honour both Naistus and Wagner, stated, "It happens in Toronto, I know it happens in Halifax, I've seen it happen in Winnipeg, it is happening here in Saskatoon, it happens in Vancouver – all over the country" (Comack, 2012, p. 116).

CRCC Issues

A second area of strain impacting the state of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the police is the state of the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission (CRCC). The CRCC is an independent agency that handles public complaints on behalf of the RCMP. One of the most significant issues with the CRCC is the number of complaints the CRCC receives in a calendar year, which "on average [is around] 2,000 public complaints per year" (CRCC, 2022). Tunney (2021b) described how the wait time for the CRCC to review a complaint and write a final report has sometimes stretched into multiple years. For example, a "case regarding 'improper use of force,' [had been] filed in 2016 and completed in 2020, the RCMP wrote that it wasn't able to implement some of the watchdog's findings because the Mountie involved had retired" (Tunney, 2021b, para. 3). University of Toronto law professor Kent Roach elaborated on the issues the CRCC has been dealing with processing such a large volume of complaints yearly in that "[t]he commission remains both under-resourced and underpowered" (Tunney, 2021b). Recently, there have been calls to reform the CRCC by streamlining the complaints process, including more Indigenous representation on the CRCC review board, and possibly allowing the provinces and territories that hold contracts with the RCMP to take over the complaints process.

In the Far North, the issues surrounding the CRCC have been further magnified at times, as the RCMP is the only large police service for the majority of the three northern

territories, except for the Kativik region of northern Quebec, which has a police service known as the Nunavik Police Service. Nunavut, Yukon, and the N.W.T. currently lack fully developed civilian oversight mechanisms separate from the CRCC. Although in 2021, Nunavut's Legislative Assembly passed Bill 53, An Act to Amend the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Agreement Act, which was "legislation that will allow the Territorial Government to engage independent investigative agencies to look into serious incidents involving the RCMP" (Rogers, 2021, para. 1). The bill requires that all agreements between the Government of Nunavut with investigative bodies are made public along with why an investigative body was not utilized for investigating "a serious incident." Moreover, the bill also established a long-term goal that the Nunavut "Government must commit to work[ing] towards the long–term goal of establishing a Nunavut-based civilian oversight body." Even with the new bill that was passed, the RCMP in Nunavut still do have third-party investigation agreements with "the Ottawa and Calgary police services" for incidents occurring that involve the police in Nunavut "that lead to serious injury or death" (Rogers, 2021, para. 6, 9 & 15).

As of 2020 the locations in Canada that do not have a civilian-led watchdog for the police include "Nunavut, Yukon, Northwest Territories, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick (Newfoundland & Labrador is currently finalizing its oversight agency) (Laming, 2020, para. 5). The result of this type of reliance on the RCMP's CRCC oversight to process civilian complaints is the "[p]olice investigating police, as happens in Nunavut, does not leave the public with a lot of confidence in police accountability [notes] Paul McKenna, an expert in police training and oversight" (Rohner, 2020a, para. 2). A criminal defence lawyer in Nunavut Tom Engel further

described "the oversight provided by the [CRCC] [as] completely toothless", since most recommendations from the CRCC are non-binding (Rohner, 2020a, para. 33). Engel also mentioned that when it comes to the CRCCs final reports and recommendations "it's a negotiation, they have to be diplomatic, which is no way for a police oversight body to act" (Rohner, 2020a, para. 38).

In the Yukon, an RCMP oversight council was recommended by a 2010 final report titled *Sharing Common Ground,* which put forth 33 recommendations to improve the administration of policing services in the territory. The report was formulated by a task force that was put together to review Yukon's police force after the 2008 death of Raymond Silverfox in a Whitehorse RCMP jail cell. The Yukon Police Council was established in 2012 as a mechanism for expanding community input from Yukoners regarding police services they receive via the Police Council. The Police Council in the Yukon then "submit community and stakeholder input to the Minister of Justice to inform RCMP priorities" (The Rush CKRW 96.1 FM, 2017). The Council "consist[s] of six members, including three recommended by First Nations" (CBC News North, 2011a, para. 2). The Council has also worked to improve the state of policing in the Yukon by supporting the formation of a "Yukon First Nation history and culture program for the RCMP and other service providers" (Roach, 2022, p. 153). In addition, the Council took on an active role in supporting a series of workshops between the Liard Aboriginal Women's Society and the Watson Lake RCMP Detachment focused on relationship building in Watson Lake after two off-duty RCMP officers had been charged and later acquitted of sexual assault in 2010 (CBC News, 2010). The Council also oversaw a Yukon-wide Community Perceptions of the RCMP survey administered in 2020-21.

Although the Police Council in the Yukon is making positive inroads into improving the state of policing in the Yukon, the Council does not have any specified complaint review mechanism for processing formal complaints brought against the Yukon RCMP. Another drawback of the current Police Council is that "the Yukon Police Council is not solidified in legislation[,]" and the council lacks representation from health, social service, or other Government of Yukon or non-profit representatives not associated with justice services (Roach, 2022, p. 153). Lastly, the results of a 2010 Review of the RCMP in the Yukon pointed to a need for an independent complaint review process, which was echoed by Salvation Army and FASSY Yukon staff members who provide support to unhoused individuals and those diagnosed with FASD in Whitehorse. Salvation Army staff "emphasized the need for an independent complaints process that would be helpful in addressing concerns from clients that a complaint would raise the potential for retribution against them" (Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP, August 2010, p. 29). While FASSY staff stated "that clients complain to them about how they are treated by RCMP [officers], but that they would never lodge an official complaint out of fear of mistreatment or retribution by the RCMP" (Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP, August 2010, p. 29).

Surveillance

Another area of strain that is an extension of misconduct by the police that has targeted Indigenous nations and peoples for generations across Canada, at times dating back to the construction of the CP railway, has come in the form of surveillance. Two recent examples of police surveillance that have targeted Indigenous nations and peoples are the Coastal Gas Link pipeline project protests and Idle No More.

Crosby and Monaghan (2018) highlighted how surveillance by the police during the Coastal Gas Link pipeline project targeted Indigenous protesters in that "[p]olicing bodies were most attentive toward Indigenous protests, as well as environmental movements that allied with or supported Indigenous struggles" (p. 83). Some of the most invasive surveillance focused on the Unist'ot'en Clan of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation that was conducted by "Aboriginal Policing Services of RCMP's "E" Division in B.C. tracked Unist'ot'en Camp activities monthly from at least 2010 to the end of 2015. The monthly strategic outlook reports regularly comment[ed] on mundane activities" (Crosby & Monaghan, 2018, p. 89). The years of surveillance by the RCMP led to "the Unist'ot'en [Clan] [being] interpreted as a national security threat, and the security state monitored every movement associated" with the Unist'ot'en Clan (p. 89). It would later be revealed that the RCMP, in dealing with the Wet'suwet'en First Nation Coastal Gas Link pipeline land defenders, had been authorized to use lethal force.

Crosby and Monaghan (2018) highlighted how police utilized surveillance during Idle No More, which saw police maintain "a systemic surveillance effort on Idle No More, [and] Indian Affairs bureaucrats prepared weekly situational awareness reports to monitor and share information with government departments and law enforcement agencies" (p. 104). Idle No More is a significant Indigenous Rights movement in Canada that pushes back against colonial programs or policies focusing on Indigenous sovereignty, improved respect for the land, and treaty obligations. Moreover, the role the RCMP played in Idle No More surveillance was through the "creat[ion] [of] daily situation reports on 'Aboriginal-based issues' and protest related to Idle No More" (pp. 105–106). The surveillance work that the RCMP carried out resulted in "RCMP 'D'

Division (Manitoba) creat[ing] a matrix of protests that tracked event organizers or

people affiliated" (p. 107). The long-term impact that the efforts of police surveillance

have had on Indigenous peoples and communities across Canada is significant in regard

to possibly further surveillance efforts by police, since the main objective of the

surveillance work of the RCMP and other government departments evolved as Idle No

More progressed. The main objective for surveillance became more focused on protecting

critical infrastructure, which "became a misnomer for the real objective of protecting

economic development and thwarting challenges to settler sovereignty" (p. 116).

Use of Force

The use of force by the police towards Indigenous peoples across Canada has

been and continues to be a very painful mark on the relationship with the police (Rohner,

2019; Rhoad, 2013). The shooting death of J.J. Harper in 1988 by the Winnipeg Police

highlighted this issue. Harper was a rising leader in the local First Nations community in

Winnipeg when he was killed. After Harper's death, the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of

Manitoba (AJI) was established to investigate the relationship with the police in

Winnipeg. Commissioners Alvin Hamilton and the Honourable Murray Sinclair chaired

the AJI. Hamilton and Sinclair's findings were in direct contrast to the findings of the

initial inquiry into Harper's death. A passage from the AJI report stated that "[w]e

believe that evidence was mishandled and facts were obscured by police attempts to

construct a version of events which would, in effect, blame J.J. Harper for his own death"

(Hamilton & Sinclair, 1991, p. 113).

Edwards (2018) further expanded on the AJI findings by stating that "First

Nations are 'overpoliced' yet underprotected [, which is a] phrase that captures the

destructive dynamic between Indigenous people and conventional police agencies, like

the RCMP and provincial [police] forces, which dates back a century" (p. 3). More recently, in 2019, the RCMP released data on officer-involved shootings that resulted in a fatality over the past decade. The data that was released highlighted that "[m]ore than one-third of the people shot to death by RCMP officers over a 10-year period were Indigenous" (Freeze, 2019, para. 1). The high rates of Indigenous individuals losing their lives at the hands of the RCMP "alarmed First Nations leaders and [prompted] calls for more data about police use of force in Canada" (Freeze, 2019, para. 1). The National RCMP Research Council, which is an independent research organization focused on calling out present-day problems of the RCMP provided further context for the state of RCMP officers use of deadly force yearly. The Research Council in 2023 released a report that found that 35 people in 2022 suffered gunshot wounds from RCMP weapons, and on average, eight people die "from being shot by the RCMP each year" (National RCMP Research Council, 2023).

In the Yukon, concerns about safety during police response to crime mirrored those of the death of Harper, which was highlighted by Dendys and Gibbons (2010) who produced a report that focused on policing in Whitehorse, Yukon for Kwanlin Dün First Nation (KDFN). Findings of the report highlighted significant concerns around the work of the RCMP in Whitehorse as demonstrated in the following passage, "[a] lot of female cops are well known for their use of violence – one KDFN member received a detached retina as the RCMP officer dug her fingers into her eye." (p. 14).

In September 2024, an emergency debate was held in the House of Commons in Ottawa due to the deaths of six Indigenous individuals at the hands of police over 11 days (Martens, 2024). Nunavut MP Lori Idlout described the reason behind the six deaths as

systemic racism "because there's still too much ignorance, there's still too much denialism about residential schools, for example. That [is] how we need to make sure that we [are] opening the eyes of Canada." Idlout also would add that "RCMP, most of them, have always been people that I can describe as having come from privileged White communities that have not been given the history and experiences of Indigenous peoples" (Martens, 2024, para. 21 & 20).

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

An impactful inquiry into the police relationship with Indigenous peoples in Canada was the National Inquiry into the high rates of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG). The NIMMIWG touched almost every region of the country, including the Yukon. From May 31 to June 1, 2017, the NIMMIWG held a community hearing in Whitehorse, Yukon. In total, 71 family members or survivors of violence gave testimony in their own words as to what had happened to them or a family member (NIMMIWG, 2019b). Many of those who testified touched on similar themes about fear from the violence at the hands of an abuser, but also fear of being taken seriously in regards to an investigation if they went to the police. The now former Yukon Minister of Women's Directorate, Jeanie Dendys (now known as Jeanie McLean), who also coordinated with the national inquiry, summed up the state of abuse that has targeted Indigenous women in the Yukon as "[w]e in the North have three to four times higher rates of violence against women in general, three to four times higher rates of violence against Indigenous women," (CBC News North, 2017, p. 2). The statement by Dendy highlights the importance of improving the relationship with the RCMP in the Far North due to the high rates of violence against Northern Indigenous women. Paktuutit Inuit Women of Canada and Comack (2020) further expanded on the issue of Northern Indigenous women's distrust of the police

in the Far North by describing how "their reluctance to call on police [came from] negative experiences they had in the past. Other women spoke about the troublesome ways police treated them when they reported gendered violence" (p. 6).

A final theme raised by Inuit women who had been interviewed for the gendered violence against Inuit women report was that their "experiences [with the police] left the women feeling wary and distrustful of police" (Paktuutit Inuit Women of Canada and Comack, 2020, p. 6). Two specific issues that occurred on several occasions in the report focused on over-and under-policing in how the RCMP treated Inuit women who were victims of domestic violence. This included Inuit woman being charged with a crime after they had called for help, their 911 calls not being taken seriously, and degrading strip searches. Tranter (2020) highlighted an incident where an Inuit woman known as A had called the police out of fear of abuse from her stepfather. When the police responded, they found A to be "intoxicated and charged her with breaching her bail condition" (para. 5). Tranter (2020) also described another case similar to A, where another Inuit woman known as K had been the victim of abuse from her then partner and after she called the police for help she would later be "charged for breaking conditions by drinking [and was] held in custody before appearing in court" (para. 8 & 10). The judge in K's case would not decide to charge K with breaching conditions of bail due to the serious ramifications as detailed by the judge: "[I]f I find you guilty of [breaching your no alcohol condition], it [is] going to maybe make you think twice about calling the RCMP again in the future.… You should never think twice about calling the RCMP" (para. 14). Further magnifying the issue of over-policing when it comes to the RCMP's response to calls for service was the use of strip searches by the RCMP that was detailed in two letters authored by the Legal Services

Board of Nunavut sent to the CRCC in 2019, and 2020. The two letters raised "significant concerns about the quality of policing and conduct of officers" when responding to calls for service made by Inuit women, along with the use of "humiliating and degrading" strip searches that had been carried out by the RCMP (Rohner 2020b, para. 2 & 7).[15] Other examples of abuse of power touched on the dehumanizing use of strip searches that targeted Inuit women, as detailed in an incident where "a male RCMP [officer] forcibly removed the underwear of a 19-year-old woman in a cell [while in another incident a] woman was strip- searched and tied naked to a restraint chair for two hours" (para. 29 & 30).

The issues highlighted above regarding the conclusions of the NIMMIWG, along with the two letters sent to the CRCC by the Legal Services Board of Nunavut, were further magnified due to how Indigenous women and girls, at times, have been targeted for sexual violence by NWMP and RCMP officers as discussed in a 2022 Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action report. One of the authors of the report Dr. Pamela Palmater, a Mi'kmaw lawyer and chair in Indigenous Governance at Toronto Metropolitan University, stated that "Indigenous women and girls have long been targets of sexualized violence and exploitation at the hands of state actors, including the police," (Deer, 2022, para. 3). Dr. Palmater went onto to state that "[i]f female RCMP officers are not safe from sexual assaults by male officers, it should be no surprise that marginalized Indigenous women and girls are not safe either." The report also referred to the findings of the NIMMIWG "as evidence of the RCMP's failure to prevent violence against Indigenous women and girls, and [a] failure [to] thoroughly investigate their disappearances and deaths" (para. 16-17).

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[15] Supreme Court of Canada in a 2001 case, *R v. Golden* described strip searches as "inherently humiliating and degrading for detainees regardless of the manner in which they are carried out and for this reason they cannot be carried out simply as a matter of routine policy." The SCC also noted that "it is also necessary that the strip search be conducted in a manner that does not infringe s. 8 of the Charter" (para. 8).

A 2024 Yellowknife Women's Society (YKWS) report, which focused on the relationship between unhoused Indigenous women and the RCMP in Yellowknife, raised further concerns about RCMP interactions with Indigenous women. The report was informed by knowledge gathered from two sharing circles conducted in Yellowknife, which explored the relationship between the RCMP and unhoused Indigenous women. The report found "that there [is] a major rift between police officers and unhoused Indigenous women in Yellowknife." Yellowknife unhoused Indigenous women detailed a traumatic relationship with the RCMP during the sharing circle sessions, as many described "being abused, dismissed and belittled by RCMP officers" (Taylor, 2024, para. 6 & 4). One unhoused Indigenous woman provided an example of RCMP abuse by stating, "I [have] been roughed up by three cops [at once]," said one woman. "I [am] not that big, you know? That [is] ridiculous." (para. 15). The report also noted that on many occasions during the circles' women "shared stories of being roughed up by the police and being explicitly told some version of, 'I can do what I want to you — no one will believe you" (Passafiume, 2024, para. 3). The former executive director of YKWS and one of the co-authors of the report Neesha Rao highlighted how "unhoused Indigenous women do not trust the RCMP. They [are] afraid of the RCMP, and they [are] often harmed by the RCMP, and they do not feel protected by the RCMP" (para. 3). Moreover, the report also found that many of the unhoused Indigenous women viewed the RCMP of today "as executors of colonialism" (para. 19).

All the additional issues discussed up to this point provide insights into additional areas of potential strain impacting the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the police that may have also impacted the relationship between SFN Citizens and the Pelly

Crossing RCMP to varying degrees potentially compounding the issues present in SFN

detailed prior in this chapter that led to the formation of the SFN CSO program in 2019.

The following section will examine the formation of the SFN Community Safety Plan,

which was a key development before the creation of the SFN CSO program. This section

will also explore the steps that went into the formation of the SFN CSO program itself.

Creation of the SFN Community Safety Plan & CSO Program

Due to the issues present within SFN relating to crime, violence, bootlegging of

alcohol and the trafficking of drugs into Pelly Crossing, the state of SFN citizens'

relationship with the RCMP, coupled with the additional issues between police and

Indigenous peoples detailed above, a decision was made in 2018 to establish an SFN

community safety plan. The SFN community safety plan was guided by the Aboriginal

Community Safety Planning Initiative [ACSPI] that Public Safety Canada oversees.[16]

The process began "[i]n the [f]all [of] 2018, [when the] SFN Government engaged with

Pelly Crossing residents to discuss safety issues in the community." To assist SFN

leadership with establishing a community safety plan, a community safety plan advisory

committee would be formed to work with Gina Nagano, who SFN had hired as a

community safety advisor, and Cory Johnston from Public Safety Canada during the

planning process. SFN was "the first Yukon First Nation to take advantage of this

program [ACSPI]." The goal of the advisory committee would be to develop a safety

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[16] The Aboriginal Community Safety Planning Initiative [ACSPI] was formed in 2010 "led by Public Safety Canada [as] a component of the Government's response to addressing violence against Indigenous women and girls. Since 2010, the ACSPI has engaged 139 Indigenous communities through a holistic approach that encourages the whole community to identify local safety concerns and become active participants in the development of solutions" (Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, 2021, para. 6).

plan for SFN "that reflects the needs of [the] community" and addresses pressing safety needs of SFN citizens (SFN, 2019b, p. 2).

With the support of others, Nagano would also go on to formulate an in-depth SFN community assessment report in cooperation with the SFN Chief and Council, which would tell the story of how SFN had reached a crisis point due to the pressing issues detailed above. Following the assessment report, a recommendation report would be presented to the SFN Chief & Council, including SFN Justice, along with a crime prevention through environmental design study that Nagano and other colleagues at House of Wolf & Associates Inc. also developed. The main findings of all three reports focused on the following six goals for dealing with the state of crisis within SFN: 1) Enhancing Community Safety, 2) Re-establishing and honouring SFN ancestors' way of life on the land via Hućha Hudän, 3) Preventing Alcohol & Drug Use, 4) Stopping Youth exploitation and trafficking, 5) Improved communication, and 6) Safety from animals within SFN as well as the care of animals (Shëzho Zhùr - House of Wolf and Associates, n.d.). The three reports also made recommendations for how SFN can address the six goals listed above, including establishing 1) Community Safety Officers, 2) Land-Based Healing programs, and 3) A radio station. After all, three reports were finalized, establishing a CSO program in SFN was agreed upon. The next step in the process was to formalize a protocol agreement for SFN CSOs, to be formulated by the SFN Justice in coordination with the SFN Chief and Council, and the SFN Elders Council. Lastly, a full SFN CSO proposal, including a budget, was presented to the Yukon Territorial Government.

The Creation of the SFN CSO Program

The SFN CSO program was eventually formulated on the foundation of the traditional SFN law centred around caring, sharing, respect, and teaching, which are known as Dän Ki and Doòli (SFN, 2022d). SFN Chief Sharon Nelson described the work of the CSO program by stating that the CSOs "don't do police work but work collaboratively with the local RCMP officers" (Rudyk, 2019, para. 2). The CSO program is primarily funded by SFN, except for time-limited funding provided by the Government of the Yukon in collaboration with the Government of Canada, which is a 48/52 percent split that began in December of 2021. The cost-share funding support for the SFN CSO program lasted until March 31, 2023. Although before the agreed-upon 2021 cost-sharing agreement, the "Government of the Yukon [had] provided SFN with a small amount of funding to purchase equipment for [the SFN] CSO program but did not provide any further funding" (Yukon Dept. of Justice, Spring 2023, p. 40). Funding for all Yukon CSO programs is inconsistent, and the Yukon Government has not provided any funding through current avenues such as the Community Safety Planning Funding Program (CSPFP).[17] Although there may be possible future funding support via the First Nation and Inuit Policing program (FNIPP) since in 2021, a portion of the $540 million new FNIPP funding that totaled "$127 million in ongoing funding is earmarked for Indigenous community safety initiatives and expanding initiatives that may be funded, including CSOs" (p. 40). Discussions between the Yukon Government and the Government of Canada about "how FNIPP funding will be allocated are ongoing" (p. 40). It appears CSO programs such as the SFN CSO program may also be left out of

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[17] The CSPFP is a Yukon Government run program that provides funding up to $200,000 dollars to support safer First Nations in the Yukon to those First Nations that qualify for funding to support community safety assessment, planning, and/or implementing new programs. CSPFP funding is available until 2030.

potential financial support in the future for First Nation police services once an agreement is reached on defining First Nation police services as an essential service since, "Canada has stated the focus will be on core policing, not alternative police service delivery such as the CSO programs." However, with that said, certain CSO programs in the Yukon have benefited from a portion of FNIPP funding being directed their way via certain short-term funding avenues. The FNIPP may be a substantial funding area for CSO programs in the future. Some leaders across the Yukon view the current funding structure of Northern Indigenous CSO programs as "ad hoc in nature [and] question why funding is not available through the community safety planning funding program" (Yukon Dept. of Justice, Spring 2023, p. 40).

Today, there are "two [CSOs] who work on a full-time basis, along with three who are on-call" (Gignac, 2020, para. 8). The SFN CSO program mainly works to provide a sense of safety for the community by the community. This is evident in the work of the SFN CSOs, which includes contacting youth during daily patrols, supporting individuals in distress, "reporting suspicious activities to RCMP, [and] security checks on buildings" (SFN, 2019b, p. 2). SFN CSO lead Darcy Marcotte described the impact of the SFN CSO program on the community as "[p]eople are letting their kids out now riding bikes around. Before, kids weren't really allowed out without being watched a lot. They know that we are patrolling in the evenings, we are watching properties" (Rudyk, 2019, para. 13). SFN CSOs were also a crucial element in the SFN response to COVID-19 (MacIntyre, 2020).

SFN CSOs have also made meaningful connections with the RCMP detachment in Pelly Crossing via various outreach activities. Outreach activities included overseeing

an orientation offered to RCMP members in Pelly Crossing. The orientation provided by the lead CSO focused on the "[h]istory of the village was discussed along with community events and local contacts." Another activity that SFN CSOs were also able to partake in was a joint patrol with the RCMP around SFN "wherein the CSO provided valuable information on local residents, elders, and youths" (RCMP, 2021b, p. 16). In addition, the RCMP October-December 2020 Quarterly Report also made note of another critical connection that SFN CSOs had made with RCMP regarding CSOs agreeing to "provide a map identifying local fish camps for [RCMP] Members as there are often 911 calls to these remote locations." The RCMP Quarterly report went on to highlight another area of connection with SFN CSOs, which was concerning a New Year's Eve check stop where "[a]ll three Pelly Crossing [RCMP] members, along with the CSO, worked together on New Year's Eve night to increase visibility, to conduct a check stop, [that] increase[d] visibility" (RCMP, 2021b, p. 16).

The SFN CSOs have also built bridges with the RCMP at Pelly Crossing regarding searching for missing SFN citizens, as was the case in 2019. A woman had been missing since May 2019. Lead CSO Darcy Marcotte described how "one day [they] got a call that you know there was a sighting of [the missing women] so [the CSOs] got that information and on [their] way out of the community [they] went to go check it out [they] called the RCMP to let them know what [they] had seen and where [they] were heading and [the CSOs] got out there and found that missing person" (MacIntyre, 2019). The SFN CSOs locating a missing SFN citizen demonstrates the impact of the CSO program in SFN regarding how certain SFN citizens may be more comfortable reaching out to CSOs than the RCMP, which then, for certain portions of the information, may be

relayed to the Pelly Crossing RCMP, including where they are going, along with certain other aspects of the information that had been given to the CSOs. Former SFN Chief Isaac described an example of SFN citizens being more comfortable reaching out to CSOs regarding the actions of a known drug trafficker in SFN for a 2023 CBC News North article focused on SFN petitioning the court to ban the alleged drug dealer from being able to return to the community. The article detailed how former SFN Chief Isaac had described the impact of CSOs in SFN-on-SFN citizens by stating that "I understand that SFN citizens will speak with him and other SFN CSOs, however they are afraid of reprisals from the drug dealers and are not will[ing] to talk with the RCMP or SCAN" (para. 16). Former Chief Isaac would go onto state that the lead CSO had "advised SFN council and I do believe that he only passes on reports of illegal activity when he believes the complainant is being truthful" (para. 17). The article also detailed "how CSOs serve as a first point of contact for First Nation citizens who need help, and that includes reporting on drug dealing or bootlegging" (para. 18). Later in 2023 SFN had sought a court injunction via the filing of a petition to declare the alleged drug dealer from Dawson City as a trespasser enforceable via a court order that would empower the Pelly Crossing "RCMP to arrest [the alleged drug dealer] and bring him to court" (para. 2). Much of the information that was relied upon when formulating the court petition filed by SFN had been obtained by CSOs. SFN had sought the petition with the court earlier in 2023; in February, SFN had previously passed a resolution agreed upon by SFN Chief and Council to "keep [the alleged drug dealer] out of Pelly Crossing [and] declared the man's behaviour a threat to public order and the safety of SFN citizens in Pelly Crossing" (para. 5-6). The resolution would be put into a letter given to the alleged drug dealer by

the SFN CSOs "accompanied by an RCMP officer — informing him that he had 48 hours to leave the community and that he would be trespassing if he returned" (para. 7). The alleged drug dealer would later return hence the reason why SFN filed a petition with the court.

The connections that the SFN CSOs, along with other Northern Indigenous Yukon CSO programs, have made with Yukon RCMP seem to have made an impact as the Yukon RCMP Year in Review for 2020-2021 document made note of the importance of community engagement that can include CSOs. Within the 'District Policing' section, the report noted the importance of connecting with smaller communities that make up the Yukon RCMP District Policing Unit (DPU), which includes Pelly Crossing. One of the ways highlighted in that section for Officers to stay engaged with their communities in a meaningful way included "[e]ngaging with Community Safety Officers where applicable" (p. 18). In addition, the Yukon Department of Justice, in a Spring 2023 report, indicated their support for Northern Indigenous CSO programs across the territory by detailing how "[w]e recognize the value and impact that Community Safety Officer programs have in keeping communities safe" (p. 91).

The SFN CSO program has also elevated and made crucial connections to SFN culture, by which each CSO, in their own way, works to model the four traditional law concepts: Caring, sharing, respect, and teaching, which are known as Dän Ki and Doòli (SFN, 2022d). In addition, CSOs are, in a way, an embodiment of the honouring of Hućha Hudän since CSOs work to support and protect the re-establishment of the ancestors' way of life on the land, as was evident in the example discussed above about knowing the location of Fish Camps as a potential place where injuries may occur. CSOs

have also demonstrated through their actions that they protect and support knowledge

holders regarding elders. The work of SFN CSOs has embodied aspects of SFN culture. It

is apparent from the feedback from SFN Chief Nelson that the CSOs are a calming

presence within SFN, which is often not associated with the term 'police' within the Far

North of Canada. The following section highlights the decision to classify the SFN CSOs

as safety officers rather than police officers.

What's in a Name?

The SFN CSO program chose not to utilize the formal title of police. This can be

attributed to many community-driven decisions in SFN when formulating the CSO

program. Still, one significant factor is the colonial relationship examined above

regarding the police in the Far North. In addition, the goals of the SFN CSO program are

not to arrest but to support SFN citizens in any way possible and act as a buffer between

the RCMP and the community. The SFN CSO program would fit into a community

safety category known as counter-policing. Porter (2016) described counter-policing

regarding the Australian Night Patrols in that "[t]he work of [night] patrols could be seen

to be counter-policing in the sense that by shepherding young people away from police

hotspots, patrol workers sought to minimize confrontation between Indigenous youth and

the state police" (p. 12). Blagg and Anthony (2019) expanded on the passage by Porter

(2016) by stating that "Aboriginal people have had to create their own forms of what

Porter (2016) calls 'counter-policing' to compensate for this systemic contempt for

Aboriginal life" (p. 280). Community is also where concepts of Indigenous justice take

place since "Indigenous communities regard formal justice processes as only one aspect

of safety work, which equally relies on avenues such as Indigenous ceremony,

Indigenous conflict resolution strategies involving Elders and family, and hybrid

programs such as night patrols" (Blagg & Anothny, 2019, p. 283).

Létourneau, Picard, Frecker and Frémont (1991) provided an examination of

traditional Indigenous justice concepts in Canada by stating that "[an Indigenous] vision

of justice gives pre-eminence to the interests of the collectivity, its overall orientation

being holistic and integrative. Thus, it is community-based, stressing mediation and

conciliation" (p. 6). Létourneau, Picard, Frecker and Frémont (1991) went on to also state

that "within an [Indigenous] justice system, laws would not be uniform or homogeneous;

they would vary from community to community, depending on customary practices.

Customary law would be the binding force promoting harmony within the community"

(p. 6).

The term community can also be viewed as connecting with traditional concepts

of justice in that Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon, traditional concepts of

justice revolve around the interconnectedness of all living beings, pertaining to

maintaining a holism within that interconnectedness and respect for all creation in

compliance with traditional values that vary between Northern Indigenous nations.

McCaslin (2005) elaborated on the importance of community in the name of each

Northern Indigenous CSO program in that an "Indigenous response [to crime] is to

engage everyone affected in healing, so that the underlying causes of the harm can be

addressed" (Introduction: Naming Realities of Life, para. 13).

Focus of Study

This study is focused on the SFN CSO program for the goal of understanding

from the standpoint of SFN community leaders and/or knowledge holders relevant to the

SFN CSO program, including CSOs and Yukon RCMP posted to Pelly Crossing via

semi-structured interviews (SSIs) conducted via a distance format that utilized Zoom to inquire about their perceptions of the tensions, challenges, and strengths of the SFN CSO program. SFN community leaders and/or knowledge holders for this project may include community safety officers, justice officials, support staff, addictions workers, SFN Chief & Council, directors of housing, social services, language revitalization, and health professionals. This project examined views on how the SFN CSO program is working regarding strengths, tensions, and challenges present within the SFN CSO program, as well as the potential for the SFN CSO model to be a blueprint for expanding Northern Indigenous self-determination within RCMP-administered policing services across the Far North, including key elements for formulating a Northern Indigenous CSO program. This project also sought to examine whether the SFN CSO program has impacted reconciliation, decolonization, or institutional transformation within the RCMP in Pelly Crossing. This project was informed by Indigenous Criminology (IC) theory. Furthermore, this project also investigated several ICs' foundational concepts in relation to the SFN CSO program.

The next chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical framework of this project, which is rooted in the criminological theory known as Indigenous Criminology. The research methodologies utilized for this project will also be examined in the next chapter. The chosen research methods used for this project relied on a qualitative case study approach carried out via semi-structured interviews conducted over Zoom. Lastly, this research project was guided by and informed by SFN traditions, customs, beliefs, and SFN leadership, which will also be discussed.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework & Methodology

Indigenous Criminology Theory

   The theory selected to guide this study is Indigenous Criminology (IC).

Indigenous criminology is defined by Cunneen and Tauri (2016) as a criminological

theory that "provide[s] the basis for a new explanatory model for understanding

Indigenous peoples' contact with the criminal justice systems: one that is firmly based in

the historical and contemporary conditions of colonialism and settler colonialism" (pp.

10-11). It should be noted that other potential criminological theories may have

supported this project in terms of how other criminological theories at times, may offer

glimpses into Indigenous perspectives about understanding the criminal justice system

from the viewpoint of Indigenous peoples, coupled with the connections between

colonization and the criminal justice system in settler states (see Goyes & South, 2021).

Although with that said, many of the other potential "[c]riminological theories [were]

fundamentally shaped by the times and places in which their creators live[d]." This

resulted in Indigenous perspectives contextualized in the lens of colonization being

minimized or left out of many discussions when it came to applying certain

criminological theories to the lived realities of Indigenous peoples. This could include

the Critical Criminology movement, which began in the 1970s; Social Learning Theory,

which started in the 1970s; Strain Theory, which began in the late 1930s (Akers &

Jennings, 2019; Cullen & Messne, 2007; Sykes, 1974). The making of criminology

revisited: An oral history of Merton's anomie paradigm. Theoretical Criminology, 11(1),

5-37). The social learning theory of crime and deviance. The Handbook on Crime and

Deviance, pp. 113-129. Willis, Evans, and Lagrange (1999) would also add that

"[c]riminal justice policies reflect particular historical and social contexts of the times

[and that] [a] careful reading of the laws, policies, and procedures of the police, courts, and corrections systems" can offer important context as to how and why criminal justice policies were formulated (p. 235). Therefore, in Chapter 4, the literature review portion of this dissertation includes a detailed examination of colonial policing in relation to the formation of the NWMP, which significantly shaped the early relationship with Indigenous nations and peoples across Canada, including in the Yukon.[18]

Cunneen and Tauri (2016) went on to highlight several key factors that must be considered when implementing IC policy or conducting IC-based research, which include a "recognition of the fundamental importance of Indigenous knowledge and the use of engaging methodologies, the long-term and ongoing impact of colonialism, the Indigenous right to self-determination, and the important of Indigenous agency" (p. 11). Indigenous criminology was chosen as the theoretical basis for this study because three of its main guiding principles—Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Indigenous Rights —all factored into the formation of the SFN CSO program to varying degrees. Cunneen and Tauri (2016) would offer further details on the importance of the three main guiding principles of IC due to a need for "reasserting Indigenous collective rights [, since] many Indigenous peoples believe that settler colonial criminal justice systems are ineffective in their operation and oppressive in their outcomes" (p. 13). Moreover, this project also sought to adhere to the four main principles for carrying out IC research, including "the need to 'give back' to the communities from which knowledge [has been] taken" (p. 34). The second principle focused on research that "privileges the perspective, experiences,

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[18] The term dissertation is utilized throughout this document as this project was completed in accordance with the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies PhD program requirements that includes the production of a dissertation. Please note the School of Graduate Studies at Trent University requires the use of the term thesis on the title page of this document as per formatting requirements.

and issues of Indigenous peoples." The third is focused on "critically analyz[ing] the activities of the powerful, such as policy makers, criminologist[s] and criminal justice institutions." The fourth principle focused on the need for IC research that "offers solutions to criminological and policy praxis that empowers Indigenous peoples in their attempts at self-determination and/or to gain a measure of jurisdictional autonomy so they might practice their law" (p. 35).

IC will be examined regarding how, or if, each of the three main principles of IC stated above is supported or expanded through the SFN CSO program. IC will also be discussed in relation to how, or if, the SFN CSO program has begun to counter the long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism relating to the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP. Each area regarding IC will be explored via the main research question and four key research questions, including key research questions 4,5, 6 & 8, along with opening question #2. The next section of this chapter will examine the research methodologies, including methods, and discuss the knowledge provided.

Research Methodology, Methods & A Discussion of the Knowledge Provided

The research methodology utilized to carry out this study was a qualitative case study research paradigm guided by the leadership of SFN. A case study aligns well with my epistemology for this study, as I, as the researcher, aim for the voices of SFN community leaders and knowledge holders to drive the research process and inform the knowledge generated by this project. Semi-structured interviews (SSIs) were conducted via Zoom to answer the main research question and the key research questions formulated for guiding this project. The reason for the chosen method was to place SFN community leaders and knowledge holders' voices at the centre of this project in a safe environment that allows for open and honest responses to the questions that made up this

project. This method also provided space for SFN community leaders and knowledge

holders to offer feedback on questions and potentially add additional questions to be

asked. In addition, "SSI research is epistemologically versatile and compatible with

quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method approaches" (McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p.

10). It is also thought that SSIs better fit with the oral tradition that has been present in

SFN for generations regarding how traditions, ceremonies, and subsistence activities have

been passed down to the next generation.

The chosen research method was carried out in a culturally safe framework that

sought to embody the four stages of what Wilson (2008) labelled as "the development of

an Indigenous paradigm" regarding an SFN research paradigm (p. 52). Wilson (2008)

stated that the four areas of a developed Indigenous paradigm were 1) Challenging the

normative Western paradigm, 2) Avoiding marginalization within a Western paradigm, 3)

Decolonization in terms of a research paradigm, and 4) Challenges researchers to

articulate an Indigenous paradigm. Although an SFN research paradigm has been

formulated, it was developed in the shadow of Trent University, a Western-structured

institution of higher learning. Thus, a two-eyed seeing approach will encompass this

project. This is due to the trappings of a Western institution and the push-and-pull that

can occur for scholars in Indigenous studies (Bartlett et al., 2012). The Western

approaches of coding for themes and interviews, audio recording devices, and theoretical

examinations stemming from criminological theory or tools will only be utilized when

needed, following SFN research protocol and traditions.

Cultural safety was utilized in this project in reference to the meaning of cultural

safety rooted in the nursing field from Aotearoa (New Zealand) offered by Wepa (2015).

Cultural safety is "a relational framework focusing on the health professional/client

[/participant] relationship and grounding ethical decision making in the context of care"

(p. 142). Furthermore, the importance of utilizing a culturally safe approach within this

project stems from the fact that "[c]ultural safety has an explicit moral rationale. It

assumes that safe care requires trust, which leads to greater openness and better care"

within the research methods for this study (Wepa, 2015, p. 143). An SFN research

paradigm was formulated via feedback and input from SFN Chief, Nelson, and the

members of the SFN Council regarding knowledge of specific traditions that include

healing, balance, and safety.

Semi-Structured Individual Interviews: SFN Community Leaders & Knowledge Holders

The interview process for this study was driven by an SSI model that provided a

platform for the voices and lived experiences of SFN community leaders and /or

knowledge holders, including CSOs, to guide the interview process within the framework

of the interview guide (see Appendix E, SFN Individual Semi-Structured Interview

Protocol Guide).[19] Blee and Taylor (2002) elaborated on the positives of SSIs since

"[t]hey provide greater breadth and depth of information, the opportunity to discover the

respondent's experience and interpretation of reality and access to people's ideas,

thoughts, and memories in their own words" (pp. 92-93). SSIs also fit well with the

analysis method that has been chosen for this project of a thematic analysis, due to SSIs

generating "not only information but also themes and categories of analysis" (Blee, &

Taylor, 2002, p. 94).

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[19] Knowledge Holder is defined as an individual that has intimate knowledge of the SFN CSO program pertaining to how the CSO program was first established to the day-to-day operations of the CSO program today.

Individual SSIs with SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs, utilized ten main key research questions, as per the SFN interview protocol guide, along with two opening questions and one closing question. Interview recruitment of participants relied on email recruitment due to the coronavirus pandemic, which necessitated the use of technology for contacting potential SFN community leaders (see Appendix F for the project recruitment information document). Each interview was conducted via a password-protected Zoom platform. Interviews were scheduled to last for around 30 minutes. Zoom invites were sent to each SFN interview participant via a secure Trent University computer, and each Zoom interview required the lead investigator, Jason Fenno, to provide access on the day of each Zoom interview with SFN community leaders, knowledge holders, and/or SFN CSOs.

All interviews were recorded for transcribing purposes and later coded utilizing an emerging thematic analysis.[20] All interview participants were emailed the interview guide, along with a digital copy of the written informed consent document to be read before each interview. Then, before each interview began, each SFN interview participant was orally informed of the informed consent procedure and was required to read and verbally consent before participating in the interview process (see Appendix G for the complete Participant Oral Informed Consent Form). Once each interview was completed, a follow-up email was sent that included information about the project's next steps, the coding process, and the emergent thematic analysis. The follow-up email also included an information document that provided contact information for counselling, mental health,

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[20] Thematic Analysis as defined by Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules (2017) as a "thematic analysis is a qualitative research method that can be widely used across a range of epistemologies and research questions. It is a method for identifying, analyzing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set" (p. 2).

and wellness services offered in SFN, Pelly Crossing, and across the Yukon as per the informed consent letter as a support mechanism for participants in case the topic matter of the interview may have caused any discomfort, stress, or undue harm (see Appendix H for Contact Information Document for Counselling, Mental Health, and Wellness Services). However, none of the SFN interview participants mentioned any discomfort, stress, or undue harm caused during the interviews. A coding process was employed that assigned pseudonyms to ensure participants' anonymity in their answers, as outlined in the informed consent letter provided to each participant.

Semi-Structured Individual Interviews with Pelly Crossing RCMP

Pelly Crossing RCMP officers working out of the Pelly Crossing detachment were sought for SSIs. All Pelly Crossing RCMP SSIs followed the protocols and guidelines for SFN community leaders and knowledge holder SSIs, as the Pelly Crossing RCMP SSIs took place on SFN traditional territory in a virtual format. Pelly Crossing RCMP protocols were followed concerning following appropriate ethical procedures when carrying out an SSI with a Pelly Crossing RCMP officer posted to the Pelly Crossing detachment. All Pelly Crossing RCMP interviews followed the same informed consent process as the SFN SSIs described above and adhered to the same format, utilizing a similar set of ten questions outlined in the SFN SSI interview guide (see Appendix I for Pelly Crossing RCMP semi-structured interview protocol guide). Each interview was conducted via a password-protected Zoom platform. Zoom invites were sent to Pelly Crossing interview participants via a secure Trent University computer, and each Zoom interview required the lead investigator, Jason Fenno, to provide access on the day of each Zoom interview with Pelly Crossing RCMP officers. Interviews were scheduled to last around 30 minutes. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, the Pelly Crossing

RCMP interview recruitment process followed a similar approach to that of SFN

Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, as recruitment relied on technology to

contact potential participants. Once each interview was completed, a follow-up email was

sent that included information relating to the project's next steps, the coding process, and

the emergent thematic analysis. The follow-up email also included the same information

document as had been sent to all SFN interview participants that provided Pelly Crossing

RCMP interview participants with contact information for counselling, mental health, and

wellness services offered in SFN, Pelly Crossing, and across the Yukon as per the

informed consent letter as a support mechanism for participants in case the topic matter

of the interview may have caused any discomfort, stress, or undue harm. A coding

process was then employed that followed the same method as all SFN interviews,

assigning pseudonyms to provide participants with anonymity in their answers, as

specified in the informed consent letter provided to each participant.

A Discussion of Knowledge & How Knowledge Provided Was Respected
The knowledge provided by SFN community leaders, knowledge holders, and

Pelly Crossing RCMP officers was respected as a gift of their lived experiences,

expertise, and the time they invested in participating and answering each question for this

project, which was conducted via Zoom distance interviews. The knowledge provided

was recorded on a secure computer per the informed consent form. To initiate a more in-

depth discussion of the knowledge required to seek truths and answer the research

questions for this project, the first step was to respectfully transcribe the knowledge

provided via a word-for-word transcription process. This involved listening to each

interview recording and converting all the audio and video files from each SSI session

into text. Now, in virtual text format, the knowledge was coded by conducting keyword

searches using the provided knowledge to identify common themes. The coding process then utilized an emerging thematic analysis model to answer this project's main research question, along with two opening questions, nine key research questions, and the closing question that guided this study. All knowledge provided during interviews was encrypted and stored on a password-protected secure computer in my office at Trent University during the analysis process. The emergent themes that became evident after conducting keyword or phrase searches were compared for similarities and differences in their answers to the main research question and the key research questions discussed in the previous chapter. All themes were then reviewed. In addition, for specific questions such as the opening question, key questions #3, #6, and #8, a comparison was also made with historical documents discussed within the literature review section of this document (Ch. 4) to clarify and support certain aspects of knowledge that were offered when answering those four questions. After all themes were reviewed, the names of themes were re-examined to simplify specific themes and combine others where possible.

Appreciation was provided to all SFN community leaders, and knowledge holders, including CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP who chose to participate in this project via a large portion of canned smoked salmon, along with a thank you card, was sent to each participant after the project was completed. Salmon was selected as a gift of appreciation because, in SFN tradition, salmon is a central part of culture, survival, and life. SFN has had, and continues to have, a crucial connection to salmon, rooted in traditional customs and beliefs. As an example of the vital importance of salmon to the citizens of SFN, a document was formulated and produced several years back that focused on the importance of salmon in SFN tradition and culture in regard to managing

salmon in the SFN territory titled: "Húdé, ak'á dän K'i hats'ech'in'gyó Zhi, Our Way Salmon from Long Time Ago and Today" (SFN, n.d.- b, p. 1). The SFN document went on to state that "[s]almon that travel through our traditional territory are a part of our way of life, a part of our history and culture that we have used and respected for thousands of years" (p. 2). Northern Tutchone or English are the languages most prominently spoken in SFN. A translator would have been sought if any of the interview participants had chosen to communicate in the Northern Tutchone language. However, none of the interview participants chose to speak Northern Tutchone during the Zoom interviews.

Indigenous knowledge was respected and protected in this project through the guidance of SFN Chief Nelson and feedback from the SFN Council, which informed the project's formation in coordination with my PhD committee and me. A PowerPoint was formulated and presented to the SFN Council via Zoom in March 2022 that provided a complete overview of the proposed project at the time, along with its main focus and goals for this project. The details of the presentation to the SFN Council will be discussed further later in this section.

The knowledge provided by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders for this project was incorporated into this project as community knowledge regarding concepts of justice and healing. Community knowledge will be defined in the next section, which examines in-depth the three levels of traditional knowledge as defined by the Council of Yukon First Nations SFN Cultural Orientation and Protocols Toolkit (n.d.) (see Appendix J for the SFN Cultural Orientation and Protocols Toolkit passages 9-10.7). Respect was crucial in framing all interactions with all SFN community leaders and knowledge holders. Nats'at'ra (respect) is one of the Four Major Principles that inform

SFN traditional law, as was highlighted at the beginning of this dissertation in the SFN section. This project was also guided by the Four Major principles of SFN traditional culture and beliefs, which include Caring, Sharing, Respect, and Teaching. The Four Major Principles of SFN are crucially important teachings and customs; as discussed earlier in this document, all Four Major Principles guide two key SFN Law values, including *Dän Ki* and *Doòli*. *Dän Ki* refers to "the First Nation Way of Survival," and *Doòli* refers to "living in harmony with the natural and spiritual world. *Doòli* is all encompassing" (Selkirk First Nation, 2021). The First Nation principles of Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP) were also upheld throughout this project, pertaining to SFN knowledge, as SFN adheres to the First Nations Information Governance Centre (FNIGC) initiative, known as OCAP, for protecting traditional knowledge and other information. OCAP protects a First Nation's traditional knowledge, beliefs, and protocols. The Council of Yukon First Nations' SFN Cultural Orientation and Protocols Toolkit (n.d.) was followed for interacting with elders, accessing, or sharing traditional knowledge, and protocols for meetings, ensuring that interactions and recordings of traditional knowledge were appropriate for this project. If any information provided in SSIs touched upon traditional SFN knowledge, the proper steps were taken to adhere to the guidelines outlined in the SFN Cultural Orientation and Protocols Toolkit for accessing traditional knowledge for a project such as this.

Project Journey, Impacts of COVID, & Benefits, & Importance

The journey for this project began in the spring of 2022 due to the Coronavirus pandemic aka COVID-19 that gripped the entire world from 2020 into early 2022. Contact with SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP was conducted via email and secure Zoom meetings. Initial contact with SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP occurred via secure email

in March 2022. This included contacting SFN Chief and Council with assistance from the primary researcher's contact in the Yukon, Gina Nagano. During this time, all interview questions were discussed, along with the proposed number of SSI distance interviews to be conducted with SFN community leaders, knowledge holders, and Pelly Crossing detachment RCMP officers as possible interviewees. Pelly Crossing RCMP was also contacted via secure phone, email, and Zoom meetings to inquire about the interest of potential RCMP officers posted to the Pelly Crossing detachment in participating in an interview. It was proposed that a list of approximately 17 community leaders and knowledge holders from SFN be compiled, including two SFN CSOs along with two RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing, for a total of 19 proposed leaders and knowledge holders to be contacted. It should be noted that 10-12 SSIs with SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSO, was the agreed-upon number of SSIs to be completed after a March 1, 2022, overview presentation of the project that had been presented to SFN Council for their approval to move forward with this project. Moreover, the SFN Council also supported a total of two SSIs to be completed with the Pelly Crossing RCMP, which was agreed upon at the March 1 presentation. Further details regarding the March 1 presentation to the SFN Council will be provided later in this section.

SFN community leaders and knowledge holders were contacted via email about their possible interest in volunteering to participate in distance SSIs in April 2022, after all the ethical process requirements for SFN, the RCMP, and Trent University had been met. All interviews with SFN community leaders and knowledge holders began after the SFN research ethics processes were fully adhered to and the SFN Chief and Council

signed off on this project. All 17 SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs, were contacted in June of 2022 via a secure email to inquire about their interest in participating in this study. This process was then repeated in August 2022 for the two Pelly Crossing RCMP officers included in the list of prospective Pelly Crossing RCMP officers to be included in this project. Emails would be sent again to select SFN community leaders and knowledge holders in July 2022, October 2022, and April 2023. Emails would also be sent again to Pelly Crossing RCMP in November of 2022, April of 2023, and November 2023. All interviews for this project were conducted via a distance format on a secure computer over Zoom. All SSIs were recorded, including a verbal consent read to all interviewees before each SSI began. All interviewees verbally consented to voluntarily participate in this project, recording each SSI, using pseudonyms, and acknowledging the list of counselling, mental health, and wellness services offered in SFN, along with those Yukon-wide services.

The entire process of conducting SSIs with SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers posted to the Pelly Crossing lasted from May 2022 until the end of December 2023. After all the interviews were completed, all knowledge provided was transcribed, and each recording was listened to word-for-word to convert the audio files of each SSI into text. The knowledge provided was then coded via listening to each recording for emergent themes from each SSI. The entire transcribing and coding process for emergent themes occurred between March 2024 and the end of August 2024. The write-up process for the key findings of this project, including edits from my committee, took place from September 2024 to February 2025. A shorter version of this project's main findings will be made available in book format to SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP. All SFN

community leaders, knowledge holders, CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP were sent a thank you card and a large portion of canned smoked salmon as a gift of appreciation for participating in this project. The proposed budget for this project, which includes possible travel costs for presenting the final results, is outlined in Appendix K.

Before conducting all SSIs, a PowerPoint presentation was presented to SFN Council on March 1, 2022, provided all members of the SFN Council with an overview of the proposed project, along with the guiding principles for the project, the primary research question & key questions, the proposed research method: semi-structured distance interviews), and an analysis technique of an emergent thematic analysis. The presentation also identified the number of proposed semi-structured interviews with SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders. SFN community leaders were identified as potential participants in consultation with current SFN Chief Sharon Nelson and my PhD committee. The proposed number of interviews: 10-12 within SFN with Community Leaders and/or Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and 2 with Pelly Crossing RCMP officers posted to the Pelly Crossing post. The proposed length of each interview was around 30 minutes. In addition, pseudonyms were also discussed to ensure participant privacy. The final portion of the presentation focused on the proposed gift of appreciation for all SFN community leaders, knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers who chose to participate in this project: a large portion of smoked salmon and a thank you card to be sent out once the project was completed. SFN Council supported this project moving forward and had no concerns or questions that arose after I finished my PowerPoint presentation. Additionally, throughout the project, I maintained regular contact with the current SFN Chief, Sharon Nelson; Gina Nagano, SFN CSO

Program Developer; and President & Community Safety Specialist at House of Wolf & Associates. The OCAP guidelines informed how I upheld respect for SFN traditional knowledge in carrying out this project, along with respectfully storing and coding data generated from SFN SSIs, including the write-up and the eventual presentation of results to SFN.

It should be noted that the COVID-19 global pandemic significantly impacted the overall size and scope of this project. Initially, this project focused on the CSO programs of two Northern Indigenous nations in the Yukon. It was planned to utilize a listening session format for engaging Northern Indigenous nation citizens of SFN, and Kwanlin Dün First Nation (KDFN), along with local RCMP detachments in Pelly Crossing and Whitehorse. The proposed project was altered for the first time due to the COVID-19 pandemic to a distance Zoom interview format with both SFN and KDFN. In 2021, contact was made with both SFN and KDFN about the new proposed project, and KDFN chose not to pursue the project due to several factors, one of which was impacts from COVID-19. This development resulted in another alteration in the scope and focus of the project, which is the current form of the project in terms of partnering directly with SFN.

The benefits and importance of the project were also discussed during the March 1, 2022, Council presentation, which included providing the SFN CSO program with information and feedback from participants, along with an understanding of the current strengths, challenges, and tensions of the SFN CSO program. Additional benefits discussed included the impacts of the SFN CSO program on Reconciliation, Northern Indigenous self-determination, and Self-governance in the Far North. Moreover, other benefits of this study include understanding the impacts of Northern Indigenous CSO

programs in the Far North. The results from this project also aim to initiate a conversation

about the potential for additional Northern Indigenous CSO programs to be developed.

The results of this project will also make crucial contributions to a better understanding

of the impact of a Northern Indigenous CSO program in the Far North of Canada within

an RCMP framework for administering policing services. It should be noted that as of

July 2025, there are three additional Northern Indigenous CSO programs in operation

within the Yukon that include Kwanlin Dün First Nation (Whitehorse), Teslin Tlingit

Council (Teslin) (CSOs also known as Deadly Aunties), First Nation of Na-Cho Nyak

Dun (FNNND) (Mayo) (CSOs known as Community Safety Guardians) and

Carcross/Tagish First Nation (C/TFN). In 2022 Carcross/Tagish First Nation (C/TFN)

(Carcross) re-formulated their CSO model to be known as a safety and wellness initiative.

The changing of the name of the CSO program was due to community concerns with the

use of the word 'officer.' One of the first individuals to serve in the new role as a safety

and wellness liaison officer in C/TFN noted the unease with the community in terms of

the uniforms as well as the use of the word officer as he noted:

> The first couple days, I wore a more standard type uniform and was referring to
> myself as an officer. And I could kind of feel a little friction. So, we had some
> community discussions around that (Crawford, 2022, para. 4).

It would seem the decision by C/TFN, and FNNND to alter the names of each of their

CSO programs reiterates aspects of the discussion from the *What's in a Name?* section

from earlier in Chapter 1. Both C/TFN, and FNNND have highlighted on their own terms

the crucial importance of community when it comes to the formation of Northern

Indigenous CSO programs and making sure the program is rooted in and accepted by

community. It should also be noted that Little Salmon/Carmacks (Carmacks) had also

shown interest in possibly formulating their own CSO type program but at this time are still in the planning stages. Moreover, in the N.W.T., the Hamlet of Fort Liard was chosen as the location for a 3-year Community Safety Officer Pilot Program. In addition, the 2024 report published by the YKWS referenced earlier in this document within the *Missing Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls* section of the *Contributing Issues: Indigenous Peoples & the Police in Canada* (Chapter 1) had referred to expanding CSO programs. The report called for "expanding the community safety officers' program in the NWT" as a recommendation for improving the relationship between unhoused Indigenous Women and the RCMP (Taylor, 2024, para. 8). Lastly, several First Nation communities in B.C. have also expressed interest in the possibility of establishing their own CSO programs in the future.

The next chapter will provide a comprehensive overview of the knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP, based on the six interviews conducted via Zoom. The knowledge provided will be examined through the findings of an emergent thematic analysis conducted to address the main research question, along with 11 out of the 12 total interview questions, which included one of the two opening questions, nine of the interview key questions, and the one closing question that were formulated for this project.

Chapter 3: Discussion of the Knowledge Provided

Six distance SSI Zoom interviews were conducted with SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, out of the original 19 individuals contacted. However, 5 out of the 19 individuals declined to participate in the study, reducing the overall total to 14 out of the 10-12 total distance interviews agreed upon by the Council. All individuals who participated in the project were contacted via email and chose to participate in a distance SSI interview at their discretion. The response rate for all SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, out of the total maximum proposed interviews within SFN of 12 distance interviews was 42%. However, it should be noted that SFN, at the time of the SSI distance interviews, was still dealing with the long-term impacts of COVID-19, along with the topic of community safety and policing being a sensitive topic.

Each of the six individuals who participated in an interview was contacted via an initial email sent from my official Trent email address that inquired about each SFN community leader, knowledge holder, CSO or Pelly Crossing RCMP officers' interest in participating in this project via a distance SSI interview. A copy of the project information letter was also included with the initial contact email. Once each of the six had communicated via email that they were interested in volunteering to participate in a distance SSI interview, a copy of the oral informed consent letter and the SFN community leader and knowledge holder interview guide was sent. All six SSI distance interviews took place via Zoom in English on a day and time that worked best for each SFN community leader, knowledge holder, CSO and/or Pelly Crossing RCMP officer's

schedule. The six interviews followed a standard procedure: I introduced myself as the project's lead researcher, ensured a stable internet connection to facilitate the SSI distance interview, and confirmed that all necessary documents had been received prior to the interview. After the introduction phase, I would ask for consent to begin the recording process via Zoom. After obtaining consent, I would start recording each SSI distance interview. I then proceeded to read through the entire oral informed consent form for each SFN community leader, knowledge holder, CSO, and Pelly Crossing RCMP officer including the end of the oral informed consent form that asked the following three questions: 1) Do you consent to be a participant in this study where you fully understand what you will be asked to do for this project? (Please state 'Yes' if you consent to be a participant) 2) Do you agree to allow the principal researcher to audio record your interview? (Please state 'Yes' if you consent to your interview being audio-recorded?) and 3) As previously stated, your involvement within this study is voluntary, you are free to withdraw at any time, and your responses will remain confidential. (With this knowledge, please say 'yes, I agree to participate,' if you are consenting to take part in this study). All SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers answered the above questions with 'yes.' Although for, certain SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, due to time constraints for their distance SSI interviews they informed me orally that they had already read through the entire oral informed consent form and that they fully understood the purpose of the research, what they would be asked to do in this research, benefits & risks of participating, voluntary participation—the process to be followed for data storage and dissemination. I then read over the three questions detailed above fully to gain the informed consent of each SFN

community leader and knowledge holder whose interviews were impacted by time constraints. Each SFN community leader and knowledge holder whose interviews were affected by time constraints answered 'yes' to each of the three questions read to them at the beginning of their distance SSIs. At the end of the six SSI distance interviews, I asked each interview participant for a good mailing address to send them their gift of appreciation. The mailing address was kept in a secure location on a password-protected computer. The mailing addresses were destroyed after all gifts of appreciation were mailed. I also sent a follow-up email to each of the six individuals to thank them for their time and participation in the project, along with a document titled Contact Information Document for Counselling, Mental Health, and Wellness Services to mitigate any potential adverse health outcomes that may have occurred due to their participation in an interview. In that follow-up email, I also clarified that I would provide them with a copy of their entire interview transcript, so they could have full ownership and approval of the knowledge they had shared during their interview.

Each of the six distance SSI interviews was fully recorded and later transcribed word for word by listening to the recording at a significantly slower rate. All six SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, were assigned the following pseudonyms: Meg, Evelyn, Betty, Greg, Bob, and Theresa, to ensure the anonymity of each individual who provided knowledge. All possible identifying information was also removed from the six transcripts to uphold the anonymity and privacy of each SFN community leader and knowledge holder, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. After all, transcription was completed, including the removal of all possible identifying information or statements from the provided

knowledge, a copy of each transcript was then sent to each participant via the email address they had used for their distance SSIs for review, if they chose to do so. Four out of the six SFN Community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, decided to review their full transcripts, providing some feedback. All feedback was considered and addressed by removing any possible statements or passages that may have been of concern to any of the four SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP, who reviewed the transcripts of their interviews. The other two individuals did not follow up with me regarding their interview transcripts. All four participants who decided to review their transcripts would approve of their final transcripts after some revisions.

Discussion of the Knowledge Provided: Emergent Thematic Analysis

After transcribing each of the six interviews that I completed with SFN Community Leaders, and Knowledge Holders including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP for this project, removing all identifying information and/or statements for each of the six transcripts and following up with all six SFN community leaders, and Knowledge Holders including CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP regarding each of their transcripts for feedback. I then performed an emergent thematic analysis for each of the 11 questions out of the 12 that made up each SSI distance Zoom interview. Each emergent thematic analysis followed a similar process. I closely reviewed each interview transcript, writing down themes and topics raised from the knowledge offered by each SFN Community Leader and Knowledge Holder, including CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP. I then reviewed each transcript twice more to clarify specific themes and/or topics that stood out from the knowledge. I began to formulate themes that helped group together more minor themes and/or issues for analysis, in order to answer the 11 questions. A final review was

then conducted to compare and contrast the knowledge provided and to clarify the themes. For the opening question, along with key questions #3, #6, and #8, a comparison was also made with historical documents discussed in the literature review section of this document. After a final review, along with comparing and contrasting themes, was completed, all emergent themes were documented and written below in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Opening Question #2: Policing Environment for SFN Before the CSO Program

For each of the 11 questions focused on for analysis out of the 12 asked to each SFN Community Leader and Knowledge Holder, including CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP, I compiled the main emergent themes generated from the knowledge provided. It should be noted that nine key questions made up the majority of the questions that were asked, along with two opening questions and one closing question. The second opening question for each of the six interviews that were conducted with Meg, Evelyn, Betty, Greg, Theresa, and Bob stated: *What was the policing environment for SFN prior to the formation of the CSO program?*

After reviewing the knowledge provided by all six SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including the CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, via an emergent thematic analysis to identify emergent themes in response to the second opening question, three emergent themes emerged. The three main themes that emerged from the knowledge provided regarding the policing environment in SFN before the CSO program was established focused on how the policing environment in SFN was: 1) *Unstable*, 2) *Officer Dependent*, and 3) *Detached*. The first theme that emerged was *'unstable.' I*t was supported by a number of the SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs, who described different aspects of the policing environment in SFN that

fell into the *'unstable'* theme that touched on issues around a *'lack of trust,' 'tenuous & cautious,' 'hit & miss,' and 'officer dependent'* concerning the specific RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing. The issue of a *'lack of trust'* was first described by Evelyn, who detailed how "there was a lack of trust and communication and partnership between the First Nation Government of First Nations, and um the policing um environment, and we know there was some historical impacts." A number of the historical impacts Evelyn referenced regarding the RCMP were detailed in the literature review portion of this piece, including the role of the RCMP in the Residential and Day School programs, along with several other colonial programs in which the RCMP had a role within the Yukon. The lack of trust rooted in "historical" impacts, as described by Evelyn, was further elaborated upon by Theresa in her answer, which focused on the tenuous and cautious policing environment and detailed how Survivors of Residential Schools recall the actions of the RCMP in this context. Theresa would describe this by stating how

> it has always been a tenuous relationship because the RCMP um when you speak to some Residential School Survivors um, they remember the yellow stripes, and the yellow stripes were the ones that would come to get the children to take them from the house they call then yellow stripes because of the line on their pants in the uniform so that is intrinsically entwined with the relationship that the community has with the RCMP.

Based on the knowledge provided by Theresa, it appears that the RCMP's historical actions continue to significantly impact the relationship between SFN citizens and the present-day Pelly Crossing RCMP.

The following two issues, which emerged from the knowledge offered by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs, highlighted that the overall policing environment in SFN was *'unstable'* and the work of officers was *'hit & miss' and 'officer-dependent'* as identified via the two final themes that emerged. Evelyn

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referred to the policing environment in SFN being '*hit & miss'* concerning the level of

policing that SFN would receive depended on the specific RCMP officer posted to Pelly

Crossing by stating that "[s]o over the years its hit and miss sometimes you get really

good people," but on the other hand this type of policing model is very officer dependent

as per Meg's answer which detailed how

> there are those [officers] that come, and you barely see them. Um, and they're not, they're not as proactive, I guess you would say. Or they would uh, come only when, when situations have escalated to the point of them needing to address it."

The '*officer-dependent'* and '*hit & miss'* themes described by Evelyn and Meg

highlighted how potentially negative the Limited Duration Post (LDP) model can be in

the Far North.

The issue of '*officer dependent'* that was touched on above emerged as the second

main theme from the knowledge provided by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge

Holders, including CSOs, regarding the policing environment in SFN prior to the CSO

program. Betty detailed how the specific RCMP Officers who are posted to Pelly

Crossing can have a significant impact on crime by stating that

> you get these, um, you get RCMP members who are part of the community and have the respect of the community, the crime level goes down, and then you get people who come here and its like they are being forced here planted and they just want to go by the book live by the book kinda thing and so there is that and in the past 3 of 4 years its been really um because of COVID to some extent they have not been too visible.

Meg would also add that "to be honest, there has been um, a mixed history, it depends on

the uh on the um the members that we get stationed here." Bob also touched upon this

idea of a mixed history with the RCMP in Pelly Crossing by stating that he was not "not

aware of any strong positive or negative ah connections with the community [with the

RCMP]." Moreover, Meg also described how the RCMP response in Pelly Crossing did

change when a number of homicides occurred a few years back and "we had we had a good team then, and uh after they left, again back to kind of like, a situation where the corporal isn't as engaged."

Expanding on the theme of *'officer dependent'* was the theme of the policing environment in SFN prior to the establishment of the CSO program as the RCMP being *'Detached,'* which was described by Greg and Meg in their answers that touched on RCMP officers being *'Detached'* concerning how at times RCMP officer in Pelly Crossing had been *withdrawn* and main*ly reactive* before the CSO program. Greg further expanded on the theme of *'Detached'* in the context of offices being *'withdrawn'* in that he stated how

> "[i]n the past, like I said [the RCMP] were withdrawn they were isolated, there was not any involvement, you didn't see them unless they were dealing with you. There was no coming to community events, hardly, you know, no community interaction so it was it was different times eh."

Meg alluded to the issue of RCMP officers being *'detached'* at times in Pelly Crossing in her answer above, which focused on the policing environment in SFN being *'hit & miss'*. Meg would provide further detail in her answer, which would offer additional support for the notion that RCMP officers were *'Detached'* prior to the formation of the CSO program in SFN. Meg stated that

> RCMP role here has been more about when thing escalate to a certain point they are there to arrest the people, but they are not there, a lot of the times they are not there to work on prevention, like they didn't have a relationship with the [SFN] here to come and say hey this guys been in the slammer, or whatever you call it.

Theresa further echoed the theme of *'detached'* by describing how the RCMP officers in SFN have "always been considered outsiders, and so quite often when there are issues in

the community, they are not the first phone call, even though frankly sometimes they

should be. They are not because the trust just is not there."

Table 1

<div align="center">

Policing Environment for SFN Before the CSO Program

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Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Unstable	• A Lack of Trust at Times of RCMP in Pelly Crossing • T*enuous & Cautious* • *Hit & Miss* • *Very Much Dependent on* Individual Officers	Evelyn, Theresa, & Bob
Officer Dependent	• Individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers dictated policing approach for SFN • Mixed-history over the years of how policing has been administered • Some officers have been quite engaged with SFN while others have been lacking in their engagement with SFN.	Betty, & Meg
Detached	• Certain Pelly Crossing RCMP officers are more proactive when egageing with SFN i.e. attending community events • Patrolling of SFN has varied over the years • Reactive Policing Style and not out in SFN working on preventive type programs.	Greg, & Meg

Key Question #1: Largest Strengths of the SFN CSO program

The first of the nine key questions that were asked to each SFN Community

Leader and Knowledge holder, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, stated: *What*

do you think are the largest strengths of the SFN CSO program? After reviewing the

provided knowledge, three emergent themes were identified regarding the program's

largest strengths. The three themes that emerged included 1) *Elevated Connections to*

Community & Knowledge, 2) *Community Confidence*, and 3) *Charting Own Path for*

Safety. The three themes that emerged focused on the importance of community, as

demonstrated in the first theme, '*Elevated Connections to Community & Knowledge.'*

Greg, in his answer, described how the CSOs "being in the community, knowing the

community, living in this community, um, you know that's definitely knowing

everybody, who everybody is, the family units, where everybody lives." Greg also

articulated how the CSOs improve connections with the community, thus, in turn,

improve trust, as in "trust from the community as well. They know who [the CSOs] are

and [the CSO] families as well." Greg went on to provide an example of the knowledge

that the CSOs have of the community when it comes to SFN Citizens who have been

diagnosed with a disability. Greg stated that

> there are people that have disabilities, so you, you have to be able to adjust,
> accommodate with them a little different, you know. And that's the that's the
> advantages of [the CSOs] living in the community and being from the
> community, you know, the RCMP get involved, they don't know this person
> from, you know there could be mental health issues, FASD right, there is all sorts
> of of elements involved with that [but the CSOs] have that knowledge and and um
> yeah, so that's the great thing for the program for sure, for the community.

Evelyn expanded on the knowledge offered by Greg by highlighting how the CSOs can

be viewed as 'knowledge keeper' for the community. Evelyn would detail this idea of

CSOs as 'knowledge 'keepers' by stating

> knowledge keepers, I talk about culturally as well, you know, the cultural and
> tradition of the community of the Selkirk First Nation, and they are the constant,
> they are the conduit, they are liaisons between the um the community, the citizens
> and all general uh justice professionals that well I'm not going to say,
> professionals, but justice workers."

Bob would also offer further knowledge regarding *elevated connections to community &*

knowledge by stating how "the CSO officers community knowledge there ah

understanding of the ah you know ah environment of the area and as well as the people.."

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Meg would also offer an example of improved connections with the community has had

via the CSOs when it comes to emergencies. Meg stated that

> The RCMP couldn't respond because none of them had their boat operator license (laughing) they could operate their own boat! That was pretty wild. So the CSO program rallied up some people who had their boat operators (license) and got some boats out there, and they were the ones that were out on the river, with the RCMP, um, so that's another, I like, guess, another strength, uh, for having them, yeah.

Bob also described two additional examples of how the CSOs have helped improve

connections with the community and the RCMP: "Ah involved in community activities

out here, so they are ah actively involved in ah community efforts." The second example

Bob described pertains to how, at times, the RCMP have relied on the CSO's knowledge

of the community when responding to certain calls for service. Bob detailed this reliance

on the knowledge of CSOs for certain calls by Pelly Crossing RCMP as

> Some niche calls where [the RCMP was not] totally aware of of where [they] might be going or where the issue may be resulting from and consulting with [the CSOs] just to get an idea of where [they] were going ah what [they] were getting into [was] helpful to have that local experience and history.

As a result, it would seem that the elevated connections to the community via the

SFN CSO program have led to increased *community confidence,* the next emergent theme

that materialized. The emergent theme of *community confidence* was alluded to by Betty,

who stated, "I think it's um the people you know, and you feel comfortable talking.

That's the biggest strength: having somebody on the other end of the phone that you

know that is in your community." Meg expanded upon this point offered by Betty by

highlighting how having individuals in the community regarding the CSOs to respond to

incidents was a significant strength. Meg stated, "I think just having individuals that were

there to respond when we were getting phone calls was the biggest strength for them."

Evelyn also added, "Since the CSO program started, stability probably I'd say I would

say has been the biggest asset." Evelyn expanded on this point of stability as increasing

community confidence by stating

> we are going to call the CSO number they've got their cell numbers they know
> them and then give them a call and that in the grand scheme of things speaks
> volumes because without that familiarity-ness and, stability um people don't trust.

Moreover, Evelyn also described how "[stability] breeds enough trust and um and

comfort in picking up the [phone]." The knowledge offered that supports the theme of

community confidence highlights a key strength of the SFN CSO program to SFN citizens

seems to be the fact that SFN citizens are working as CSOs, providing support to other

citizens when in need creates a feeling of confidence that a familiar face with the

knowledge of the community and SFN traditions will arrive or be on the other end of the

phone. Theresa went on to discuss how the confidence in the CSOs resulted in SFN

citizens reaching out to CSOs in times of need.... "so [SFN Citizens] go I'm going to call

[the CSOs] so they report things, and that's actually a good thing because sorry it's a

good thing because um it begins the potential for reporting and that has not always been

the case." The issue with reporting an incident that may occur in SFN harkens back to the

'unstable' situation with the RCMP, which was discussed by SFN Community Leaders

and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, as part of the

knowledge shared when answering the opening question. Theresa also stated the

following, which further magnified the *'unstable'* situation in SFN that has occurred at

times: "No, we don't want to call the police even when there are issues that happen

around."

The final theme that emerged focused on *charting own path for safety.* This theme

was touched upon by a number of the SFN Community Leaders, and Knowledge

Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, pertaining to the CSO program being

a Realization of an Alternative model for justice in Pelly Crossing for SFN and how the

presence & knowledge of the community provides a pathway for the realization to chart a

different path. Theresa provided further detail by stating that "beginning to see that there

is, I would say that's the biggest asset, is that the beginnings of [the] realization that

there's an alternative to the standard of RCMP or nothing." In addition, Theresa had also

noted that some elders in SFN had mentioned how

> there's places in Alberta and Ontario that on the Rez because they realize their
> resident reservations on the Rez you have to get an escort on there because the ah
> the um tribal police have to escort you on, and for them, their beginning to see
> that there is I would say [an alternative] that's the biggest asset.

Table 2

Largest Strengths of the SFN CSO program

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Elevated Connections to Community & Knowledge	• Improved knowledge of community • Improved trust in CSOs • Support for work of Pelly Crossing RCMP • Improved understanding of the environment of SFN when responding to calls for service • CSOs from SFN	Greg, Evelyn, Bob, & Meg
Community Confidence	• Increased level of comfort reaching out to CSOs for help • SFN citizens know the CSOs as community members • CSOs increase stability & trust	Meg, Betty, Evelyn, & Theresa
Charting Own Path for Safety	• Alternatives to the stand-alone RCMP policing model possible for SFN • Expansion of self-determination possible i.e. Ontario & Alberta Tribal Police	Theresa

Key Question #2: Tensions Present with SFN CSO program

The second key question asked of SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, was as follows: *Do you think there are any tensions present in the current makeup or service delivery of the SFN CSO program, including interactions with the RCMP or other justice or health services?* Five themes emerged from the knowledge provided by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, that included: 1) *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty*, 2) *RCMP Confusion & Concerns,* 3) *Clarification of Roles Needed,* 4) *Community Confusion & Frustration* and 5) *Future Stability.*

The first theme that was touched upon by a few of the SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, focused on the tension of *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty* due to the Limited Duration Posting (LDP) model that the RCMP relies on across the Far North. Greg highlighted how the LDP model creates significant staffing uncertainty for the RCMP, "every 2 years they change the RCMP and new members go and come in, so we uh, you know, we've actually had one of the corporals, and then we have another constable, and another new corporal and constable coming in. We will see what happens with that." This environment, pertaining to the RCMP in Pelly Crossing, in turn, impacts the SFN CSOs by requiring them to reintroduce themselves to the new RCMP officers being posted to Pelly Crossing. Theresa also touched on the issue of *RCMP staffing uncertainty* by describing how "within the last 5 years, we've had a complete shift change of officers at least three times where the two officers like completely new faces come and go kind of thing." The LDP staffing uncertainty with RCMP officers constantly moving into and leaving Pelly Crossing magnified the second theme, focused on *RCMP Confusion & Concerns,* when it came to RCMP officers not having a clear understanding of what the role of the CSOs was and a possible unease at times by RCMP officers that the CSOs may be attempting to replace them. Evelyn detailed concerns that RCMP officers have had with the CSOs about some RCMP officers in that:

> Almost being intimidated by the knowledge of the CSO, [and] they almost feel like they're being replaced, but they're not, you know, it's, it's about a process where your to engage and be a partner with us because, you know, we still need the RCMP in the community.

Meg expanded on confusion for the RCMP early on in the SFN CSO program: "It was confusing for the RCMP at the beginning; they didn't understand what their roles were."

Meg also stated that the RCMP "sounded like they were open to working collaboratively with the program, and they always um ha[d] issues."

The third theme that emerged was *clarification of roles needed regarding* the CSOs and the RCMP. Several SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including the CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, addressed this theme. When it came to SFN citizens and CSOs, they sometimes lacked a clear understanding of the roles of CSOs and how and when they might work collaboratively with the RCMP. Meg detailed how, at certain times, CSOs would receive calls from SFN citizens who wanted a ride home after drinking alcohol, which resulted in

> a lot of phone calls too about, laughing people have been drinking or whatever, and they are like, give me a ride home – your community safety officer, you need to make sure I get home safe! No, we don't, [but the CSOs] always say we are not a taxi service, but it's, but if you're going to put yourself in harm's way, then we will pick you up.

The situation described by Meg demonstrates confusion among SFN citizens as to the roles of CSOs in providing rides to citizens, particularly in certain situations. Theresa would also add that SFN citizens do not always have a "clear [view] on what [CSOs] can or can't do they recognize [who CSOs] are while they have vest they are not armed, they don't have any any weapons they don't have anything to do anything of these things."

Theresa also added that

> what are we asking of them to do to get out there so again we go back to the were not clear on what what they are doing because if they go they have to call the RCMP to back them up.

Moreover, Betty also described how the lack of a distinction of roles between the CSOs and RCMP has led to "right now the CSOs have completely backed off on anything remotely close to law enforcement. If there is a domestic dispute somewhere, they'll

maybe they will go outside and stay on the road watching the house." Bob would further

elaborate on the tensions regarding the *clarification of roles* between the CSOs and the

Pelly Crossing RCMP regarding information sharing. Bob went on to state that another

tension that can occur stems from the RCMP at times being "limited in [their] ability to

share information um so [the RCMP] have to largely look at [the CSOs] as [being]

willing to take information but [the RCMP] are very limited in the information [they] can

actually' share with the CSOs. Bob also mentioned tensions around information sharing

regarding

> if something is provided to the CSO program, [it's] great that [CSOs] have the
> trust [of] the community to call the CSO program, but there is times when time is
> of the essence and had that call gone directly through to the RCMP um
> sometimes it can result in a   time delay if it's having to translate through the
> CSO program on to [the RCMP, which may result in] potentially a loss of
> evidence there um if information is handed off through an intermediate party.

The final two themes, relating to tension in the SFN CSO program, focused on

Community Confusion, Frustration and *Future Stability*.

The fourth emergent theme related to *Community Confusion & Frustration*

concerning CSO work schedules and unease with CSOs when the program was first

established. Meg stated, "Um, [the] thing about work schedules like we have between 9-2

am covered, but then people are saying, well, that's when the activity starts is after 2, so

you need to change your work schedules." Theresa also added, "what's the point, for

example, having CSO if they work office hours [and] nothing ever happens during the

daytime is their big thing you know they should be here at 2 o'clock in the morning."

Betty then pointed out how the CSO program has changed since COVID as "when they

first started off they would drive around like early hours and that's when you see people

coming from neighboring communities for drugs." Theresa would go on to highlight

another frustration with the CSOs regarding reaching out to the RCMP on behalf of SFN

citizens concerning

> if I call the RCMP, then they tell me to call the CSOs, but if I call them at night,
> the CSO says, well, you gotta call the RCMP, and so now their stuck, and so I
> think the feeling that exists is a frustration of well I'm calling you so you can call
> the RCMP I don't want to call the RCMP because I don't want to have to deal
> with them.

Another area of confusion that arose for SFN Citizens when the CSO program was first

established was a concern that CSOs were akin to police. Meg described this situation as

"tensions that we received right off the bat with community members, was they thought

the CSOs were like Narcs (uses air quotations)."

The final emergent theme that SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders,

including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, touched upon was the *Future Stability* of the

CSO program and a need for improved collaboration, program structure, and funding.

Meg detailed how the SFN CSO might be able to evolve in the future to work more

collaboratively with health and social services for individuals who may be struggling

with alcohol or drugs. Meg described this in a scenario where someone who may be

dealing with an

> alcohol problem, then they are suppose to go and knock on the door the next day
> and say okay you're making things unsafe for yourself, um and the health and
> social team would be there kind of doing outreach to that individual, that hasn't
> evolved here. Like the CSOs will say oh okay here is this, but then the outreach
> doesn't happen.

Betty highlighted the need for an improved structure in the CSO program to positively

impact the community, which also underscored the requirement for expanded work hours

for SFN CSOs. Betty stated that

> Um I think the CSOs will .... the CSOs have to become a structure program now because if its going to do any good in the future it has to become structured so that people you know are going to be there like after hours.

Betty also described the importance of consistent funding in the future: "I think it needs to be properly funded for the next while [like] 10 years maybe."

Table 3

Tensions Present with SFN CSO program

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
RCMP Staffing Uncertainty	• Limited Duration Posting (LDP) model • High Rate of RCMP Turnover • Disconnect with SFN	Greg, & Theresa
RCMP Confusion & Concerns	• Unease At Times Between Pelly Crossing RCMP with CSOs • Confusion of Roles & Working Relationship with CSOs	Evelyn, & Meg
Clarification of Roles Needed	• SFN Citizens Unsure of the Role of CSOs • Lack of Distinction Between Roles • CSOs Backed Off Law Enforcement Type Duties • Information Sharing a Concern for Investigations	Meg, Theresa, Betty, & Bob
Community Confusion & Frustration	• CSO work schedules, and changes with the program since COVID • Response to Calls • Early on CSOs Viewed as Narcs	Mg, Betty, & Theresa
Future Stability	• Improved collaboration (i.e. Alcohol and Drugs in SFN) • Program Structure • Funding	Meg, & Betty

Key Question #3: Challenges for the SFN CSO program

The third key question posed to SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, asked the following: *Do you think there are challenges that will need to be addressed for the SFN CSO program going*

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forward? The knowledge provided for answering this key question that focused on

challenges resulted in five emergent themes that included: 1) *CSO Retention & Support,*

2) *Community Support,* 3) *RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect,* 4) *State of*

Criminal Element & Substance Abuse and 5) *Growth & Undergo a Review that Includes*

Examining the Role of Current CSOs.

The first theme that emerged was *CSO retention & support, which* was discussed

within the knowledge offered by a number of SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge

Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP. The first individual who provided

further details on the challenges related to staffing for the SFN CSO program was Meg,

who stated that

> we have a huge challenge with um staffing the positions, and I think that's
> Canada-wide right now [and] have funding for 4 positions and we have 2. And we
> had 3, and then he went back to his other summer job, and maybe he'll be back in
> the winter, so that's a huge challenge.

Theresa expanded on the issue of staffing challenges with the CSO program along with

SFN in general as:

> Part of the challenges that the program and the community is facing as a whole
> which is we've got to get our heads together we've got to decide what were going
> to do because were struggling to get people to come into the office.

In addition, Greg also touched on the issue of staffing challenges by highlighting a stigma

that can impact potential new CSOs in SFN by describing how

> As soon as [it was] done the training and [they] got out in the field, and uh, you
> know, a lot of people just feel off the grid because they didn't like being called,
> all of a sudden they were being labeled narcs they're pigs, you know , they're rats,
> and you know [they were] warn[ed] everybody that during the class, that things
> are going to change when [they] get into [the CSO] program, [they] have to have
> a big set of shoulders and not take it to heart right.

Meg also referenced the issue of stigma and how it can be a negative factor in retaining new CSOs by stating that "stigma on this job now that they are NARCS, that they [are] going around and spying on everyone and telling the cops."

The second theme that emerged from the knowledge offered by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, focused on *Community Support*. Betty described one of the challenges she identified pertaining to *community support,* which focused on keeping the community's support. Betty stated, "I would say keeping the faith of people because they started off one way where they would drive around late, and then they'd see somebody needs help to get home, and they'd give that person a ride." Betty went on to state that the role of CSOs now seems to have changed to be more "hit and miss," as "sometimes you don't [know] who's on the phone or lead CSO and he's holidaying." Meg would also touch upon the theme of *community support* by describing how support is key

> in order for [the CSOs] to um to be successful and when we [had a] change over in leadership, it didn't seem that they had that support, so now they are kind of like just taking it easy and doing the minimum that they can do right now.

Moreover, Meg also stated that "if the CSOs know that know that they don't have that support, it becomes a very minimal program, they are just going to be doing patrolling they are just yeah." The theme of *community support* was also touched upon a bit by Theresa when she described how, for the CSO program to be successful, it must adapt to a new reality that "the community as a whole is facing and the program is going to have to adapt." The need for the CSO program to adapt will be further explored in the final emergent theme for this question, which focuses on Growth & Review, including an examination of the roles of current CSOs.

The third emergent theme regarding challenges addressed the need for *RCMP awareness, recognition & respect for the SFN CSO program*. Evelyn expanded upon this theme by highlighting how the "current challenges [that] that needs to be addressed going forward is the is the um is educating the police, the RCMP, about the CSO program in a good way." The challenge described by Evelyn to educate new RCMP who may be skeptical of the CSO program is magnified by the LDP posting model in the Far North. Evelyn would go on to state that

> The challenge that we face is that we just finished educating the last batch of RCMP officers, who were skeptical of the program from the beginning. They're only there for three years, and by the time they get on board and adopt the program and move forward with it, they're gone.

The situation described by Evelyn regarding the challenge of educating the RCMP about the SFN CSO program highlights a challenge facing SFN citizens concerning the LDP staffing model used by the Yukon RCMP. Evelyn described this constant re-educating of RCMP posted to Pelly Crossing: "It's just like a hamster on the wheel." Furthermore, Meg also noted that in the past, SFN did have an orientation for new RCMP "when we [had] new people come into the community, RCMP, nurses, teachers, [but] we haven't done that in years, especially because of COVID." The statement by Meg also highlights additional impacts of COVID-19 on SFN as it pertains to an orientation for new RCMP. Theresa also touched upon a challenge related to educating the RCMP about the CSO program: the need for recognition from the RCMP. Theresa described how for some RCMP posted in Northern Indigenous nations that already have their justice programs working, "officers come in, they recognize I'm walking into a nation that has an already operational program that I am going to contribute to." Theresa went on to state that those RCMP officers do "not work at odds with [or] not work in a tangent of or work

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separately in silos that we are going to interact, that we are going to [use a] collaborat[ive] approach." For SFN and the RCMP, regarding the CSO program, Theresa detailed that a collaborative approach, "that switch in the mind [i.e., collaboration] hasn't happened yet."

The fourth theme focused on challenges that need to be addressed for the SFN CSO program regarding *the state of the criminal element & substance abuse in Pelly Crossing*. Betty touched upon the challenge of drug use by stating that "drugs are very bad here... And it's only May, and we have 10 people, 10 deaths in the Yukon drug overdose, maybe more now, probably about 13." Meg also touched upon the challenge of drug and alcohol use as described by Betty, by stating that

> They um pass out in the snowbank kind of thing, they've found an individual, one lady almost froze to death, the two homicides, and this one lady who was so drunk she couldn't make it home, she passed out in the snowbank, and she almost froze to death

Meg would also state that "the drug dealers coming into town, for example, we do have bootlegging happening." Theresa expanded on the issue of bootlegging that Meg described by highlighting how, along with bootlegging, there are young people in SFN selling drugs. Theresa would describe that "we used to worry about just the bootleggers and the odd guy bringing a trunk full of whisky that they could sell out [and] now we've got young people selling drugs out of their own homes." Theresa went on to further describe how the use of drugs in SFN has expanded to include "OPOID[S] and narcotics crises that [SFN is] facing." The depth of the issue of drug use and drug dealing in SFN was also expanded upon by Theresa, who described how even if a drug dealer is arrested

> the kids are just going to drive to their cousin's house or the guy that their dating or the   girl their dating their going to go next door and then eventually the drugs are going to make their way back in.

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The fifth and final emergent theme that was generated from SFN Community

Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, focused on

the challenge of the need for the SFN CSO program to *undergo growth & conduct a*

review that includes examining the role of current CSOs. Meg was the first to touch on

the need for the CSO program to undergo growth and a review of the role of CSOs,

stating that "with some programs and services, and right now, the challenge or the

question everyone is wondering is what is the CSO role going to be." The idea of needing

to conduct a review of the role of the CSOs was also alluded to in the knowledge Betty

had offered, who described how the program has changed since it began by that:

> Umm they [the CSOs] started off with a bang like somebody phones them to get a
> ride home they go and get that person and take them home pretty soon they got
> tired of doing that and they stopped doing that.

Bob would also touch upon the need for the role of the RCMP and the authority of CSOs

to be re-examined, stating that "a big general challenge for them going forward, I think

it's going to be really setting their mandate for what they are willing and able to assist

[the RCMP] on." Bob also added that the authority of the CSOs concerning the RCMP

should also be re-examined and clarified to the public by stating that:

> What [is] more suitable for the RCMP and what are [CSOs] really handling and
> just [clarifying the CSOs] authority with that what they um what [CSOs] have the
> authority to act on and what [CSOs] don't and what the restrictions are and not
> only that but then communicating that to the public so they know the best option
> to speak with.

In addition to the need to re-examine the role of the CSOs, Theresa also detailed her

concerns with the program's current day-to-day operational setup, such as "How do you

run shift work over a 24-hour period with two people, one of whom has some physical

disabilities, and so the reality of the program."

Meg, Betty, Bob, and Theresa emphasized the need for the role, authority, and day-to-day operations of SFN CSOs to be re-examined in light of the knowledge discussed above. Theresa also mentioned the need for a review of the program in the form of an assessment. Theresa described that there "needs to be addressed is an assessment of the program," rooted in the idea that the SFN CSO program should become a living, dynamic program suited for the current lived realities of the citizens of SFN. Theresa would go on to describe the importance of a living, dynamic program as

> Not [to] let it get stale based on the assumptions that were true 5-years ago and are no longer true today so that this can be a living dynamic program rather than something that gets written down in policy and goes to a shelf somewhere to die.

Furthermore, the need for a review of the roles of CSOs by way of an assessment that provides space for the program to grow to be able to meet the current realities of SFN citizens via a living, dynamic program was further emphasized by Theresa who stated that "the community as a whole is facing and that the program is going to have to adapt because we haven't yet we have not adopted to the reality that has now landed on in on Pelly Crossing."

The new reality that Theresa had referenced was detailed in the knowledge she and others discussed in the earlier emergent theme focused on the challenge of t*he state of the criminal element & Substance Abuse in Pelly Crossing*. The new reality referenced the presence of opioids and narcotics along with other substance use, coupled with violence that, at times, may be heightened due to substance use. Regarding the new reality that CSOs encounter, Theresa would describe how "now the very real threats and risks that have been made from the drug dealers." Meg would also add to the knowledge put forth regarding the need to re-examine the role of CSOs within this new reality

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pertaining to SFN citizens who are dealing with drug or alcohol use problems along with mental wellness issues. Meg described how training for CSOs needs to be re-examined in "that training [can] not just [be] basic security training but understand trauma and grief and all that because that's a lot of what a lot of people are trying to cover up with the drinking drugs and everything." Another aspect of training to be re-examined for CSOs was also highlighted by Bob regarding information sharing and clarifying authority. Bob went onto highlight the need for clarifying the "streamlining of information ah being provided that flow of information" between the CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Moreover, regarding the CSO Program's adaptation to the new reality described above regarding drug use, Theresa detailed how SFN, including the CSOs, should look toward collaboration as a means to find a solution. Theresa then alluded to working through the Northern Tutchone Tribal Council by stating that "we are never going to win or even make a dent in this in this substance use and addictions crisis we are facing if we don't do it collaboratively with the other two nations cause the reality."

Table 4

Challenges for the SFN CSO program

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
CSO Retention & Support	• CSO Staffing Challenges • Stigma for CSOs due to some SFN Citizens Viewing CSOs as Narcs.	Meg, Theresa, & Greg
Community Support	• CSO Program Has Become 'Hit & Miss' When Responding to Calls • CSOs Need Community Support • Need for CSOs to adapt to a new reality	Betty, Meg, & Theresa
RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect	• Educating New Pelly Crossing RCMP • Possible Orientation for new RCMP • Need For Recognition & Collaboration by Pelly Crossing RCMP	Evelyn, Meg, & Theresa
State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse	• Issue of Bootlegging • Alcohol & Drug Use Becoming Bigger Issue in SFN	Betty, Meg, & Theresa
Growth, & Undergo a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs.	• Role, authority and day-to-day operations of SFN CSOs Need to be Reexamined • CSO training, & Relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP	Meg, Betty, Bob, & Theresa

Key Question #4: SFN CSO Programs Impact on SFN Citizens' Feelings of Safety

The fourth key question posed to SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, stated*: In your opinion, has the SFN CSO program impacted SFN citizens' feelings of safety compared to the RCMP only model?* If yes, in what ways have you observed SFN citizens' increased feelings of safety? If no, why not? After reviewing the knowledge that was offered by the six SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, the following three themes emerged: *1) Citizens Trust CSOs, 2) Early Elevated Levels of Safety and 3) Minimal to No Impact.*

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The first theme that emerged from the analysis of the knowledge offered through interviews with SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, focused on how *citizens trust CSOs.* Greg, in the knowledge he offered, first touched upon how the CSO program impacted SFN citizens' feelings of safety regarding SFN Citizens trusting the CSOs by stating, "Oh absolutely, since [the CSO program] came on stream, [they] are trusted, you know, um trusted and respected in most cases." Greg would expand on this point he had raised by describing why SFN citizens trust CSOs instead of the Pelly Crossing RCMP model. Greg described how

> [t]he RCMP model has a history as you know, you know with residential school and hasn't had a great past as well. People don't trust them even, even today. You know there's all kinds of news stories that are going on. Um, but uh, you know, like I said, people just don't trust the RCMP, so they utilize [the CSOs] as much as possible.

Evelyn also added to the knowledge Greg had provided by highlighting how SFN Citizens' trust in the CSOs resulted in more calls to the CSOs for help or about possible suspicious activity in Pelly Crossing. Evelyn went into detail about how

> people are trusting to call them [the CSOs] to say, you know, I noticed something suspicious, or, you know, I know who did this criminal act, but they're not, they don't want to come and talk to the police about it so.

Greg would also further elaborate on the difference that calls by SFN Citizens were being handled by CSOs compared to RCMP:

> If you call the RCMP, you know, usually you'll you'll get somebody on the end of the phone, they'll pass that message on to you know the members, and they don't know what's happening, they never, sometimes they never hear back, whereas if they call [the CSOs they] will connect back with them, [the CSOs] will make the point of it, that now, you know, their getting the services that they were after and doing follow ups with them, so yeah.

Evelyn would also add the following statement:

I think their level of safety has increased by having their own citizens, um, or CSOs that are married into the community are, patrolling and keeping them safe, and then there's the eyes and ears of the community and solving crimes.

Bob elaborated on Evelyn's point of SFN's citizens patrolling and its connection with trust. Bob would go on to state that:

Trust with citizens out in the community, I think that's gonna, I think the answer would be yes, it helps um impact the feeling of safety just that extra presence being out and about is gonna build on that feeling of safety

Bob described how he has "definitely noticed an increase in feelings of safety" with the CSOs working in the community. Betty would also provide additional support for the notion that the CSO program had impacted SFN citizens' feelings of safety compared to the RCMP by stating that "absolutely, yes."

The second theme, *early elevated levels of safety,* emerged from the knowledge provided by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP. This theme supported the first emergent theme discussed above, which is that SFN Citizens did experience an increased level of safety, but only at the beginning of the program, when it was first established in 2019. Meg detailed two incidents where SFN Citizens, early on in the program, described elevated levels of safety due to the presence of CSOs in SFN. The first incident involved a female SFN Citizen who sometimes worked late and would have to walk home in the dark. The female SFN Citizen stated, "it's okay, I know these guys are our, the CSO guys are out patrolling, and it makes me feel safe to walk home." The second incident involved an older SFN male citizen who enjoyed going out for walks on his own. He detailed how "it makes [him] feel safe when [he] go[es] out, knowing these guys are out there, [and he went on to state that] they [the CSOs] are out patrolling and I'm safe to go out for a walk." The

knowledge Betty offered expanded on the two incidents detailed above about elevated

levels of safety early on in the program by describing how "initially when they first

started it was such a great thing and um it did the CSO program did give you did give you

a level of safety because a level of safety you saw them driving around." Betty would go

onto state how initially the CSOs patrols of SFN were well received by SFN Citizens

since "you never see the RCMP unless they are called they don't do patrol umm, but the

CSO do so impact was positive because um you felt a level of safety." Furthermore,

Betty also highlighted how initially CSOs would go out and check on house parties

"check out the parties' the house parties that's a big one and they might need to go back

to that. Go check out the house parties to make sure people are safe." The checking on

house parties in the initial period of the program had also been spurred on by two painful

homicides that had occurred in SFN. Betty described how the homicides "really impacted

the community of the first well there was two homicides and [how after] the first one was

when this [CSO] program was implemented to keep people safe." The knowledge offered

by Betty provides an additional element (i.e., the aftermath of two homicides) for why in

the initial period of the CSO program it had impacted SFN Citizens levels of safety. Meg

would also provide an additional possible factor as to why the CSO program had initially

impacted SFN Citizens' level of safety since "there was a lot, a lot of momentum with the

[CSO] program, yes, and it had, it had leadership's support."

The third and final theme that emerged from the knowledge offered was *minimal*

to no impact. Theresa described how she did not "think that [the CSOs] have [had]

enough [time] to impact the sense of safety in the community." Theresa went on to detail

a possible factor in the minimal to no impact of the CSOs on the feelings of safety by

SFN Citizens, due to the state of crime in SFN has impacted the CSOs' ability to do their

work in that "we are at the point where some of us don't even feel safe with the RCMP.

There is some real fear about the criminal element in the community." This point Theresa

described concerning the state of crime in SFN echoes several points that were made

regarding the knowledge that was offered in answering key question three, which asked

about challenges that the SFN and the CSO program will need to address going forward,

relating to adapting to a new reality and state of the criminal element.

Table 5

SFN CSO programs Impact on SFN Citizens Feelings of Safety

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Citizens Trust CSOs	• Increased Calls to CSOs for suspicious, or, criminal behaviour • CSOs handle Citizen Calls Differently then RCMP • CSOs are SFN Citizens who patrol and know the community	Greg, Evelyn, Bob, & Betty
Early Elevated Levels of Safety	• Early into the creation of the SFN CSO program CSOs out more on Patrol • Initially CSOs Would Go Out and Check on House Parties • Lots of Momentum and Leadership Support Early On	Meg, & Betty
Minimal to No Impact	• Not Enough Time for CSOs to Make an Impact on SFN Citizens Sense of Safety • State of crime in SFN has impacted the CSOs ability to do their work • Fear for the Seriousness of Criminal Element in SFN	Theresa

Key Question #5: Impacts on SFN Citizens' interactions and/or views of RCMP

The fifth key question that was posed to SFN Community Leaders, and

Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, asked the following:

Has the CSO program impacted SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice

services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP? (If yes, in what ways have interactions

improved, or if not, why not?). The emergent themes generated from the offered

knowledge fit into one of two emergent themes: 1) *Yes - CSOs Improved Relationship*

with RCMP & SFN, and 2) No - Impact less than what was expected, Concerns with

Response Times & Work with RCMP.

Greg was the first to state yes that he believed the CSO program had impacted

SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including

the RCMP, regarding improved collaboration between CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Greg described how "interactions with RCMP in the community have improved because

[the CSOs] are working with them now, so they're feeling that you know, they know that

[the CSOs are] always there standing in the shadows, um, you know, to support them."

Evelyn also stated 'yes' and expanded upon what Greg had described regarding improved

collaboration with the RCMP, highlighting how the CSOs had built bridges between the

RCMP and the Citizens of SFN. Evelyn detailed how the CSOs "bridged the uh gap

between the RCMP and the citizens, is that there's a trust holder in place, that allows

citizens to connect to, [and] to report." In addition, Evelyn would go on further to state

that for the Citizens of SFN, "knowing that if there is somebody like the CSOs their

reporting to, there's going to be accountability that the um, you know, and both sides

were the victim or will follow through with the complaint and go through the court

systems, instead of sort of being left alone." Moreover, Bob provided further knowledge

about SFN Citizens feeling comfortable to report to the CSOs by describing how "yeah

certainly sometimes citizens are diverting their concerns to the CSO program which in

that way it would have an impact." Betty also touched upon how the CSO program has

worked to improve the response to bootlegging in SFN by stating that "the CSO did

explore and did support the First Nation (inaudible) trying to address the bootlegger."

The second emergent theme category that materialized from the knowledge that

was provided focused on those SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders,

including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, encompassed several general themes related

to *no impact, or less than what was expected, along with concerns with response times &*

work with RCMP. Theresa answered no by describing how "there's not the presence that

we thought we were going to have. I thought I would just be able to call, and now it

always goes to voicemail. I never know. That since has not materialized." Theresa would

also state, "I'm not sure that there's a really good direct communication between the

CSOs and the RCMP." Meg did not indicate yes or no in her answer via the knowledge

she had provided, but she did seem to lean towards no: "I don't think so. I really don't

know. I can't answer that one." Bob would also provide further knowledge on this

question when he stated: "I wouldn't say necessarily [the CSO program] has impacted

how ah citizens are interacting with [the RCMP] or how [the RCMP is] interacting with

citizens."

Table 6

<div align="center">Impacts on SFN Citizens interactions and/or views of RCMP</div>

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Yes - CSOs Improved Relationship with RCMP & SFN	• CSOs working with Pelly Crossing RCMP • At Times CSOs Built Bridges with Pelly Crossing RCMP as 'trust holders' • CSOs Have Supported Responses to Bootlegging in SFN	Greg, Evelyn, Bob, & Betty
No - Impact less than what was expected, Concerns with Response Times & Work with RCMP.	• Direct communication Between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP an Issue • Presence of CSOs in SFN and response to calls or messages not consistent • Unsure of the Impact of CSOs on SFN Citizens interactions and/or views of RCMP	Theresa, Meg, & Bob

Key Question #6: Impacts on Pelly Crossing RCMP

The sixth key question asked SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, stated: *Do you think that the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted RCMP members in regards to how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens?* The knowledge provided for answering this question generated three emergent themes: 1) *Dependent on RCMP Members Due to LDP,* 2) *Yes, via Partnerships & Collaboration and* 3) *Potential Positive Impact.*

The first theme that emerged was the impact of the SFN CSO program on RCMP members regarding how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens as *dependent on RCMP members due to LDP.* The knowledge provided by Betty fit into this first emergent theme in that she stated, "You know some have been so active and they'd stayed (inaudible) for a long time and people enjoyed their company kind of thing, yeah." Still, Betty went on to describe the opposite mindset of certain RCMP posted to Pelly

Crossing in that "usually the RCMP come with their own book of rules right [and] they

report to Ottawa." Theresa would add to the knowledge that touched upon the LDP

posting model concerning how it can potentially alter how RCMP officers view their time

posted to Pelly Crossing. Theresa elaborated on the impact of the LDP model when it

comes to the mindset of individual RCMP officers in that:

> Some cops will tell you very simply there's money to be made to get posted in
> Timbuctoo you go to the RCMP, and you're a rookie, and you want to pay off
> your mortgage down south get posted to Pelly or Mayo or wherever because there
> is the cost of living that gets added they make sometimes 20 to 30% more than a
> cop would make down south.

Theresa went into further detail about:

> For a couple years and they've [RCMP] said this to me yeah yeah were young we
> don't have any kids you know we are going to spend a couple of years here get
> money set aside they don't pay for housing and then were going to pay for our
> house down south.

In this situation, Theresa did note, "That's not everybody again," as in all RCMP who are

posted to Pelly Crossing. Still, for those RCMP who may be influenced by a financial

incentive to be posted in the Far North, this can be quite detrimental to how those specific

RCMP may approach their job. Theresa described the impact of this type of situation in

Pelly Crossing as:

> When you are coming to a community that is in the kind of need that this
> community is, and your driving force or you're your incentive is to pay off your
> mortgage down south, your whole approach to your job is going to be different
> there are some guys who come here cause they love the life they love living in the
> middle of nowhere.

Due to the situation described by Theresa, she then went on to state that "I'm not sure

that it [the CSO program] really has had any impact on the RCMP in how they view their

role and their um responsibility within the community." Meg would further add to the

knowledge offered relating to the first emergent theme regarding whether RCMP in Pelly

Crossing have been impacted by the CSO program pertaining to how they interact or view SFN Citizens by stating, "Hmmm, not this particular group. I don't think." Theresa expanded on this point offered by Meg by saying that on occasion, RCMP have spoken about the CSO program as a "nonsense program or to infantilize the program along with the people [and] there have been incidents were RCMP officers [have had] condescension to a group of people and the infantilization of behaviour or what they know or don't know is evident."

Greg, Evelyn, and Bob touched upon the second emergent theme of *yes via partnerships and collaboration*. Greg described how once the RCMP "got to know the program and as [the CSOs] started meeting, talking, collaborating, uh, they realized how essential [the CSOs] are." Greg went on to state, "I mean, [the CSOs] know where everybody lives; if they get called on something, you know there's time they'll connect with [the CSOs]." For those RCMP that better understood the CSO program and realized the importance of the CSOs, partnerships & collaboration were formed and impacted how those officers view SFN Citizens. Greg detailed how certain Pelly Crossing RCMP may come to the CSOs and "say hey look we just got this call, this individual, is there anything that we should probably know, because [the CSOs] have background of this sort of stuff, so it's gotten, you know, they utilize that now, yeah." Bob would also touch upon the partnership between the CSOs and the RCMP regarding their presence together in the community. Bob stated that "ah [the RCMP] being seen with [CSOs] at events and things like that ah I'm sure that has an effect on the ah showing the perceptions of the RCMP being involved in the community and working actively with [SFN]." Evelyn would add to the knowledge offered by Greg and Bob regarding *Partnerships &*

Collaboration by highlighting how the CSOs can provide an avenue for accountability of

Pelly Crossing RCMP. The mechanism by which accountability of the RCMP via the

presence of the CSOs can support a partnership with the RCMP as described by Evelyn

who stated that:

> There's now one medium in place where they're going, oh shoot, I've got
> somebody else [the CSOs] I'm accountable to follow up and to let them know
> how the investigation went, you know, so I think um if we've provided you know,
> the CSOs provide that accountability.

Evelyn then stated that the presence of the CSOs creates accountability for the RCMP

and a "responsibility [for] the police because they built that partnership and built a

partnership."

Meg and Betty touched upon the third and final emergent theme of *potential*

positive impact. Meg detailed how the lead SFN CSO had previously conducted an

orientation for new RCMP posted to Pelly Crossing and the potential positive impact that

orientation may have had on the RCMP, including their interactions with SFN Citizens.

Meg described how the lead CSO took "it upon himself to go over there and do a bit of

an orientation with the RCMP members, the new members." The orientation described by

Meg touched on key information related to SFN across various areas. The first focused

on the lands of SFN as:

> Settlement land, the First Nation has ownership and control over it; they do the
> orientation and give them a little picture of what the community, what the issues
> are that they have come across. Um an to explain to them a little about residential
> schools impacts.

Meg then elaborated on whether the orientation offered by the lead CSO makes a

difference with the RCMP by stating that "whether that makes any difference in how they

interact with some community members, I am not sure, but I'm hoping that the step taken

by the CSO, that it does." Betty also offered further knowledge on the potential for the CSO program to impact the RCMP in that "[u]mm if anything it should be a good thing, right? I mean these guys can stay home until somebody phones them, they don't patrol you know so." It seems as though the point offered by Betty alludes to the comfort level that SFN Citizens seem to have with reaching out to the CSOs when in the community, and how, then, the RCMP would be able to focus on other tasks.

It is interesting to note that the two main factors raised, possibly limiting the impact of the CSO program on Pelly Crossing RCMP officers/members dependent on the LDP staffing model and, as Betty alluded to, a lack of patrols by RCMP potentially at times limiting interactions with CSOs as highlighted by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs, when answering the opening question relating to the state of the policing environment in Pelly Crossing before the CSO program had been established.

Table 7

	Impacts on Pelly Crossing RCMP	
Theme	**Impact of Theme**	**Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By**
Dependent on RCMP Members Due to LDP	• Certain Pelly Crossing RCMP Officers Have Been Engaged with SFN • By the Book RCMP Officer Not Always as Engaged • Some RCMP Officers Motivated by Financial Incentives • At times Certain RCMP Officers Have Viewed the CSO Program with a Condescending Viewpoint	Betty, Theresa, & Meg
Yes, via Partnerships & Collaboration	• Improvement in Pelly Crossing RCMP ability to respond to certain calls via CSO knowledge of SFN • Positive Impact on SFN Citizens Perception of RCMP • Accountability for Pelly Crossing RCMP	Greg, Evelyn, & Bob
Potential Positive Impact	• Lead CSO Previously Conducted an orientation for new RCMP Potentially having a Positive Impact on Officers Knowledge and Understanding of SFN • Work of CSOs May Help to Potentially Free Up RCMP to focus on other tasks.	Meg, & Betty

Key Question #7: Key Elements Needed for a Northern Indigenous CSO Program

The seventh key question posed to SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, was: *What are the key elements needed for establishing a Northern Indigenous CSO program similar to the SFN CSO program?* The knowledge provided by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, generated four emergent themes: 1) *Community Buy-In & Collaboration,* 2) *Clearly Defined Values & Roles for CSOs*, 3) *Training & Funding and* 4) *Assessment & Implementation of a Plan.*

Greg detailed the importance of *community buy-in* as a key element in establishing a Northern Indigenous CSO program, similar to the SFN CSO program.

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Greg described the importance of *community buy-in* as "the biggest thing; I mean, if you don't have a community buy, it's not going to go anywhere, right?" Greg went onto describe how the SFN CSOs worked in the beginning to foster buy-in from the community by "host[ing] meetings with the public, elders and the youth involved, the schools, everybody [was] involved, so it was just a big group, you know [the community was] understanding what this program was going to be." Evelyn would also point to the importance of *community buy-in* by referencing how another CSO program that had been established prior to the SFN CSO program had "been evaluated to say that, you know, it works, right, it works because um people, the community people believe in it." Evelyn went onto describe how "the communities have a voice, and listening to their voice to roll out, um what's important to them in terms of safety." Moreover, in addition to listening to the voices of the community for gaining community buy-in Evelyn also mentioned that trust is crucial when it comes to community buy-in, since "bridging that relationship of trust between an organization that's never been trusted with their own um community citizens bridging that gap." Bob also offered further insight into the importance of partnerships between CSOs and the RCMP, describing the impact the CSOs' knowledge has had on the work of the RCMP. Bob explained the "local knowledge [of CSOs and] having a local resource [for the RCMP] to turn to for that knowledge of the people [in SFN], of the area, you know." Bob would also provide an example of how local knowledge, in his view, has impacted the work of the RCMP concerning locating house numbers for SFN citizens. Bob detailed this as:

The addresses, I think ah um its quite common in northern [communities] that ah it's tough [for the RCMP] to find a street address or a house number [and] so um it's definitely handy at times [for the RCMP to have] somebody to turn to say you know I don't know what house 65 is but ah but I'm looking for this person, do you know which house there in?

Theresa would also add that "you can have whatever program you want, and the community says, you know what I'm not interested, and it has no legs because without the without the support of the community, nothing that we do is going very far." Theresa went onto add that "community engagement should happen from the beginning from the moment you say listen were thinking about instituting a CSO program." Moreover, Theresa suggested that for any Northern Indigenous Nation with an interest in establishing their own CSO program, they reach out to:

Other communities [and] invite a CSO from another community to come and talk to [your] community to say what changes have you seen, go through some of the questions you have, and then say what do you think is this something you know what can we do to make the relationship between the community and the RCMP better then you are going to have an uptake.

Meg provided further knowledge relating to community buy-in, specifically in terms of collaboration with citizens and other government services. Meg described the importance of calibration when it comes to a Northern Indigenous CSO program as:

To be successful there needs to be collaboration with more than just the CSO program, it needs the involvement of the RCMP and then uh health centre which is run by Yukon Government and [the SFN] health and social services department, it needs more of a collaborative approach going on.

Greg, Betty, Meg, Theresa, and Bob discussed the second emergent theme of clearly defined values and r*oles for CSOs*. Greg detailed several key values he viewed as essential for successful CSOs in the Far North that included: Respect, compassion, integrity, professionalism, and honesty. Greg would state that CSOs "gotta be respectful [and CSOs] gotta be compassionate, um, you know, your integrity, professionalism, I

mean, there's just a lot you have to do right, um, yeah. Um, Honest is a big one." Betty

would also touch upon a value that CSO programs should consider when formulating

similar Northern Indigenous CSO programs, such as the SFN CSO program, which was

peacekeeping. Betty described, "Peacekeepers, yeah, Peacekeepers was the word I was

looking for." Betty would add that Peacekeepers should be thought of as "Maintaining it

[peace]." In addition to the importance of the values that CSOs should possess, Meg

emphasized the significance of understanding the role of CSOs for Northern Indigenous

nations that may wish to develop their own CSO programs. Meg described this as

"everybody needs to understand what their role is." Meg would go on to highlight how a

terms of reference (TOR) document could help to provide clarity regarding the role of

CSOs by stating that "definitely a term of reference to understand."[21] Greg also detailed

how, when clarifying roles, there needs to be a clarity of the role of CSOs concerning the

police by "understanding what this program was going to be, was meant for, that [CSOs

aren't] going to be the police, that [CSOs aren't] going to take over." Theresa offered

knowledge that expanded on the knowledge provided by Meg and Greg about the

importance of clarifying the roles of CSOs by writing effective job descriptions when a

specific Northern Indigenous nation is recruiting for a potential future CSO. Theresa

stated, "What job descriptions do, it lets you recognize the candidate that is appropriate

when you see them, so you need a really good job description." Bob also touched upon

the importance of clearly defined values and r*oles for CSOs* by referring to the need for

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[21] A terms of reference (TOR) document is a document that has been agreed to between two groups or
parties that are working together to accomplish a shared goal, objective, or project. The TOR can be as long
as the two groups or parties agree and it will clearly break down agreed upon objectives, along with roles,
& responsibilities of all groups/parties involved. This can include a possible meeting schedule, projects to
be done by each group or party, resources available, and the overall workflow for when objectives need to
be done by.

CSOs to "really solidify their mandate and their authority." Bob went on to describe why the CSO program also needs to clarify when CSOs can act as per "[l]ocal and Territorial laws and what actions they really are willing to and willing and able to act on, to what needs to be um, you know, deferred to another program or another service." Bob would further add that for "the CSO program to really empower" CSOs, they need to clarify when and how CSOs can act. Bob then mentioned that when clarifying roles, they should be clearly understood as these are the CSO's "right to enforce and abilities, and here's things where [CSOs are] safe, willing, and able to act on and here's where it goes out of [the] abilities [of CSOs]."

The third emergent theme focused on the importance of *training & funding*. Meg highlighted this and touched upon the importance of training for the SFN CSOs when SFN brought in training from the Justice Institute of British Columbia. Meg described how:

> We needed to bring in training, uh otherwise, if we just sent them out there, they would [be] stepping over the line quite a bit, I think and setting that clear line between when it becomes enforcement and it's not your role. Um, so we brought in basic security training, the BC Justice Institute.

Theresa also touched upon the importance of training in the knowledge she had offered by stating that "standardized, institutionalized training for CSO officers, you know." Moreover, Meg emphasized the importance of both training and equipment, detailing the types of equipment that Northern Indigenous CSO programs may require, as well as the necessary training. Meg elaborated on the equipment utilized by SFN CSOs, such as:

> Uniforms that said SFN community safety officer, all over their hats, all over their shirts, um, on the trucks, so they needed vehicles as well. We got one, but now we have two for patrolling, um the community. And in the wintertime, and also they want to start getting into those areas, where you can't see visually, like trails, we got some um quads then we also got a boat.

Evelyn detailed the importance of funding for Northern Indigenous CSO programs as "funding is important as well," & "from a Territorial and Federal Government, [CSO programs] need partnership in terms of funding." Theresa would also point to the need for a plan to be put into place regarding funding, offering two key questions that future Northern Indigenous CSO programs should consider: "How do we fund it, and how do we maintain the funding, you know." Evelyn would also propose a potential mechanism for securing partnerships, referencing funding from both Territorial and Federal Governments through education strategies that highlight the impact of Northern Indigenous CSO programs. Evelyn described the use of education when it comes to securing funding as "educating the rest of Canada and the communities here about the community safety officer program, [since] the community safety officer program isn't in itself; it can't run itself." This final point that Evelyn highlights is important to remember, as the cost of living, fuel, and transportation in the Far North are significantly higher than in the rest of Canada.

The fourth and final emergent theme focused on the importance of *assessment & implementation of a plan* as a key element needed for a Northern Indigenous CSO program. Theresa touched upon one form of assessment needed for any Northern Indigenous nation interested in establishing a CSO program: a community needs assessment. Theresa described the importance of a needs assessment since it will "give you a true picture where you can actually see anomalies and see, more importantly, patterns so that then when you develop a program, it's based on actual needs and responses to those needs." Theresa went on to detail how to conduct a needs assessment via a "research-oriented person who knows how to conduct a needs assessment and

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research where they can can gather enough data that will be analyzed." Evelyn also touched upon the importance of two types of assessments for planning a CSO program that included a "community assessment [and] crime prevention [through] environment design." For each of the three methods of assessment described by Theresa and Evelyn, it should be noted, as Evelyn stated, "If you don't implement it, they simply mean nothing right, so that's vital to do it as a key element to move forward." Bob also offered additional knowledge that supports the need for either of the three methods of assessment described here as Bob stated that "um, I think they need um program development" focused on the areas of clarification of roles and responsibilities of CSOs in relation to the RCMP as per the knowledge discussed earlier that Bob offered with regard to the second emergent theme: *Clearly Defined Values & Roles for CSOs.*

Table 8

Key Elements Needed for a Northern Indigenous CSO program

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Community Buy-In & Collaboration	• Community Must Believe in & Support the CSO Program • CSOs Must Work to Foster Community Buy-In • Community Engagement Must Begin During Program Formation and Continue Regularly • Collaborative Approach with RCMP, Health, and Social Services Important for Dealing with Large Issues	Greg, Evelyn, Bob, Theresa, & Meg
Clearly Defined Values & Roles for CSOs	• Respect, Compassion, Integrity, Professionalism, and Honesty • Peacekeeprs • Clarify Roles of CSOs via Writing Effective Job Descriptions & Terms of Reference Document • Defined Mandate, Authority, & Enforcement Abilities	Greg, Betty, Meg, Theresa, and Bob
Training, & Funding	• Standardized Training & Equipment including Uniforms • Clear Line in Training of Role of CSOs Including Possible Enforcement Abilities • Partnerships Needed to Secure Funding • Formulate Plan for Funding	Meg, Theresa, & Evelyn
Assessment & Implementation of a Plan	• Community Assessment - Goals for CSOs, Needs for community in relation to CSOs and ability of community to support CSOs • Clear Plan for Program Development that clarifies and Periodically Reviews Roles and Responsibilities of CSOs in relation to RCMP	Theresa, Evelyn, & Bob

Key Question #8: Impacts on Reconciliation

The eighth key question that was asked of SFN community leaders, knowledge holders, including CSO, and the Pelly Crossing RCMP was: *Has the SFN CSO program impacted reconciliation in Pelly Crossing, specifically in improving the relationship with the RCMP or other justice, health, or social service programs overseen by the Yukon or Federal Government? (If yes, how is reconciliation being supported, and if not, why?).* Four emergent themes were generated from the knowledge that was provided, including: 1) *Reconciliation Starts in Community,* 2) *CSO Program as an Avenue for Reconciliation,* 3) *CSO Program Too New & RCMP Legacy and* 4) *Work To Be Done.*

The first emergent theme, *reconciliation starts in community,* was first discussed by Meg, who stated that:

> The whole community needs to get onside, you know, with the whole healing aspect of Residential School Survivors, what they've been through. So, I think reconciliation is not just a upon, its upon everybody. Everybody has a part to play.

Evelyn expanded on the knowledge provided by Meg regarding the need for reconciliation to start in community by stating that:

> We have to reconcile with ourselves, you know, because there's so much dysfunction, there's so much turmoil, there's so much trauma, that we haven't even had a chance to look at that, and you know, on the ground in our communities.

Evelyn then pointed out why reconciliation must start in community first: "Reconciliation starts to happen when you start to heal with your community." This is due to the generations of harm that were carried out by the Canadian Government, described by Evelyn as:

> Many historical impacts of colonization, Indian Act policies, Residential Schools, the 60's Scoop, there's just so much of that that we haven't even had a chance to say, Whoa, what's going on here like what do we need to do first right.

Although reconciliation sounds to be fairly new for SFN, as conversations about the impacts of colonization are extremely difficult, as Greg mentioned, "that's kind of a, it's been around, but it's kind of still a new thing in the community." Still, it appears that the CSO program may provide an opportunity for supporting reconciliation. However, Betty did offer an example of how reconciliation in SFN may occur via the Justice Committee regarding the potential implementation of diversion and restorative justice programs. Betty detailed how both potential justice programs "need [to be] based on our culture, based on traditional knowledge of how peacemaking in the old days kind of stuff."

The second theme that emerged was that the *CSO program an avenue for reconciliation.* Meg detailed how the CSOs can be direct reminders to the RCMP of the presence of Residential School Survivors in SFN who need additional support other than constantly being arrested by the RCMP. Meg described this by stating:

> There are you know Residential School um Survivors here they've been through a lot, just reminding them of that all the time, um and they're just being a nuisance maybe you shouldn't be so hard on them, just give me a call and I'll take them home or whatever eh?

Meg also talked about how the cycle of arrests at times by the RCMP of Residential School Survivors is a stark reminder of the past actions of the RCMP, where the RCMP would pick up Northern Indigenous community members and take them to jail. This situation of repeating the RCMP's past actions is happening again. Meg described this as:

> Because there has been a history where they [RCMP] will just nab them, put them in jail, over and over and over kind of them, and that's all they do, they don't you know talk to anybody about can we keep this person out of the you know courts, there's a lot of nuisance happening [that] shouldn't go to the courts but it will because they're just you know they're repeating their behaviour.

Meg pointing out how the CSOs can act as reminders to the RCMP of the continued present-day impacts of many colonial policies administered and/or supported by the RCMP is another example of how vital the CSOs' connection to and knowledge of the community is. Evelyn also presented knowledge that supported the emergent theme of the *CSO Program as an avenue for reconciliation,* in a broader sense in terms of how the CSO program could help to support the TRC or MMIWG National Inquiry in the Yukon, as well as the importance of the community's overall health. Evelyn first stated that when it comes to the CSO program, "reconciliation is exactly what we're doing, um, day to day with the CSO program." Evelyn also touched upon how the CSO program acts as a force for reconciliation through the interactions between CSOs with

all different levels [of government, especially with the RCMP] when you look at the TRC in itself, you look at the national MMIWG inquiry, etc, the Yukon MMIWG, it all connects to the TRC right and the calls to action.

Evelyn also offered examples of this: "It could simply go from, you know, what are the police, how are we doing with the police, how we're doing with the Justice, overall justice, how do we deal with the economic development." The focus of Evelyn's statements on how the CSO program can act as a force for reconciliation is that Northern Indigenous nations and communities need to be healthy to thrive, and for reconciliation to have community support. Evelyn then described how:

> You don't have a community that is in a healthy way, in particular, Indigenous other sectors, private or professional, um you know, how are we going to be economically sustainable if our people are not healthy and are communities are unhealthy.

The process of a Northern Indigenous nation seeking a path through the formation of a CSO program aimed at improving the health of its citizens, as detailed by Evelyn, will impact the views and understanding of health and justice partners regarding the current state of affairs. Evelyn went on to state that the "healing journey that's not just the healing journey itself within the community, but when you start bringing in your peripheral partners, other justice professionals, they, they also get it and they also understand it." This type of impact was described by Meg in that she referred to the RCMP by that she said "[u]m I think reconciliation for what the RCMP comes with their involvement and interaction with people in the community, being out in the community, part of the community." Bob would provide further knowledge regarding the importance and potential impact on reconciliation of Pelly Crossing RCMP working with the CSOs as "like even just having that partnership and that visibility of [the RCMP] working [together] hand-in-hand with [CSOs]." Bob would go on to further state that:

If the CSO program itself is respected by the pubic and their saying that their working with the RCMP as a partner and they have respect for that program and that organization um I think that can't hurt and helps the reconciliation there.

The third emerging theme focused on the *CSO program too new & RCMP legacy.*

Theresa offered knowledge that articulated how new the CSO program is and how impactful COVID-19 has been and continues to be in SFN. Theresa described this in the following statement:

The CSO program is still quite frankly uh in its novice stage here because although it's been on for about four years and a bit like I said, three of those years don't count because of COVID years, you know what I mean like there's that bubble.

Greg would also add that the CSO program is "just starting, [and CSOs do] talk with [RCMP] a little bit and kind of getting involved and interactions, but in terms of reconciliation [the CSOs] really haven't had a whole lot to do with it." Meg provided further insight into the possible limited impact of the CSOs: "I don't know how much the CSO impacts how RCMP are doing." Meg further highlighted the potentially limited impact of the CSO program on reconciliation in SFN with the RCMP, as certain citizens will always view the RCMP negatively. Meg described how "the RCMP will always be seen as the bad guys for certain people in the community, right?"

The fourth and final emergent theme highlighted that there is still *work to be done* in relation to reconciliation in SFN. Much of the work to be done, as discussed, focused on the need for recognition and improved communication between the CSO program and the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Theresa highlighted the need for bidirectional communication, including information, as being "the key. So, I think that the relationship with RCMP coming in and talking to SFN is great, but if SFN goes to the RCMP and asks them for something, there's not that bidirectional communication system." She also added

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regarding bidirectional communication, "I don't think that there's a bidirectional natural flow of communication and information sharing, and more importantly, recognition of this is our role. This is your role. We occupy a space." Theresa went on to describe a need for additional recognition on the part of the RCMP by stating that:

> I think that a big chunk of it has to do with the way that the communities are viewed and the lack of real recognition about the fact that yes your not walking into just a rural community your walking into the Selkirk First Nation.

She also added that entering a Northern Indigenous nation's "traditional territory and you're a guest, you're a guest, yeah, so I don't think that has your right. That's not been hasn't quite penetrated the consciousness." Meg added to this knowledge on the need for recognition by that "recognition of SFN as an as a government and authority in the area, um just and the relationship is a [I] guess, that's more about reconciliation." Bob also added that a potential additional area where work is still needed is in clarifying the relationship between CSOs and the RCMP, as well as other community programs such as the Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods (SCAN) program. Bob stated that "sometimes the encouragement [of citizens] to contact the CSO program or ah [the] safe community program SCAN um to report ah an incident so that the ah complainant can remain anonymous [, which may] impact [the potential for] trust" with the police pertaining to the possibility of reconciliation.

Table 9

Impacts on Reconciliation

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Reconciliation Starts in Community	• Community Driven Reconciliation that Addresses dysfunction, turmoil, & trauma • Healing For Residential Schools Survivors & Family Members • Reconciliation Begins when healing begins with the community • Reconciliation a Newer Process in SFN • SFN Justice Committee An Avenue for Future Justice Programs Based on Traditional Knowledge & Peacemaking	Meg, Evelyn, Greg & Betty
CSO Program an Avenue for Reconciliation	• CSOs can be direct reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP of the presence of Residential School survivors in SFN, and present-day impacts of many colonial policies Overseen by RCMP • CSO Program Acts as a Force for Reconciliation via Interactions with Pelly Crossing RCMP and other Government programs • Involvement of Pelly Crossing RCMP with CSOs in the Community	Meg, Evelyn, & Bob
CSO Program Too New & RCMP Legacy	• CSOs Haven't Had Much of a Role in Reconciliation • Impact of COVID Has Hampered Larger Impacts of CSOs • RCMP Always Be Viewed as Bad By Certain SFN Citizens	Theresa, Greg, & Meg
Work To Be Done	• Improved Communication, & Recognition Needed Between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP • Recognition of SFN as a Self-Governing Nation • Clarifying Roles Between SFN CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP	Theresa, Meg, & Bob

Key Question #9: Impacts on Self-Determination

The ninth key question stated the following: *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms the rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination. Do you think the SFN CSO program has had any impact on self-determination or future self-determination for SFN regarding community safety or justice policy?* The knowledge provided by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, generated three emergent themes: 1) *Yes via the Realization of the CSO Program,* 2) *Potential and 3) Beyond the RCMP.*

Meg provided detailed information that supported the first theme of y*es, through the realization of the CSO program* has impacted SFN's self-determination and future self-determination regarding community safety and justice policy. The knowledge Meg provided about the impact stated, "Um, yes. I do believe so, um, because here we are, SFN, as a self-governing government, implementing a program that's going to do things, um, how we want to, you know." Meg went on to describe how establishing the CSO program pushes back against outsiders telling SFN what to do, but that "the department of justice not telling us to doing this, or designing how to do this, RCMP are not telling us what to do with this program um it's us determining what it is we want this program to do. Yeah." Greg also added, "I think [SFN is] moving in that direction, but eventually, you know, like I said, we are pretty limited with our capacity, so uh [the CSOs] get burned out pretty quick, it's just a matter of taking on what you can do and pass the wealth." His final point regarding burnout is critical to highlight so as not to overburden the CSOs.

The second emergent theme focused on the *potential* impact of the SFN CSO program on self-determination or future self-determination for SFN. Theresa stated, "The idea of potential, the answer is yes. I think that the CSO program has potential for impact on the way that the people, see themselves within their own self-determination. SFN has self-determination." Bob added to Theresa's knowledge about the *potential* of the CSO program to impact the expansion of self-determination in SFN, stating, "I can see where it could grow to, um, to have [additional powers such as] bylaws program or bylaws put in place." Bob added that the CSO program could become "something similar to a bylaw enforcement program, um, or at least I don't want to put that label on it, enforcing the

Chief and Council, um, agreed to rules or regulations." This potential expansion, as

detailed by Bob of the CSO program, would occur based on SFN Chief and Council

deciding that they:

> Are going to act on [their] own self-determination to put [certain] rules into place
> and [they] want [their] safety officer program to enforce those rules, I could see
> something like that being done official and ah building that self-determination.

Theresa further stated that the CSO program also has the potential to act as a reminder to

SFN citizens and all outsiders that "they are self-determining, they have a constitution;

they have government." In addition, Theresa expanded on this point by describing:

> So that the CSO program has not had that impact on them, umm however, the
> potential that it has for the for the people to see what is possible with respect to
> self-policing because they are self-determined they are self-governing.

Evelyn touched on the potential for expanded self-determination / self-governance via

partnerships with the RCMP as a means to elevate the CSO program as a full-fledged

partner with the RCMP. Evelyn stated that:

> I would love to see where this partnership can grow, and the RCMP would look at
> [the CSO program] as a, as a benefit and partnership where we can both work
> together to balance one another off in terms of the good works and collaboration,
> and it's sharing about that information; it's it's talking about the true TRC, the true
> reconciliation, you know.

The final emerging theme focused on knowledge, highlighting the possibility of

looking *beyond the RCMP*. Betty described how "well, when you would hope it would

get better, things would get better to a point when you would not need to have 3 or 4

RCMP officers stationed here or law enforcement." Evelyn would also touch upon the

potential for SFN to have a future that looks beyond the RCMP via Chapter 13 of the

SFN Self-Governing Agreement. Evelyn described, "talking about Chapter 13 under the

self-government agreements, which has to do with your administration, your justice

agreements and under Chapter 13, each First Nation has the ability to negotiate with

Canada and the Yukon their own courts, corrections and policing."

Table 10

Impacts on Self-Determination

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Yes via the Realization of the CSO Program	• Implementing a program that is focused on what SFN Wants, & Pushes Back Against Outsiders Telling SFN What To Do • The Department of Justice or the RCMP not telling SFN What To Do in regard to the Design, or Operation of the CSO Program • SFN Determining What the CSO Program is and What the CSO Program Does • Issues to Keep in Mind for Further Expansion of Self-Determination in regard to the CSO Program: Burnout & Capacity	Meg, & Greg
Potential	• Potential for CSO program to impact the way that SFN Citizens see themselves within their own self-determination as well as see the possibilities for Future Self-Determination in SFN • Potential for Future Expansion of SFN CSO Program • CSOs may potentially serve as reminders to SFN Citizens and outsiders that SFN is self-determining with a constitution, and a government • Potential for expanded self-determination / self-governance via Partnerships with Pelly Crossing RCMP as a means to elevate the CSO program as a full-fledged partner with the RCMP	Theresa, Bob, & Evelyn
Beyond the RCMP	• Future With Minimal or Zero RCMP Posted to Pelly Crossing • Future Expansion of SFN CSO Program along with other Justice Services of Program in SFN such as Court or Corrections via Self-Government Agreement Lessening the Need of RCMP in SFN	Betty, & Evelyn

Closing Question: How Could CSO Program Be a Model Across the Far North

The closing question posed to all six SFN community leaders and knowledge

holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, stated: *How could the CSO program*

be a model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to

improve community safety within RCMP policing models? The knowledge that was

provided generated four emergent themes for how the CSO program could be a model for

Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada when it comes to

improving community safety within an RCMP policing model that included 1) *Working Together*, 2) *RCMP Recognition,* 3) *Alternatives Possible, and* 4) *Reorienting Community Safety Funding in the Far North to Better Support Northern Indigenous Self-Determination.*

Greg, Meg, Evelyn, and Theresa touched upon the first theme pertaining to *working together*. In the knowledge that Greg offered that related to this theme, he stated, "Working together and not against each other, you. Uh, strength is in numbers." The importance of the CSOs working with the RCMP was further highlighted by Greg, who mentioned what can occur when there isn't a transparent partnership, such as with the CSOs: "I mean, when you start having to work against each other, it just creates more issues, um, yeah." Bob also provided additional knowledge that highlighted the importance of the CSOs working with the RCMP by describing how, when new RCMP officers moved to "Pelly Crossing [its] a whole new area, a whole new culture [for the RCMP but] having those guys [CSOs] around to work with is hugely beneficial" for the RCMP. Bob went on to further state how new RCMP can connect with SFN via the CSO program by that:

> The CSO program as an established partner organization [in Pelly Crossing] you know [which provides a] very easy [connection] to make a phone call and make those introductions [and] having that core base of the CSO program in place and that strong relationship um I would imagine [is] hugely benefitable to the [RCMP who follow [in the] footsteps" of the current RCMP posted to Pelly Crossing.

Meg would add to this theme by describing how CSOs can bridge the gap between the RCMP and the community. Meg described this as "if they work collaboratively with the RCMP members can explain the you know, so the RCMP will see the docket, the list of individual[s], public drinking, this and that, just causing disturbances all the time." Meg

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would also add that "the CSO program, the officer can come in and say well this why this individual is like this, this this happened way back when, and this individual you know, it's just too much, and it's a lot of trauma." This passage by Meg further highlights the importance of CSOs as crucial conduits of information about a specific Northern Indigenous nation and/or community to the RCMP, providing space for improving community safety outcomes for Northern Indigenous citizens. Evelyn also touched upon the importance of working together in her answer to key question #9, highlighting the need to transform community safety in the Far North for Northern Indigenous nations through the CSO program model. Evelyn referenced the importance and potential power in partnerships rooted in respect between CSOs and the RCMP, which is "where we can both work together to balance one another off in terms of the good works and collaboration." The potential outcome of the type of collaboration described by Evelyn between CSOs and the RCMP could transform how crime is addressed in an RCMP-administered policing model for a Northern Indigenous nation in the Far North. Theresa also noted how collaboration between CSOs and the RCMP could impact the day-to-day work of the RCMP. Theresa would state that the "policing RCMP perspective if they were to truly engage with the CSO program they would see a difference in the way that they have to deliver their duties then perform their duties and deliver their services." The result of this type of change in the day-to-day work of the RCMP as described by Theresa would be "an actual flow of information uh where people can begin to feel more at ease if they can actually bring forward some of the information that they have so that the police can do their policing job." Moreover, Theresa also did mention that for the improved outcomes to occur as described above via working together "that in both camps

independently of each other there has to be a real a real buy-in real engagement to say

this could potentially be the model that could begin to resolve or close the gap."

The second theme that emerged was *RCMP recognition,* concerning recognizing

Northern Indigenous CSO programs as a key factor for improving community safety

within the RCMP policing model in the Far North. Theresa highlighted the importance of

the RCMP's recognition of the CSOs and Northern Indigenous Nations and communities

as key to improving community safety. She stated that recognition is a:

> Responsibility of the RCMP and the institution as a whole to view these nations
> as nations uh and to um and to recognize the value of the CSO program to their
> duties like if the RCMP could see if we work with these guys, we could really get
> some stuff done because we need their knowledge of the community.

Theresa would go on to describe the importance of recognition by the RCMP, along with

CSOs and the community, that is a complete "buy-in and the mandate and the

engagement to say I'm going to take ownership because if they do, then they have a real

stake in the success or failure of the program." Bob also added that the RCMP must value

the local knowledge of CSOs. Clear mandates are what is "valued by organizations such

as the RCMP. Certainly, there is value there, and if [CSO programs] develop that and

work on that, that's something [the RCMP] definitely [is] interested in working with."

The third theme that emerged was a*lternatives possible,* as the SFN CSO program

models that different models or alternative models of justice for other Northern

Indigenous nations across the Far North are a possibility. Meg described how diversion or

restorative justice-type programs are being sought as alternatives to the adversarial

Eurocentric justice system. Meg said she would "encourage them to seek services or

programs whatever. Be more of like a more of a diversion rather than a [lack of]

diversion focus." Meg went on to describe how alternative justice processes could be

different in how they approach those:

> Who ha[ve] offend[ed] and they have to come back into the community, um, so
> again, I think that the CSO program, the government here, and the RCMP and
> whatever [other] justice programs may be should all be working together to, with
> the community.

It is worth noting that Meg included the CSO program in her statement above,

highlighting how the presence of a CSO program may also support other alternative

justice programs or initiatives rooted in a Northern Indigenous nation and/or community.

The final theme that emerged from the knowledge offered by SFN community

leaders and knowledge holders, including CSO and Pelly Crossing RCMP, focused on

reorienting community safety funding in the Far North to better support Northern

Indigenous self-determination. Evelyn offered knowledge that fit into this theme that

described how "we all gotta wake up to the rest of, you know, wake up government, you

know, to say, both from a territorial and Federal Government, is that we need partnership

in terms of funding." Betty would add that:

> We hav[ing] the money to operate the program is crucial because right now we
> are using our own money" and that um the federal government provides the funds
> for us to run this program so we can be consistent and we can be a program that
> um will compliment their (inaudible} law enforcement right.

Betty would describe how the funding for the CSO program in the Far North may be an

avenue for re-examining how Northern Indigenous justice programs are funded

concerning "that means we need the First Nation needs funds to keep this going um its ah

important I think for the community at this stage because we're looking at history of with

um Indigenous peoples in Canada." The history that Betty would describe focused on

Residential Schools, along with how the government "for years nobody listened to

anybody and get over it, and you all quit drinking and do this." Moreover, Betty then

pointed out how the government would eventually fund the establishment of the

Aboriginal Healing Foundation, which was created in 1998 as per the Royal Commission

on Aboriginal Peoples, but "that lasted about 5 years, and then they quit doing it, and

then after the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, they kind of left everyone adrift." Many

impactful First Nation, Inuit, and Métis projects were funded and anchored in community

by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF), which ceased operation in 2014. However,

the example highlighted by Betty's knowledge regarding how Health Canada oversaw

mental and emotional health services provided by the AHF, along with the uncertainty

surrounding funding from the Government of Canada, in cooperation with AHF, for

newly established crucially important healing programs for Residential School Survivors,

was notable. Betty was indirectly referencing the need for a re-examination of funding for

Northern Indigenous CSO programs and the importance of being aware of the impact of

past funding issues on justice and healing programs. The CSO program model offers an

opportunity to reassess how Northern Indigenous justice programs are funded and how

that funding is allocated.

Table 11

How Could CSO program Be a Model Across the Far North

Theme	Impact of Theme	Theme Formulated via Knowledge Offered By
Working Together	• Improve the Relationship Between Northern Indigenous Peoples with the RCMP • CSOs as Bridges into Communities for RCMP • CSOs as crucial conduits of information to RCMP • Avenue for Identifying Best Practices	Greg, Meg, Evelyn, and Theresa
RCMP Recognition	• Northern Indigenous Nations as Self-Governing Nations • RCMP Must Value Local Knowledge and Expertise of CSOs • CSO Programs Need Clear Mandates for Working with RCMP	Theresa, & Bob
Alternatives Possible	• CSO programs show that alternative models of justice are possible • Alternatives such as diversion or restorative justice type programs that are alternatives to the adversarial Eurocentric justice system	Meg
Reorienting Community Safety Funding in Far North to Better Support Northern Indigenous Self-Determination	• CSO programs in the Far North an avenue for reexamining Funding for Northern Indigenous justice programs • CSO programs highlight Need for Partnerships in terms of Funding	Evelyn, & Betty

The next chapter will consist of a literature review that provides insights into how the state of the policing environment in SFN came to be, including an examination of the historical underpinnings of the modern RCMP. The next chapter will be broken down into eight sub-sections to provide an in-depth contextual understanding of how the state of the RCMP relationship with Northern Indigenous Nations, communities, and peoples in the Yukon came to be that will include: (1) The Formation of the NWMP & the Colonial Policing Model, (2) The Hudson Bay Company Years in the Yukon, (3) Early Years of the NWMP in the Yukon: The Gold Rush Era, (4) NWMP Yukon Expansion: Increased Interactions & Impacts to Northern Indigenous Peoples, (5) Further Expansion

of the Role & Impact of RCMP in the Yukon, (6) NWMP & RCMP Indigenization

Efforts, (7) Police Culture, Power, Systemic Racism & Institutional Transformation & (8)

Future of Indigenous Justice & Police Policy: Expansion of Self-Determination & Self-

Governance Rooted in the Decolonization of the Police.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

The Formation of the NWMP & the Colonial Policing Model

The early relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) was defined by colonialism, discrimination, and the extreme natural environment of the Yukon. For decades, the Dominion of Canada saw the Far North as an isolated region of extremes that was much too expensive to invest resources in or provide police services. The discovery of gold eventually led to the arrival of NWMP members in the Yukon in the late 1800s. The formation and utilization of the NWMP laid the groundwork for how the Dominion viewed the national police force and how the NWMP would be utilized in the Yukon, which also factored into the current state of RCMP-administered policing services across the Yukon and the Far North today.

In the early 1870s, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald sought to strengthen Canadian sovereignty claims over the newly acquired North-West Territory. This effort entailed upholding a Eurocentric view of law and order, which consisted of oppressive colonial laws aimed at Indigenous nations and peoples, as well as the protection of settlers.[22] MacDonald's desire to embolden Canadian sovereignty within the North-West Territory was also heightened by fears of United States (US) expansionism since the Americans had recently purchased Alaska from the Russian Empire in 1867 and fought a bloody war with Mexico that ended in 1848, resulting in the US taking portions of Mexican territory that included entire sections or portions of three states: Texas, New

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[22] The Region that would be known as the North-West Territory was acquired by the Dominion of Canada. The British had bought the lands formerly known as Rupert's Land from the Hudson Bay Company in 1868. The British then transferred the land to the Dominion of Canada via a land transfer with Britain with the passage of the 1870 *Rupert's Land Act*. The land transfer would be finalized that same year with the passage of the *Deed of Surrender* by way of British legislation that transferred the ownership of the land from the HBC to the newly established North-West Territory.

Mexico, and California. MacDonald also envisioned building a transcontinental railroad that would help solidify the Dominion of Canada's sovereignty over the prairie and western regions of the country by transporting new settlers to the region and uniting the nation from Ottawa to British Columbia. All four items listed above factored largely into MacDonald's aspiration to create a mounted police force closely aligned with the military, acting as a mechanism to remedy the four factors discussed above. University of New Brunswick History and Politics Professor Greg Marquis (1997) offered a further detailed overview of what MacDonald had envisioned for the Mounted Police in that "MacDonald [had] envisaged a police force [in the west] with the military bearing of the Irish Constabulary for securing the North-West Territories" (p. 208). To make his vision a reality for a Mounted Police Force modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary, Prime Minister Macdonald would send a letter "to an old cabinet colleague in London requesting all the information he could obtain on the organization of the RIC [, Royal Irish Constabulary]. The information was wanted, he explained, because 'we purpose to organize a Mounted Police Force" (Horrall, 1972, p. 182). All of this eventually resulted in the establishment of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) via the passage of an Act by Parliament in May of 1873 that stated that it would be an act "respecting the Administration of Justice, and for the Establishment of a Police Force in the North West Territories" (Macleod, 1978, p. 5). The newly formed NWMP would be a "force [that] was modelled on colonial policing" (King, 1997, p. 52). The connections with the RIC would not stop there as the NWMP's second commissioner, George Arthur French, "had served briefly in the RIC before opting for a military career." Before being appointed commissioner, French had been "in charge of the artillery school at Kingston, Ontario"

(Marquis, 1997, p. 208). Commissioner French would be tasked with creating the early

NWMP organizational structure that relied heavily on the military. By "September of

1873, nine commissioned officers were appointed to a "Mounted Police Force for the

North-West Territories" and by November 3rd, a further 150 men were recruited to the

force" (Smith, 2009, p. 58).

The NWMP was formulated to strengthen Canadian sovereignty claims in the

North-West Territory as per the four items listed above, which included controlling

Indigenous Nations and Peoples via actively supporting many colonial policies and

programs.[23] Marquis (1997) described the rationale for the formulation of the NWMP to

act "[a]s a buffer between Natives and ranchers, railway builders and settlers, the NWMP

was to play a key role in the Euro-Canadian consolidation of the West" (p. 210). Remarks

made by A.A. Dorion, the Canadian Minister of Justice in 1874, further elaborated on the

NWMP's early mission as "to give confidence to peaceable Indians and intending

settlers." Prime Minister MacDonald 10-years later would echo the remarks made by

Minister of Justice Dorion when he stated that "the business of the Mounted Police is to

principally to keep peace between Whiteman + Indians" (Gouldhawke, 2020, para. 6). In

addition, the form of justice that was administered by the early NWMP "to the North-

West Territories had distinctly ethnic overtones, supplanting both Indian and Metis legal

systems" (Marquis, 1997, p. 210).

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[23] The NWMP was tasked with policing the North-West Territory up to the area of the eastern Rocky
Mountains as the British Columbia Provincial Police (BCPP) had been established in 1858 the same year
the Colony of British Columbia had been created. BCPP were in-operation until 1950 when the force was
dissolved and RCMP 'E' Division was created to police all areas of B.C. not policed by a municipal or
other police service.

The colonial policing model that informed the formation of the NWMP can be characterized by two unique characteristics that differentiated it from the British metropolitan police model, founded in 1829. The first characteristic of colonial policing is that "colonial police were directly at the service of the civil power, not maintained at some distance as with the mediating common law powers of the English police" (Brogden, 1987, p. 13). Horrall (1972) further expanded on the British Metropolitan Police model, stating that officers were to be "unarmed and non-military in character and under local control at the borough or county level" (p. 182). The second characteristic of colonial police is their "close proximity to the military. [T]he colonial police were often accommodated in barracks separate from the civil population" (Brogden, 1987, p. 13).

Bell (2013) further expanded on the definition of colonial policing by stating it was "marked by paramilitarism, as distinct from the unarmed, civilianized policing cultures thought to be common in Britain. Paramilitarism may be understood as a blurring of the boundaries between policing and army functions" (para. 2). The overall structure of paramilitarism "subverts democratic policing" (Gerster, 2021, p. 48). The central aspect of Democratic policing that colonial policing subverts via paramilitarism is that "[c]ontemporary democratic policing normally claims its roots and legitimacy in the fact that it is supported by communities in the carrying out of their duties" (Rogers, 2014, p. 1). Democratic policing is focused on a goal of the "police being perceived as legitimate authorities" (Africa Criminal Justice Reform (ACJR), March 2019, p. 3).

Paramilitarism would also inform the early NWMP, as John A. Macdonald had set out to establish a mounted police force in 1873. This is evident in MacDonald's vision

of the mounted police force, which drew many similarities to the British military of the

time. MacDonald wanted the mounted police officers to be

> dressed [in] red to invoke the British army [and the force would be] inspired by
> the constabulary the British used to rule over Ireland, [MacDonald] made them a
> paramilitary so they could serve as a de facto government on behalf of politician
> back in Ottawa. (Gerster, 2021, p. 46).

Similarly, to how the British Army inspired the red dress uniforms of the NWMP, the

rank system of insignias and epaulettes worn by the NWMP drew inspiration from the

British Army via the Canadian Army as the NWMP would mirror many of its rank

system of insignias and epaulettes on that of the Canadian Army, which modeled much of

the design of their uniforms insignias, and epaulettes on that of the early British Army.

The RCMP of today continues this tradition by adorning red dress uniforms with

military-stylized epaulettes for RCMP members who have reached a rank denoting a

commissioned officer (Inspector, Superintendent, Chief Superintendent, Assistant

Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, and Commissioner). Gerster (2021) further

expanded on how paramilitarism was also utilized when formulating the structure of the

organization of the NWMP in that "[i]t was designed as a paramilitary the Canadian

Government could wield as part of its nation-building project" (p. 47). The structure and

organization of the NWMP were directly informed by the military as Macleod (1978)

stated that "[t]he police were to be mounted, armed, and organized along the lines of a

cavalry regiment and even had a few artillery pieces in the event that they had to act as a

military force" (p. 5). The military was also at the heart of recruiting the first-ever

NWMP officers since the early NWMP focused on "the recruitment of officers who had

served in the armed forces" (Ayala & Carrington, 2016, p. 102).

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Paramilitarism would also permeate the required training vernacular and methods utilized for the NWMP, RNWMP, and later the RCMP recruits at the Depot, the Mounties' training headquarters in Regina, Saskatchewan. Depot would be established in 1885 for the NWMP as the headquarters and training facility by the NWMP's fourth commissioner, Acheson Gosford Irvine, who put forth the idea of making Depot the force headquarters and training facility after he "had visited Ireland to study police operations and administration." Commissioner Irvine had been "[i]nspired perhaps by the RIC's well-known Phoenix Park establishment" (Marquis, 1997, p. 208). Phoenix Park in Dublin served as the RIC's Depot headquarters and training facility until 1922, when Garda Síochána took over policing within the Irish Free State upon the agreement of the Anglo-Irish Treaty.[24] Types of training provided to RIC recruits included "instruction in a range of subjects, including musketry and military drill" (Gannon, n.d., para. 4). Maher (2020) highlighted "the paramilitary structure, which is drilled into the heads of 'cadets' when they spend six months at Depot, where they are formed into 'troops', taught how to march, shoot, and arrest suspects, and learn the traditions of the [NWMP] [later] the RCMP" (para. 18). The symbol that Depot represented to Indigenous nations across Canada would forever change in 1885 when it would be the location where Métis leader Louis Riel would be hung "in front of the mess hall, which was later converted to a chapel" (para. 17).

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[24] Phoenix Park, which is 7 kilometers in total size, was originally built as a royal deer hunting park. Today, it is the largest enclosed public urban park in any capital city in Europe. Inside the park, there are many statues and monuments, along with important Irish Government facilities, such as the residence of the President of Ireland, the national mapping agency, the residence of the U.S. Ambassador, Dublin Zoo, and the Garda Síochána Headquarters.

The power of the NWMP would be utilized significantly for specific colonial policies or initiatives that targeted Indigenous nations across Canada. The role of the NWMP regarding colonization in Canada was that "the [NWMP] occupied a central role in managing and containing the Aboriginal population as white settlement advanced" (Comack, 2012, p. 24). This was done by the NWMP, which utilized its authority to assist with implementing several policies and programs established by the Indian Act, including the creation of the reserve system. The reserve system was one of the primary mechanisms the Canadian Government utilized for controlling and containing Indigenous nations and Peoples in that "the RCMP were the main enforcers of segregation of Indigenous people[s], as [they] were the ones forcing Indigenous [peoples] to remain on the reserves and remain compliant with the Canadian states separation of them" (Lajtman, 2020, p. 9). The Chair, Indigenous /Xwulmuxw Studies and Faculty within the Department of History at Vancouver Island University described how the reserve system would also be the location "where individuals could be reformed, healed, or socialized to behaviour acceptable to the Anglo-Canadian majority. They were places where 'Indianness' would be instructed, cajoled, legislated or, if necessary, coerced out of the original inhabitant of western Canada" (Smith, 2009, p. 50). The reserve system would also provide the opportunity to expand the use of surveillance of Indigenous peoples by the NWMP and Indian Agents that would become so expansive to the point it was unmatched across the British Empire, except with the possible exception of South Africa (Crosby & Monaghan, 2018). The NWMP would become one of the most powerful colonial police forces in history since NWMP officers "had powers that were unprecedented in the history of police forces. In addition to the power to arrest, the

NWMP were given magisterial powers, which meant that they were also able to prosecute, judge and jail an accused" (Carter, 1999, p. 129).

Later, the RCMP would go on to support the "forced relocation of Indigenous peoples from lands coveted for settlement" (Eberts et al., para. 7). The Indian Act and later the Family Allowance Act would both be a driving force for the expansion of the RCMP's powers pertaining to Indigenous nations, communities, and peoples.[25] RCMP officers, "upon the request of Indian Agents [assisted] in enforcing both the pass system on reserves and the ban on liquor and dances[,]" along with the locating runaway Indigenous youth from residential schools (LeBeuf, 2011, p. 2). In addition, RCMP Officers would also support the food rations program overseen by Indian Agents that the Canadian Government utilized to control Indigenous peoples as a means to populate newly created reserves and signed treaties. Nettelback and Foster (2012) described how the Canadian Government utilized food rations by stating that "[o]ver time, rations became increasingly key to a centralized policy of Aboriginal containment that the reserve network facilitated" (p. 22).

Two of the most painful and dehumanizing colonial programs that the NWMP/RCMP took part in were the Indian Residential School and Day Schools programs.[26][27] The Residential School program would be created in 1883 via the Indian Act to assimilate Indigenous youth into Eurocentric Canadian settler culture and society.

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[25] The Family Allowance Act was passed by an act of the Canadian Parliament in 1944 as the nation's first welfare assistance program. Indigenous families only qualified if Indigenous youth were required to attend Residential School.

[26] In total, 130 Residential Schools operated across Canada with over 150,000 Indigenous youth attending. The last Residential School closed in 1997, Kivalliq Hall in Rankin Inlet (present-day Nunavut).

[27] In total there would be "nearly 700 federally funded and church-run Indian day schools, which were attended by an estimated 200,000 Indigenous people between 1870 and 2000" (Carleton, & Pind, 2022, para. 3).

All schools were "federal funded, and operated by the Government of Canada, and the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Churches" (Jeganathan & Lucchetta, 2021, para. 10). Decades prior in the 1860s, the Government of Canada had already established the Day School program that would be the forerunner of assimilation that required Indigenous youth to attend Eurocentric Canadian settler church-run schools that taught school during the daytime to Indigenous youth and allowed the youth to continue to live at their homes while attending school. Attendance at Residential Schools and Day Schools was compulsory "[s]tarting in the 1890s, the federal government created policies making attendance at 'Indian' schools compulsory" (Carleton, 2023, para. 15). The NWMP/RCMP worked closely with Indian Agents as most officers would initiate a search for a runaway Indigenous youth "at the behest of an Indian Agent." Mounties would also be utilized "to coerce attendance at church-run and government-funded schools by the early 1900s." The coercion of parents to send their children to Residential or Day Schools was mainly done via threat of arrest or fine, and in some cases, actual arrest or fines. Moreover, officers were also granted powers via the Indian Act that "permitted [an] Indian Agent or a constable, to recruit and bring the children to school, voluntarily or not." Residential School Survivors have noted that the actions of the RCMP greatly impacted their perceptions of the RCMP in that "[t]he police were not perceived as a source for help but rather as an authority figure who takes members of the community away from the reserve or makes arrests for wrong-doing" (LeBeuf, 2011, pp. 24, 2, & 4).

Indian Agents would regularly call upon 'constables' in reference to RCMP officers to ensure attendance at Residential or Day Schools. An example of this occurred

at Hazelton Indian Day School located in northcentral British Columbia in 1920 when a

federal inspector decided "it was time to call in the police" due to "only 12 out of 20

students [who] regularly came to [that] school." The federal inspector would then "order

the Indian agent for the area to use his constable to put on pressure" (Martens & Guyot,

2021, para. 1-3). The pressure that the federal inspector alluded to was not specified.

Still, as discussed above, the pressure from the RCMP constable was most likely threats

of arrest or fines directed at family or friends who may have been hiding the youth

instead of sending them to the Hazelton Indian Day School. Around a decade later, in

1933, the RCMP would be granted powers via the Indian Act to assist and support the

Department of Indian Affairs in administering aspects of the Residential School program

by "appoint[ing] RCMP officers as 'truant officers' to enforce attendance and return

truant children to residential schools" (RCMP, 2019, para. 9).[28] RCMP officers were

requested to act as truant officers by Indian Agents, church officials, school staff,

community members, and other government officials. The RCMP utilized boats, cattle

trucks, railroad cars, buses, dog teams, walking, and cars when it came to searching for

runaway Indigenous youth, along with locating youth to attend Residential or Day

Schools. Runaway youth, when found, were put into handcuffs and returned to the

Residential or Day School they had escaped from. Bennett et. al. (2005) detailed how the

RCMP utilized force when searching for runaway Indigenous youth as described below:

> They encircled reserves to stop runaways then moved from door to door taking
> school children over the protest of parents and children themselves. Children
> were locked up in nearby police stations or cattle pens until the round up was
> complete, then taken to school by train" (p. 16).

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[28] The RCMP supported the residential school program by acting as truant officers for a total of 76-years.

LeBeuf (2011) produced a report for the RCMP that detailed the role and actions of the RCMP within the Indian Residential School System. The report described how "RCMP officers, along with members of religious orders and/or Indian Agents, would visit the parents to make sure they sent their children to school" (p. 140). One account that was included in the report highlighted how the RCMP worked in coordination with religious officials to make sure Indigenous youth attended Residential or Day Schools via the use of jail as a coercion tactic:

> *170/1 . . . the priests . . . and the RCMP were involved . . . because my dad didn't want to send me . . . he was jail . . . they said my dad would be released once we go to school . . . The priest called the police . . . they show up at my home . . . you have to come with us . . my dad said run . . . I had to go to school so my dad would be released . . . (*LeBeuf, 2011, p. 140).

It should be noted that in every instance, when Indian Agents called upon the RCMP to search for a runaway Indigenous youth, the RCMP would bill the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) for their work as truant officers. This resulted in the RCMP "financially [benefiting] from their IRS [Indian Residential Schools] work which diverted necessary funds from the DIA budget that could have gone to addressing the myriad problems with the system" (Carleton, 2023, para. 14). Prior to the RCMP being appointed as truant officers in 1933 "Indian Agents were given the authority to appoint truant officers in 1894" (LeBeuf, 2011, p. 24).[29] This would mean that NWMP/RCMP officers could have been individually appointed as truant officers before 1933 by Indian Agents.

Similar to the actions of the RCMP in support of Residential and Day Schools, RCMP officers also supported the Indian Hospital program, which began operating in the

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[29] Truant Officers as per the Indian Act were "authorized to enter any place where he has reason to believe there are Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years and to prescribe penalties for Indian parents who refused to comply with notice to make their children available for school" (LeBeuf, 2011, p. 24),

1930s. Indian Hospitals were first conceptualized to minimize the spread of tuberculosis (TB) at Residential or Day Schools. Still, their true mission would be to act as a mechanism to segregate Indigenous patients from the non-Indigenous community, rooted in racism. Indian Hospitals would be in operation until the 1980s. Still, when in operation, most Indian Hospitals were plagued with many issues, from staffing to medical supplies to building up-keep, along with unethical medical practices that included restraining patients to their bed or room, experimental and painful procedures, unwarranted treatment that focused on controlling Indigenous patients and forcing those suspected to be infected with TB to be subjected to an x-ray. If an Indigenous person were deemed in need of healthcare at an Indian Hospital, that order would be under threat of a fine or jail time. The RCMP enforced fines and possible jail time via arrest since Indian Hospital staff could "hav[e] the police called in to force [Indigenous individuals] to undergo examination and treatment" (Lux, 2010, p. 433). In addition, Indigenous patients routinely attempted to escape, which resulted in "[p]olice forcibly return[ing] patients who 'ran away' (left against medical advice)" (p. 429). Fears of the police taking Indigenous individuals to Indian Hospitals to be confined to rooms in a manner that reflected not healthcare but more institutionalization. This led some Indigenous individuals to hide from the police in the bush, and the authorities, instead of being forced into an Indian Hospital. Lux (2010) provided an example of an Indigenous individual hiding in the bush, describing "an old lady 77 years old [was] hiding herself somewhere in the bush to avoid the RCMP" (pp. 433-434).

Larry Hay, former police chief for the Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory and a 19-year RCMP veteran, also described how the RCMP carried out another aspect of the

Indian Act by stating "they (the RCMP) were responsible for removing hereditary chiefs and forcibly imposing the elected system under the Indian Act [which included] "the remov[al] [of] sacred Wampum Belts which were a record of our relationship with the crown" (Roache, 2018, para. 18). The Final Report Volume 1a of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG) (2019a) further elaborated on how the NWMP and later the RCMP enforced aspects of the Indian Act by highlighting how the Mounties:

> [E]nforced laws that prohibited traditional spirituality and ceremonies; enforced the Indian Act governance structures, including the pass system, at the behest of Indian agents; facilitated the apprehension of children during the Sixties Scoop; and enforced other discriminatory and oppressive legislation and policies (p. 717).

The work of the RCMP in enforcing the pass system focused on controlling Indigenous peoples on and off reserve within the prairie regions "to suppress Native cultural traditions such as the Sun Dance, and to apprehend Indigenous children to be forced into residential schools" (Gouldhawke, 2020, para. 8).[30] Before the Indian Act, the NWMP also had a role in carrying out the 1875 Gradual Civilization Act. Williams & Murray (2007) referred to the role policing in Canada had in carrying out portions of the 1875 Gradual Civilization Act by stating that "policing has played a variety of roles in the processes of disposition, displacement, and resistance that stem from this policy [, the Gradual Civilization Act]" (p. 173). The types of activities that NWMP officers took part in included: "raiding longhouses, suppressing potlatch ceremonies, enforcing residential schools' policies, and attempting to contain organized resistance, the Canadian state has

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[30] The NWMP/RCMP enforced the pass system within the prairies for a total of 56-years from 1885 until 1941.

consistently deployed policing in attempts to repress Aboriginal people's aspirations, cultures and rights" (p. 173).

In the Far North, the early NWMP carried out colonial policies or initiatives similar to those of other regions of Canada, which included overseeing the "welfare policies pertaining to the aboriginal populations" (Beare, 2007, p. 328). The early NWMP in the Far North would also significantly facilitate the expansion of Canadian government sovereignty. This was evident in the Yukon when "the first [NWMP] Inspector, Charles Constantine, went into the Yukon region, he was instructed to go not as a police officer but as an Agent of the Dominion Government" (p. 327). The linkage between the expansion of Canadian sovereignty in the Far North would occur again "[i]n the 1940s, [when] the voyages of the RCMP ship St Roch [sailed] through the Northwest Passage [which] served to show the Canadian flag" (Beare, 2007, p. 327). This flying of the flag by the Mounties in the Far North would be repeated in the 1980s "following the passage of American Oil tankers and Russian submarines through the [Northwest] passage" (p. 327). The actions of the NWMP in the Far North will be further discussed in the following section of this chapter titled: *Early Years of the NWMP in the Yukon: The Gold Rush Era.*

Many of the elements of the early NWMP discussed earlier in this chapter mirror many of the characteristics examined above in the four British colonial policing services examples of colonial policing. The bill establishing the NWMP stated that the force would "be a semi-military body directly controlled from Ottawa, and not by the local government officials in the North West" (Brown & Brown, 1978, p. 13). The NWMP "was constructed to advance a new, and what some have called 'internal' colonialism,

officially emanating from Ottawa, rather than London" (Bell & Schreiner, 2018, p. 118).

This formation of the NWMP demonstrated the unique closeness built into the early

NWMP structure with the Canadian government. The NWMP embodied 'internal'

colonialism since NWMP members, when "deployed [were] to ensure law preceded

settlement, promoting an image of protection for the settlers needed to carry out

westward expansion" (Stark, 2016, p. 4). Moreover, "the mounted police's actual

organizational model was the British cavalry [, which was based on a] field brigade

[structure that] was enhanced by the addition of several artillery pieces" (Marquis, 1997,

p. 208). Komar (2019) went on to describe how, during the early years of the NWMP, the

organization would resemble "a vaguely paramilitary organization staffed by former

soldiers with little to no police experience" (p. 22). Many early NWMP detachments

were regimented and structured similarly to military barracks.

In 1885, the NWMP and the military became indistinguishable due to NWMP

members fighting alongside Canadian government militia members and white volunteers

against Métis, Cree, and other First Nation resistance fighters. This uprising would be

known as the North-West Resistance. The North-West resistance lasted for the majority

of 1885. Still, the NWMP's role in this matter had begun years before, as Ottawa had

already known about the possibility of an uprising due to the work of the NWMP. The

NWMP had "furnished Ottawa with extensive reports on Métis dissatisfactions and

preparations for war, which led to sweeping police mobilization" (Graybill, 2007, p. 90).

The result of the sweeping police mobilization within the North-West Territory was the

creation of the patrol system by the NWMP. The main goal and work of the NWMP

patrol system were centred around carrying out assimilation policies by supporting the

work of Indian Agents who were employed by the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) that included "[t]he NWMP patrol[ling] the reserves and Indian camps, often demonstrating authority for the benefit of the DIA" (Ayala & Carrington, 2016, p. 117). NWMP officers, as mentioned above, had also utilized the patrol system to compile reports about Métis dissatisfaction by "gathering information about local populations, their living conditions and general attitudes. The deterrent presence of the force was demonstrated to Aboriginals by penetrating their reserves and camps under the guidance of the [Metis] auxiliaries" (p. 117). Jennings (1979) summed up the actions of the NWMP during the North-West resistance as "protect[ing] the white population until the militia put down the rebellion" (p. 266).

This framework would be utilized to carry out governmental policy to further control Indigenous peoples from the reserve system to Residential Schools. The model of the NWMP for carrying out assimilation policies or initiatives that targeted Indigenous peoples would be replicated in the United States due to the NWMP being viewed as a success for carrying out assimilation and colonization policies, which resulted in the U.S. Congress "authoriz[ing] police units in 1878" (Stark, 2016, p. 6). Stark (2016) highlighted that the U.S. "[drew] on Canada's success with their police force" pertaining to "the assimilation of American Indians" (p. 6). In the U.S., "[t]he solution was a police force, made up of Indigenous peoples, to impose colonial laws onto their own people" (p. 6).

The North-West resistance demonstrated both the key elements described above of what constitutes the colonial model of policing. The NWMP was directly at the service of the civil power, the Dominion of Canada, and the NWMP had a very close relationship

with the military, which was sometimes blurred. The closeness between the military and the NWMP highlighted above would be repeated during the Second Boer War of the early 1900s. Hewitt (2006) further highlighted the closeness between the military and the NWMP that continued after the North-West resistance by stating that in "keeping with the paramilitary nature[,] the [NWMP] fought as a unit in the [second] Boer War" (p. 16). The NWMP utilized its posts nationwide to support recruiting members and former members to serve in the Second Boer War. The actions of the NWMP during the Second Boer War, along with their service to the Crown over thirty years, resulted in "King Edward VII reward[ing] the entire force with the title 'Royal' in 1904" (Hewitt, 2006, p. 16). In 1904, the force's name was changed to the Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP). The closeness between the military and the RNWMP would be replicated again during World War I (WWI) when, in 1918, "the force was allowed to organize two cavalry squadrons" (Galt Museum & Archives, n.d., para. 4). As per the RCMP Veterans' Association (2017) in total around 1,200 members from the RNWMP fought in WWI with the two cavalry squadrons that were organized under the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

Each of the northern territories, including the Yukon, Northwest Territories (N.W.T.), and Nunavut, can trace their current relationship with the RCMP back to colonial initiatives or policies supported or carried out by the NWMP, RNWMP, or the RCMP. The NWMP, RNWMP, and RCMP had significant roles in several colonial policies in the Far North that included Residential, Day, and Missionary Schools, the Hostel Program, the Eskimo identification disk program, the killing of Inuit sled dogs by the RCMP and the Quebec Provincial Police in Nunavik, along with the eastern region of

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Nunavut in the 1950s & 60s, the relocation of Northern Indigenous communities, an expansion of Canadian sovereignty, and a criminal justice system rooted in Eurocentric Western values and beliefs (CBC News North, 2010a). The impact of the involvement of the NWMP, RNWMP, and RCMP in colonization policies in the Far North on Northern Indigenous communities can still be felt to this day, but was there any Eurocentric form of justice in the Yukon before the NWMP? Before the NWMP arrived in the Yukon, the first Eurocentric form of justice to appear in the territory was introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC).

The following section will examine the state of the Yukon before the arrival of the NWMP in relation to the impact that the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) had pertaining to the administration of Western justice and Eurocentric trading. The HBC brought one of the first Eurocentric forms of Western justice and Eurocentric trade to Northern Indigenous nations and peoples of the Yukon. This section will also examine Northern Indigenous traditional concepts of justice and trade before the HBC's arrival. This section will be followed by a section on the NWMPs' early years in the Yukon during the Klondike Gold Rush.

The Hudson Bay Company Years in the Yukon

The Yukon officially split from the then North-West Territories (N.W.T.) in 1898 after the passage of the Yukon Act to become Canada's second territory.[31] [32] Before the Yukon split from the N.W.T., the region did not have a significant NWMP presence,

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[31] The passage of the Yukon Act "severed the Yukon from the North-West Territories and provided for local administration by a Commissioner [and] to be aided by a Legislative Council appointed by the Governor-in-Council." In addition, the workload of the NWMP work would be lightened as "[t]he carrying of the mail was assigned to a private contractor [and] the Customs Department took over everywhere" (Steele, 1936, p. 53).

[32] The current borders of the Yukon are a result of land swaps with the N.W.T. in 1901, and the resolution of international boundary disputes with Alaska in 1903. An international border dispute remains between Alaska and the Yukon in regard to an official offshore boundary between the two at the Beaufort Sea.

except for the northern coast near the Beaufort Sea, due to foreign whaling. Foreign whaling companies had been operating from around 1860 until the mid-1900s in the waters off the north coast of the Yukon. The foreign whaling companies had a significant impact on Northern Indigenous nations, decimating populations of many Arctic Ocean species of whales and other marine mammals. The actions of foreign whaling companies triggered issues of malnutrition for Inuit communities due to the overhunting of whales. Moreover, foreign whaling companies also introduced diseases to many regions of the Far North that took a significant toll on Northern Indigenous nations, especially the Inuit. Komar (2019) described the state of the Far North when foreign whalers would "occasionally [make] landfall, turning far-flung outposts such as Herschel Island, with its plentiful supplies of liquor and local women into sites of unprecedented debauchery" (p. 19).

The NWMP would later be sent to areas where foreign whaling companies had been operating to assert Canadian sovereignty, uphold law and order, and collect foreign customs duties in certain regions near the Hudson Bay and the Beaufort Sea. In 1903, the NWMP would eventually establish the first full-time detachment in the Far North, due to foreign whaling expeditions at Cape Fullerton on the coast of Hudson Bay, near Chesterfield Inlet, located within the present-day Kivalliq Region of Nunavut. A second full-time detachment would also be established in 1904 at Herschel Island off the northern coast of the Yukon. In addition, it would be around this time that occasional NWMP mail runs began to venture into the N.W.T. region that would become the Yukon.[33]

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[33] NWMP would deliver the mail in the Yukon until 1899 when trained postal workers took over all of the Yukon's mail service.

Although the NWMP had been sent to the northern coast and made occasional mail runs into what would become the Yukon, the rest of the region did not have a significant NWMP presence for most of the 1800s. Besides foreign whaling companies having a substantial impact on the northern coastal areas of what would become the Yukon, another Eurocentric organization would also have a significant impact on Northern Indigenous peoples across the Yukon region: the Hudson Bay Company (HBC), which brought a unique Western-centric view of administering justice and trade to the Yukon.

HBC's legal authority expanded over the area to be known as the Yukon in 1821 when HBC gained control over the North-Western Territory and the Columbia District via a merger with the North West Company of Montreal, HBC's most significant direct rival. After HBC had expanded its territory to include the Yukon, "[t]he [c]ompany [would serve] as the sole administrative body [in the Yukon] since there were no other civil or military authorities present" (Willis, 1997, p. 18). It would take HBC around 19 years after 1821 for "the first [of] HBC's forts [to be built] in the 1840's [, which] marked the establishment of the organized fur trade" (P. 18). Moreover, "[b]y 1848 [HBC] had established four trading [forts] on a traditional First Nation trading route" (Government of Canada, 2017, para. 4). The four trading forts established by HBC were: Frances Lake, La Pierre's House, Fort Selkirk, and Rampart House. Moreover, there were also five additional HBC forts established near or on the border with Alaska (Government of Manitoba, n.d.). The majority of the HBC forts in the Yukon were established in the north, since "[e]xcept for those forts established briefly in the central

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and southern Yukon, the fur trade mainly flourished in the Northern Yukon [region] at Fort Yukon" (Willis, 1997, p. 18).

The establishment of HBC trading forts not only brought a Western-centric trading system to the Yukon but also "[t]he earliest European laws for the Yukon [that] came with the traders of the HBC" (Willis, 1997, pp. 17-18). The legal authority accompanying HBC into the Yukon can be traced back to the company's founding in 1670 via a Royal English Charter by King Charles II, who granted HBC authority over the fur trade and other commerce in the region known as Rupert's Land. In granting HBC authority over Rupert's Land, HBC was also given the authority to "enact any laws and regulations, not repugnant to the laws of England, that were deemed necessary to govern its relations with its servants and to maintain social order in the territory of Rupertsland" (Smandych & Linden, 1996, p. 25).[34] Furthermore, HBC was also given the authority by the Royal Charter "to try civil and criminal cases and to employ an armed force for the protection of its trade and territory" (Oliver, 1914, p. 22). Horrall (1972) expanded on the authority of HBC's ability to administer justice services in that "[t]he judicial system established by the Hudson's Bay Company was allowed [by the Dominion] to continue in the Northwest Territories" due to the issues that had arisen from the Red River resistance as discussed in the previous section (pp. 199-200). HBC would administer a form of justice that "relied on harsh punishments to keep employees in check and to influence and intimidate the Indigenous peoples with whom they traded" (Hoy, 2021, pp. 16-17).

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[34] Rupert's Land was a territory of British North America that encompassed all of present-day Manitoba, portions of Saskatchewan, the southern regions of Alberta and Nunavut, and northern areas of Quebec and Ontario.

Besides a Western view of justice and trade, the most significant impact the HBC

had on Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon was the spreading of new diseases.

Willis (1997) highlighted the issue of disease transmission by HBC by stating that "[a]s

the HBC established trading [forts] in the Yukon, they brought diseases that spurred

epidemics, illnesses that decimated the Kutchin [peoples, who were also known as

Gwich'in]" (p. 25). The primary diseases that were brought into the Yukon region by

HBC or by another rival of HBC, the Russian-American Company, were smallpox and

scarlet fever, which took the lives of thousands of Northern Indigenous peoples from the

mid to late 1800s.

HBC would later negotiate a transfer of its land holdings charter to the Dominion

of Canada, established three years prior in 1867, after the passage of the British North

America Act.[35] After the Dominion of Canada had received HBC's land holdings charter,

HBC retained certain land areas near HBC forts, particularly urban centres where HBC

had conducted business. In 1870, the North-Western Territories became known as the

North-West Territory.[36] They were officially created as the first territory of the Dominion

of Canada, which contained the region known as the Yukon. The Yukon would first

become a district of the North-West Territory in 1895 and eventually a separate territory

three years later. The European-centric laws of HBC disregarded traditional concepts of

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[35] The British North American Act otherwise referred to as the Constitution Act of 1867 created the
dominion known as Canada. This Act also defined a colonial responsibility for the newly created dominion
towards Indigenous peoples as stated in section 91(24) of the act that authorized the newly formed
dominion legal jurisdiction over all Indians and Indian reserve lands as stated in the Act. This Act also
created the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick.
[36] The North-West Territories officially changed its name to Northwest Territory (N.W.T.) in 1906. The
current borders of the N.W.T. are a result of the creation of the Territory of the Yukon in 1898, the creation
of the Province of British Columbia in 1871, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in 1905, and the Territory of
Nunavut in 1999.

justice and trade of the Northern Indigenous nations, whose territories encompass all the area of lands known as the Yukon.

Traditional Concepts of Justice & Trade

Before HBC's laws and regulations influenced Northern Indigenous nations and peoples of the Yukon, traditional concepts of justice and trade were practiced by and amongst Northern Indigenous nations across the Yukon. In relation to justice before settler contact, Northern Indigenous nations revolved around the interconnectedness of all living beings and maintaining a holism within that interconnectedness and respect for all creation in compliance with traditional values that varied between Northern Indigenous nations.[37]

Justice. Northern Indigenous concepts of justice mirrored those of many Indigenous nations across Turtle Island that utilized circle teachings to uphold harmony within relationships among Indigenous community members and all living and spiritual beings. Concepts of justice practiced across Turtle Island before European settler contact had been described by former Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (AJI) of Manitoba commissioners Alvin Hamilton and the Honourable Murray Sinclair. Alvin Hamilton was a former Associate Chief Justice for the then Court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba, and the Honourable Murray Sinclair is a former Senator, Justice for the then Court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba and the former chair of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Hamilton and Sinclair (1991) detailed, in Volume 1 of the AJI report, an overview of key concepts and practices of Indigenous justice prior to the arrival of European settlers.

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[37] Holism as defined by Monchalin, (2016) refers to "Maintaining holism involves sustaining balance with the world around us and within us. Holism refers to our interconnectedness to everything in the world, and to living in harmony with all of creation" (p. 34).

Before the arrival of the Europeans, Aboriginal peoples had their own laws and customary practices for maintaining peace and stability within their communities — including the use of force and ostracism to enforce social norms and the role of elders in administering those norms" (p. 54).

One of the teachings for maintaining peace related to the circle as a mechanism for upholding harmony is known as the medicine circle, medicine wheel, sacred hoop, or circle of life, depending on a specific Indigenous nation's traditions and interactions with the land for interpreting the circle. Sharilyn Calliou, a member of the Michel First Nation, highlighted the importance of the medicine circle as "various cultural communities associate different aspects of their humanness, seasons, colours, animals, plants, minerals, etc., with each of the four directions" (Calliou, 1995, p. 51).

Circle teachings for many Indigenous nations are influenced by a way of life that views the world in a circular manner, recognizing that one's actions have ripple effects that can impact not only other humans but also plants, animals, insects, birds, water, and the spirit world. Monchalin (2016) described the circular way of thinking as "acknowledge[ing] the sacred link among all things in the universe and views the land, people, animals, insects, plants, and rocks (all thing, both human and non-human) as equal, interconnected, mutually dependent, and embracing a sacred relationship in this world" (p. 27). Dr. Jo-anne Archibald from the University of British Columbia and member of Stó:lõ and Xaxli'p First Nations further described the importance of a circle in that a circle "is used by many First Nations peoples to symbolize wholeness, completeness, and ultimately wellness... Each Indigenous group [developed] its own cultural content for the holistic circle symbol" (p. 33).

As Dr. Archibald put it, interconnectedness can be observed in the following examples from the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation of the north-central coast of British

Columbia and the Southern Tutchone traditions of the Yukon. In Nuu-chah-nulth two traditional concepts embody the sacred importance of interconnectedness known as, "*Hishuk ish tsawalk* ('everything is one') and *isak* ('respect for all life forms'). Similar themes are echoed in the *Duli,* [in] the traditional teachings of the Southern Tutchone" (Clarke & Slocombe, 2009, p. 4).

The circle is a crucial symbol used by Northern Indigenous nations in the Yukon to uphold wholeness and equality among the four societies discussed by Dockstator (1993). Dockstator (1993) would also highlight the main characteristics for formulating an Indigenous institution that focused on a "philosophical orientation [that] recognizes that all aspects of the cosmos, the totality of 'space,' are equally important. This sense of equality is holistic to the extent that it applies to the total environment" (p. 31). The total environment equates to the four societies that connect with the four directions of the medicine circle: east (spiritual), south (emotional), west (physical), and north (mental) (Hill, 2008). Dockstator (1993) went on to state that "[i]n terms of institutional development, each of the four societies of humankind is considered equal" (p. 31). The Indigenous institutions that are then formulated must adhere to the four societies' framework since "institutions of [Indigenous] society, those organizations developed to administer and manage the affairs of human beings, must adhere to and reflect this guiding principle of equality" (p. 32).

Further highlighting the importance of the circle for Indigenous Nations' safety and justice, Mike Jackson, a member of Tlingit-Haida nations within the Tlingit-Haida Central Council in southeast Alaska and former Kake, Alaska District Court Magistrate, Keeper of the Circle for circle peacemaking further highlighted the importance of the

circle for upholding a holism when he stated that he "remember[ed] his father telling him stories of how the Kwaan (Village) would sit around in a circle and resolve conflicts and disputes" (Nesheim, 2016, para. 4). The teachings of the circle were and continue to be passed down by elders orally, since "[h]istorically, Indigenous communities did not have laws written out. The idea to write laws down was a concept brought from Europe" (Monchalin, 2016, p. 55). Individual Indigenous nations' clan systems are rooted in customs and traditions, as discussed earlier in this document regarding SFN concerning the Wolf and Crow Clans. Each clan within a nation, such as SFN, has its own role in upholding the harmony of the circle teachings, along with traditional law, which will be discussed in further detail below. Specific Clan ceremonies for Northern Indigenous nations also form the basis of legal traditions, as well as social functions, certain aspects of health, and governance. Clan members, elders, and knowledge holders would come together to discuss an individual's behaviour that disrupted the harmony within the circle. Shaming, banishment, and, in extreme situations, death were options that Indigenous nations may have utilized to restore harmony.[38]

Before settler contact, the oral tradition of storytelling, song, and other means of oral communication was paramount for Northern Tutchone peoples to uphold harmony within Northern Tutchone communities as "[s]tories are power. In Northern Tutchone (Hude Hudän) way[s], stories are teachings, traditional laws, and represent the Northern Tutchone way of life. Traditional laws and customs are referred to as Dooli" (mappingtheway.ca, n.d.). Traditional legal concepts and customs were discussed earlier in this document regarding the Northern Tutchone peoples and their relationship with

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[38] Death was only used by an Indigenous Nation in extreme situations stemming from the breaking of harmony by a crime that targeted a specific Indigenous community or community member.

SFN. The legal traditions of SFN are known as *Dooli. They* are rooted in a concept known as "Sothän Leḱánëte, Leyaele, Ná Le Trāa, and Netśin tu (caring, sharing, respect, and teaching) [, which] govern [the] customary, Dooli, and traditional laws" (Mease, 2008, p. 13). SFN traditional concepts and beliefs relating to law are known as *Thi'Ts'ach'an Huch'an.* Traditional law is rooted in two key values: *Dän Ki* and *Doòli.* Traditional laws of SFN can be understood as "a set of rules that peoples follow to keep a community healthy and safe [and are] a part of *Doòliand;* some people call them *DoòliLaws*" (Selkirk First Nation, 2023). The first key value listed above that informs SFN traditional law *Thi'Ts'ach'an Huch'an* is known as "Dän Ki or the "First Nation Way." This has been [the] system of survival for [SFN citizens dating back] thousands of years" (SFN – Our Way Salmon, n.d.- b, p. 5). The second key value that informs SFN traditional law, known as *Thi'Ts'ach'an Huch'an,* including Dän Ki, is *Doòli,* which "is a way [SFN citizens] show respect for plants and animals, and towards each other. [Citizens of SFN] follow Doòli at fish-camp in order to show respect for salmon and to teach others" (p. 5). *Doòli* "require[s] the cooperation and advice of other people." Viola Mullet, a citizen of Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation, which is a Northern Tutchone First Nation, expanded on the importance of *Dooli* to Northern Tutchone peoples by stating that:

> Dooli were the unwritten laws that covered every aspect of life… and every thought and interaction with the plants, animals and the world around us. Our ancestors were given these gifts of knowledge and teaching by their parents and Elders so that each and every one of us could have the opportunity to live a good life.[39]

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[39] Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation along with Selkirk First Nation, and the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyak Dun make up the Northern Tutchone Tribal Council of Northern Tutchone Nations of the Yukon.

Mullet further described the connections between *Dooli* and harmony and justice for

Northern Tutchone peoples by stating that "[o]ur Dooli helped us take care of each other,

the land and water, the fish and wildlife and the rest of the world around us"

(mappingtheway.ca, n.d.). In Northern Tutchone tradition, when a "law was broken, it

was up to the whole community to correct this problem" (Selkirk First Nation, 2023).

An example of how the community would correct a problem that was deemed to

have disrespected an aspect of *Dooli* can be seen in how Legros (1999) described how a

peace ceremony was agreed upon between members of both the wolf and crow moieties

after an accidental death had occurred when "a crow boy had accidentally killed another

one from the wolf moiety." A peace ceremony was to be held over four days, involving

"three or four regional groups [that were] impacted. At the meeting ground, all wolf went

on one side and all the crow aligned themselves on the other side, facing the wolf. Every

single nuclear family was thus divided for the time being – whereas a woman and her

children were on one side, a man was on the other side facing his wife and children."

After this process had taken place, each moiety would ceremonially take hostages from

the other moiety that would act as a reminder of the loss of the young wolf moiety

member who had died and how the problem of the young boy's death was to be

corrected. After some discussion, the "[c]eremonial hostages were [then] exchanged

between moieties. Freeing the hostages involved considerable payments and counter

payments between all the crows and all the wolves from these groups." Once the

payments were fully agreed upon and all hostages freed, the Peace Ceremony was

deemed a success, and "the leaders instructed the crowd that the homicide was never to

be mentioned again forever" (p. 200).

Physical force was also relied upon in certain situations between individuals, and potentially, if agreed upon at the community level, for addressing an act that disrespected an individual or family or disrupted the harmony of a community or a relationship. Legros (2007) described how physical force was an option to be utilized as a means of upholding harmony within a personal relationship, such as "using private force to resolve internal conflicts [such as] blood feuds, [and] taking hostages for a peace ceremony" (p. 75).

Trade. A significant factor in HBC's establishment of its fur trade business in the Yukon was the already well-established Northern Indigenous nations' trading networks. Coates (1979) described how the trading networks among Northern Indigenous nations for "[a]lmost all of the goods traded before the arrival of European traders on the periphery were region specific" (p. 8). Furthermore, the epicenter for the vast majority of Northern Indigenous trading in the Yukon was concentrated in the Yukon River watershed region since "elaborate patterns of inter-tribal exchange [had] developed in the pre-contact period [, which] reached virtually every part of the Yukon River Watershed and involved not only the [Northern Indigenous nations] inhabiting that area, but also those in contiguous geographical regions" (pp. 9-10). The primary transportation methods for trading or hunting among Northern Indigenous nations in the Yukon River Watershed were the birchbark canoe, moose skin boat, and the spruce dugout canoe that connected seven rivers across the watershed, including the Yukon River, in the northern regions of

the Yukon Inuit, known as Inuvialuit built seal skin qayaqs for hunting purposes (Nadeem, 2017).[40]

Among the most influential Northern Indigenous nations regarding trading were the Inuit of Barter Island and Mackenzie Delta, along with the Tlingit of the southeast region of Alaska (the panhandle), which included a small portion of land in the southern Yukon. The Inuvialuit were able to trade seal, sea-otter, walrus, whale, polar bear, and northern sea birds that were mostly unavailable in the rest of the Yukon with or through the following Northern Indigenous nations as intermediaries in the central or northcentral regions of the Yukon, including, but not limited to: Kutchin, Hän (Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in), Tanana, Tutchone, Hare, Mountain, Southern Tutchone, Tagish, Teslin, and Nabesna. Tlingit peoples of the southern Yukon "conducted the most vigorous and extensive inter-tribal trade of any of the [Northern Indigenous] groups in the area" (Coates, 1079, p. 10). In addition, there was also a "considerable [amount of] pre-contact trade between the Kutchin and the Han, and the Han and the Tutchone" that traded among themselves, along with items gained from the Inuit or the Tlingit (p. 10).

HBC and foreign whaling companies significantly affected the lives of Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon from a Western view of justice and trade to the introduction of infectious diseases. HBC's Western-centric view of justice would be the first to be brought into the Yukon, but not the last, as the NWMP would expand upon the early HBC view of justice during the Klondike Gold Rush. The following section will examine the early years of the NWMP in the Yukon during the Klondike Gold Rush, as

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[40] In 1987 the Inuvialuit Final Agreement moved the Inuvialuit community from the north of the Yukon on Herschel Island to the N.W.T. Herschel Island is now a Yukon territorial park known as: Qikiqtaruk Territorial Park.

well as the several impacts that the Gold Rush had on Northern Indigenous nations, communities, and people. This section will be followed by a section focused on the expansion of the NWMP in the Yukon, highlighting how Northern Indigenous special constables, guides, and interpreters were instrumental in facilitating the expansion. This will be followed by a section that provides an overview of the aspects of the Indian Act implemented by NWMP and later RCMP officers in the Yukon, specifically the Day and Residential School programs.

Early Years of the NWMP in the Yukon: The Gold Rush Era

The presence of NWMP members in the Yukon was non-existent up until several gold strikes, the first being near the Alaska border at Forty Mile in 1867, along with more significant gold strikes in 1894 and 1896 that brought a considerable number of American miners and potential liquor bootleggers to the region. The gold strikes in the Yukon spurred Ottawa to take action and formulate a plan to police the Yukon. In 1894, NWMP Inspector Charles Constantine and Staff Sergeant Charles Brown were sent by the Dominion of Canada to the Yukon to "determine how best to police the region" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 21). Inspector Constantine was under orders from Ottawa to "check into the liquor trade, establish customs collection and look into the First Nations people" (p. 21). Upon Inspector Constantine and Staff Sergeant Brown's arrival in the Yukon, they checked in with miners, dealt with illegal liquor bootleggers, and set up border customs stations for collecting fees. Constantine would report to Ottawa about the region's state after the gold strike, saying that "American miners were pouring into the region" (Macleod, 1978, p. 16). A year later, Inspector Constantine returned to the Yukon in 1895 with a force of 20 NWMP members, who would be the first to establish a full-

time western police presence there. Inspector Constantine and his men built the first

NWMP post in the Yukon, known as Fort Constantine. The natural environment in the

Yukon may have differed from the N.W.T. where the NWMP had first been sent, but

"[t]he decision to send in the Mounted Police was a natural one since they were called

upon to perform the same kind of duties as they had in the early days of the North West

Territories." Moreover, another similarity in how the NWMP was utilized in the Yukon

vs. the North West Territories was that "the government decided to use the Mounted

Police to assert Canadian sovereignty over the region" (p. 16).

Before the NWMP arrived, gold miners in the region had formulated an ad hoc

system of justice known as miners' meetings, which ended once the NWMP arrived. A

later discovery of gold at Bonanza Creek, formally known as Rabbit Creek, in 1896

triggered the most significant gold rush in the history of the Yukon, which was known as

the Klondike Gold Rush in the Klondike region of the Yukon near Dawson City, lasting

until the early 1900s. The Klondike Gold Rush brought even more gold seekers to the

area than had ventured north for any earlier gold strikes dating back to the forty-mile gold

strike in 1867. Gates (2023) described the state of gold seekers pouring into the Yukon:

"The Yukon was overwhelmed by tens of thousands of newcomers. The chaos of this

frantic period was overseen by the Northwest Mounted Police and a hastily assembled

administration" (para. 3).

The number of gold seekers that made the trip north after the discovery of gold at

Bonanza Creek numbered in the thousands, significantly taxing the NWMP's ability to

carry out the many duties the NWMP had been overseeing. Duties included border

security, delivering mail or messages, fighting fires, overseeing gold processing, ensuring

all miners had adequate food supplies, welfare checks, and dealing with increased crime.

In addition, gold mining communities ballooned almost overnight, taxing the NWMP, as

in Dawson, which grew in a few months from "a few hundred to at least 5,000." This

situation repeated itself to varying degrees for many communities across the Yukon, from

Dawson City to Whitehorse. The state of crime in the Yukon during the gold rush was

summed up by "Superintendent Constantine [who] described the influx in gold seekers as

"[t]he rush brought in toughs, gamblers, fast women, and criminals of every type, from

the petty thief to the murderer" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 64). NWMP members were not

immune to the gold fever as some NWMP members decided to take an official discharge

to work in the goldfields, since "[g]oldfield labourers earned $15 per day and meager

police pay [was] $1 a day" (p. 33).

The overall concept of the Klondike gold rush was driven by viewing the land as

a means of profit through mining, which served as a mechanism for furthering

imperialistic ideals that were expanded when the NWMP arrived in the Yukon. Brogden

(1987) highlighted how imperialism developed in the Yukon via the gold rush, coupled

with the NWMP, by stating that:

> In the Yukon, the entry of the Mounties to the settlement of gold-diggers
> disrupted the evolving democratic communal decision-making process, and
> established a particular capitalist notion of social order in deterring that rules were
> based on property rights. Law was a weapon to ensure imperial rule (p. 11).

The expansion of the NWMP into the Yukon during the Klondike Gold Rush brought a

newfound adherence to western legal values, along with several negative consequences

for the Northern Indigenous peoples of the region. The negative repercussions included

overhunting of moose and caribou to excess by outsiders to, a significant amount of

waste being created by gold prospectors and horses that were brought into the region to

deforestation, which was driven by the building of boats, mining infrastructure, buildings, large steamships aka riverboats, which used wood as a fuel source, and the spread of diseases.[41] [42] The construction of mining camps and the installation of large gold dredge machines would lead to some of the most significant adverse impacts, including the destruction of large tracts of Northern Indigenous traditional territory and waterways. Mining camps such as Klondike City were an example of this, as they were built on the site of a Northern Indigenous fish camp on the Klondike River. Chief Isaac, leader of the Mooshide people (now known today as Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in), highlighted the impacts of the gold rush by stating that "[w]hen the white man arrived, he noted, his people helped feed and clothe the newcomers. In return, these strangers killed game, chopped down forests and took away the gold" (Gates, 2023, para. 4).

Inspector Constantine would eventually send a letter to Ottawa in 1896 that highlighted the situation as "[f]ood and supplies were running low. The clothing and boots issued to men had long since worn out and they had to buy their own replacements. The civil duties multiplied" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 33). There was also a lack of any court officials in the Yukon to try criminals who had been arrested. Ottawa began to realize the depth of the issues at hand in the Yukon, along with the possibility of a significant revenue stream that the gold rush could generate, and in 1897, approved the addition of 100 NWMP members and civil servants to be sent to the Yukon. A year later, the issues from the gold rush persisted, and the feeling in Ottawa was "that the North-

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[41] Diseases spread throughout the Yukon among Northern Indigenous peoples during the Klondike Gold Rush included: Pneumonia, meningitis, influenza, meningitis, smallpox, diphtheria, mumps, dysentery, jaundice, whooping cough, measles, tuberculosis, and typhoid.
[42] The British Yukon Navigation Company (BYN Co.) propelled the expansion of steamships in the region during the Klondike Gold Rush.

West Mounted Police might be overtaxed [and] the government authorized the formation of a military body, the Yukon Field Force, to support the Mounted Police in the Yukon" (pp. 76-77). It was soon after the creation of the Yukon Field Force (YFF) in 1898 that the Royal Canadian Dragoons (RCD) sent soldiers to the Yukon to staff the newly established YFF, supporting the NWMP during the Klondike Gold Rush. Later that same year, Ottawa would also send additional NWMP members to the Yukon, many of whom had served in the military during the Second Boer War, including one of the members of the Yukon's Lost Patrol, Inspector Francis Fitzgerald. The Yukon Field Force was in operation until 1900, when the Klondike Gold Rush came to an end and the force was withdrawn.

In the early 1900s, Chief of the Ta'an Kwäch'än, Chief Jim Boss (Kishxóot), sought land protection for his people by sending a letter to the Department of Indian Affairs due to all of the outsiders pouring into the southern Yukon area during the Klondike Gold Rush. The outsiders who poured into the Yukon included "steamers [that] sailed not only the Yukon River but also its main tributaries such as the Pelly [River]" (Legros, 1999, p. 190). The Department of Indian Affairs eventually responded to Chief Kishxóot with a short letter that can be summed up in the following passage that states, "the police would protect his people and their land" (KDFN, 2024, para. 5). Early NWMP members in the Yukon that arrived for the Klondike Gold Rush as discussed above viewed Northern Indigenous peoples as lesser and backward, since "[m]any NWMP officers disparaged the native people, often basing their opinions on the few who had been exposed to alcohol and disease." In addition, other "senior officers looked upon Yukon First Nations peoples as an unwanted responsibility and treated them as

demanding children" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, pp. 105 & 103). Although certain NWMP

members may have viewed Northern Indigenous peoples more kindly in that some

became close with Northern Indigenous special constables or guides, and others married

Northern Indigenous women, the overall view by the early NWMP as an organization

was that Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon were a burden.

At the time of the Klondike Gold Rush, the Dominion of Canada's government

did not acknowledge Northern Indigenous peoples' traditional land rights or try to offer

any compensation to Northern Indigenous peoples for the influx of settlers due to the

gold rush. The gold rush destroyed large areas of land and disrupted the Northern

Indigenous people's traditional ways of being rooted in the land. The Northern

Indigenous nations of the Yukon that felt the effects of the gold rush and early NWMP

activity included the Gwitchin, Han, Northern Tutchone, Kaska, Tagish, Tlingit, Upper

Tanana, and Athapaskan (Ennab, 2010). Furthermore, in the Yukon, "the federal

government never did extend the treaty system to Yukon First Nations people. While

some small reserves were set aside, most were never occupied" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p.

105). It should be noted that by around 1910, missionaries were traversing across large

regions of the Yukon, including the traditional territory of Northern Tutchone peoples.

Legros (1999), in his book titled *Tommy McGinty's Northern Tutchone Story of Crow: A*

First Nation Elder, recounts the creation of the world. Legros documented many

culturally significant stories relating to creation and other important events, including the

arrival of settlers and missionaries in the traditional territory of the Northern Tutchone

peoples, as provided by Northern Tutchone Athapaskan elder Tommy McGinty from

Pelly Crossing. Elder McGinty described the situation in 1910 as:

> Most Tutchone groups stopped spending the whole year in the bush and gathered for a few months around the mission and store closet to them [, which were] [d]eliberate attempts to uproot Tutchone traditional religious beliefs initiated by the Anglican missions (p. 190).

Later, in 1910, the NWMP established a Fort Selkirk detachment, with two officers assigned. The two officers would also help to formulate one of the NWMP's first river patrol units in the Yukon. The officers assigned to the river patrol unit were provided a boat and tasked with "inspecting all Indian and prospector campsites along the banks of the Yukon and its tributaries in the summer." In addition to the river patrol unit, NWMP officers were sometimes "dispatched from Dawson City whenever they caught wind that their services were required." Police services would be required "for dealing with civil and criminal offences as well as the federal *Indian Act*" (Legros, 2007, pp. 59 & 76). Legros (1999) further described how, during this period in the Yukon, the NWMP "made it illegal for natives to use force between themselves and thus deprived them of their traditional means of enforcing Tutchone laws" (p. 190). Moreover, the presence of the NWMP in the Yukon "as a Euro-Canadian police force [within] Tutchone territory might have mitigated the use of physical force among the rich, poor, and servant Tutchone" (p. 12). The NWMP would enforce Eurocentric law among Tutchone peoples for several reasons, including enforcing portions of the Indian Act to deter the use of private physical force between Tutchone peoples as a means of resolving conflicts. NWMP officers would attempt to regulate the use of physical force between Tutchone peoples who "resided in the vicinity of a trading post [,but officers also] went out of their way to try to impose 'the law' even when Tutchone [people] lived far off in the woods" (p. 76).

It would not be until 1914 that the Federal Government would approve the appointment of a Yukon Indian Superintendent to oversee all Northern Indigenous issues

for the territory. Until 1914, the NWMP/RNWMP was the federal government's arm responsible for looking after the Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon. However, this was not a responsibility the force welcomed, as highlighted when Superintendent Constantine first travelled north on orders from Ottawa. Ottawa informed Superintendent Constantine to look into the state of Northern Indigenous peoples, "but on no account was he to give them any indication that the Government would do anything for them Indians." This environment led to the NWMP carrying out justice that looked to protect gold miners and other settlers, since their orders were not to do anything for Northern Indigenous peoples besides their mandate as a law enforcement organization. Although, as was discussed earlier, several Northern Indigenous individuals did gain financial compensation from the NWMP as special constables or guides, even then, the NWMP viewed Northern Indigenous individuals as different. This is evident in how NWMP members described Doctor Scottie as "a very intelligent Indian and will be well worth the money we are paying him" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, pp. 104 & 108). The early NWMP's approach to justice for Northern Indigenous peoples in the Yukon revealed how these communities were perceived differently by the NWMP of the time.

Kitty Smith, a respected Crow Moiety Tlingit-Athapaskan Elder from Marsh Lake, described how Indigenous peoples were treated when NWMP administered justice during the Gold Rush. Three Athapaskan men, including Ms. Smith's uncle, were accused of murdering a gold prospector, for which all three would be found guilty, along with a "fourteen-year-old boy, [who] was convicted of the lesser charge of manslaughter" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 105). The three men and young boy were "quickly arrested, taken to Dawson City, [and] tried for murder: two died in hospital, and two others were

hanged the following year" (Cruikshank, 1990, p. 159). The two men who passed away in the hospital had been "weakened by their long confinement, [became] ill and died of pulmonary troubles in the Dawson jail" (p. 105).

The rapid pace of the NWMP administering justice to the accused at the time was highlighted in "reports [that] treat[ed] the case as an example of 'Indian unrest' which was quickly subdued" (Cruikshank, 1990, p. 159). Dobrowolsky (2013) summed up how Northern Indigenous peoples were viewed by settlers or NWMP members at the time, since "during their month-long detention at Tagish, the prisoners were something of a tourist attraction to passing travellers, many of whom stopped to photograph or sketch the men" (p. 106). The NWMP also failed to understand any form of the traditional systems of justice linked to the Moiety or Clan system of the southern Yukon, which was completely disregarded in the arrest of the three Northern Indigenous men and the one youth.

NWMP Yukon Expansion: Increased Interactions & Impacts to Northern Indigenous Peoples

By 1902, there were 17 NWMP posts across the Yukon. The majority of the posts were scattered throughout the southern region, making up 14 posts. The 15th post was located across the border within Alaska near Chilkoot Pass, and the 16th and 17th posts were located on or near Herschel Island at the northern tip of the Yukon (See Appendix C for a map of early NWMP Yukon posts). However, a number of the 17 posts that had been established were not year-round and only operated during the summer months.

The United States territory of Alaska, which borders the Yukon to the west and south, had a very sparse police presence during this time, so the NWMP had set up at least one post directly across the border in Alaska. The policing duties in the territory of

Alaska were handled by the United States Marshals, along with the military police. It would not be until 1941 that the Alaska Highway Patrol would be established, a precursor to the modern-day Alaska State Troopers. Moreover, in the Yukon, several other significant events brought an influx of outsiders that again would bring additional members of the NWMP to the Yukon to support the network of 17 posts that ranged from the building of a telegraph line that linked the Yukon with Vancouver, B.C., to the construction of military bases, radio towers, and other infrastructure to support military personal. The network of 17 posts enabled the NWMP to establish two divisions across the Yukon: The B and H divisions. The creation of the two divisions in the Yukon "gave the Mounted Police a foothold in the Arctic, which was rapidly extended in the early years of the twentieth century." The footprint of the Mounties in the Far North would expand out from the Yukon "into the Mackenzie valley to the east" into the heart of the Northwest Territories, and "[b]y 1903 a chain of detachments had been extended north from Edmonton as far as Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake" (Macleod, 1978, p. 17).

The work of the early Mounties across the Yukon would later be portrayed in film and radio as saviours of the Far North via media across Canada and the world. This would shape perceptions of the work of the early NWMP in the Yukon as an infallible police service that always got their man. One example of the upstanding Mountie in the Yukon was the image portrayed by Sergeant Preston, a TV/radio series that aired from 1939 until the late 1950s. Sergeant Preston popularized the NWMP as a saviour-like figure of the Far North, which stood in direct contrast to the colonial policing model that informed the first NWMP members who travelled to the Yukon. By the end of one episode, "Sergeant Preston had not only saved the Chilkat tribe from certain death, but he

also seemed well on the way to reconciling Native and European cultures" (Dawson, 1998, p. 75). Cummins & Steckley (2003) described the image to the public of the early NWMP officers in the Yukon as an "indefatigable police officer, driving his dog team across tundra and boreal forest, has been seared in the world consciousness as few Canadian images have" (p. 145). In reality, the early NWMP in the Yukon relied heavily on the expertise and knowledge of Northern Indigenous individuals, who served as special constables, guides & interpreters.

Special Constables, Guides & Interpreters

The first Northern Indigenous individuals of the Yukon to be hired by the NWMP as special constables were hired in 1898 in the Dalton Trail region of the Yukon. One of the Northern Indigenous men employed by the NWMP in the Dalton Trail region was known to the police as Doctor Scottie, who led NWMP Constable Pringle across "600 miles in a month to take a census of all the First Nations people in the Dalton Trail area." In addition, several Northern Indigenous special constables were put in charge of running NWMP detachments, such as had been done by a "special constable [who] ran a detachment at Moosehide, the First Nations village a few miles downstream from Dawson" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 108).

Northern Indigenous individuals hired as special constables in the Yukon "earned $1 a day and rations, with the inducement of a $10/month bonus if their services proved satisfactory after a year. Special constables with expertise in particular trades were paid more." A few of the most notable Northern Indigenous special constables of the Yukon were Roger Kay, Paddy, Stick Sam, John Moses, Paddy Duncan, Johnny Fraser, Alfred Hunter, and Doctor Scottie. The work of many of the first Northern Indigenous Special Constables that supported the NWMP in the Yukon went unnoticed, except for a handful

of Special Constables in the Yukon, such as Stick Sam, who after his death became "the only Yukon special constable listed on the force's official Honour Roll [in Regina]" (pp. 107 & 108).

In addition to Northern Indigenous individuals hired as NWMP special constables, several Northern Indigenous individuals were employed as guides or interpreters for the NWMP in the Yukon. Two Northern Indigenous individuals that were well known to the NWMP and eventually hired as guides or interpreters were John Martin and Charlie Peter Charlie Sr. John Martin was a Gwitchin man from the Peel River region known to the NWMP as "a dog mushing Indian missionary," who was a highly knowledgeable trapper, and hunter that would become "one of the first Mounted Police guides on the northern patrols between Dawson City and Fort McPherson." Martin also built snowshoes for NWMP members and provided his cabin as a shelter and cache for supplies for those NWMP members who made the yearly trip from Dawson to Fort McPherson. Charlie Peter Charlie Sr. was a Gwich'in man and former chief of Vuntut Gwitchin who worked as a guide for the NWMP and interpreter for the court in his younger years. Charlie Sr. guided one of the most "legendary patrols from Old Crow to Herschel Island" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, pp. 111 & 116). Charlie Sr. would go on to support the NWMP and later the RCMP in the Yukon throughout his life. When he was Chief, he continued to volunteer with the RCMP, including assisting during search and rescue operations.

Northern Indigenous individuals hired by the NWMP greatly aided early expansion into the Yukon and were crucial for the NWMP to carry out their mission; due to the extreme environment of the Yukon, the expertise of Northern Indigenous peoples

was paramount for NWMP members to survive long winters months in the Far North that required lengthy dogsled journeys between the 17 NWMP posts. When the NWMP initially ventured into the Yukon in the late 1800s, they brought "their own special constables with them from the prairies, mostly dog drivers and tradesmen." Still, eventually, in 1898, the NWMP realized that the knowledge held by Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon was unmatched and began to hire them as special constables, guides to lead dog sleds, scouts, translators, and trailbreakers (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 105).

The expansion of the NWMP/RNWMP in the Yukon was examined in this section, along with why the early Northern Indigenous special constables, guides, and interpreters were vital for the early NWMP/RNWMP in the Yukon to be able to expand. Moreover, Northern Indigenous individuals whom the NWMP/RNWMP hired were treated and viewed differently than the vast majority of Northern Indigenous individuals in the Yukon at the time of the Klondike Gold Rush. The following section will provide an overview of how the NWMP/RNWMP and later RCMP enforced aspects of the Indian Act that included the forced attendance by Northern Indigenous youth at Day and Residential Schools. This section will be followed by an examination of the RCMP's expansion in the Yukon from the early 1900s to the 1950s, driven by hunting tourism, the construction of the Alaska Highway, and the buildup of military personnel in Alaska and the Yukon.

Residential, Day, and Missionary Schools & Hostel Program

Throughout the NWMP/RCMP time in the Yukon up to this point, the force was called upon by the Canadian Government to uphold the law, as was discussed earlier. The NWMP and RCMP assisted with carrying out the policy of the Department of Indian

Affairs. In 1933, the Indian Act "appoint[ed] RCMP officers as 'truant officers' to enforce attendance and return truant children to residential schools" (RCMP, 2019a, para. 9).[43] RCMP also carried out other aspects of the Indian Act, such as those described by Larry Hay, regarding the removal of sacred Wampum Belts and hereditary chiefs. The RCMP's role in carrying out the Indian Act also included a Western view of the land that was highlighted by the reserve system. However, the reserve system was not extended to the Yukon, and only a small number of reserves were formulated; most were unpopulated. This spared most Northern Indigenous peoples in the Yukon from the reserve pass system that the RCMP enforced in other areas of Canada. In the early 1940s, the RCMP expanded their operations in the Yukon due to the building of the Alaska Highway, along with military personnel buildup in Alaska that included enforcing aspects of the Indian Act, such as the forced attendance by Northern Indigenous youth at Day, and Boarding, and later Residential Schools, bans on Northern Indigenous peoples buying alcohol, dancing, wearing traditional regalia, hiring an attorney to challenge the governments stealing of lands for large scale infrastructure projects or other programs, the forced removal of Northern Indigenous peoples to the establishment of the band council system in the Yukon to the forced removal of Northern Indigenous peoples to highway settlements.[44]

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[43] The Indian Act was passed into law by the Canadian Federal Government in 1876. The Indian Act was the root of Canadian Government assimilation policies that targeted First Nation peoples. The main aspects of the Indian Act were: Status, which defined who was by law a First Nation person (discriminated against First Nation women pertaining to the loss of status), outlawed the Potlatch, along with other traditional ceremonies, barred Indigenous people from hiring legal counsel or even raising funds to seek legal counsel to bring a claim against the Canadian Government, created enfranchisement, forced the Band Council and Reserve System onto Indigenous communities, and in 1884 an amendment to the Indian Act made attending Residential, Day or Industrial School mandatory.

[44] In the 1950s the citizens of SFN moved and/or were coerced by the government to move to the present-day location of Pelly Crossing along the North Klondike Highway.

The most painful policy directed at Northern Indigenous peoples that the NWMP/ RCMP took part in that was rooted in the Indian Act was the forcing of Northern Indigenous youth across the Yukon to attend Day or Residential Schools. It has been noted that not all RCMP members may have been aware of the more extensive Residential School program in which they were participating. Still, the colonial policing model was present in the overall view of Northern Indigenous peoples by the NWMP/RCMP in that the roots of the organization were to control Indigenous peoples across Canada, beginning in the Prairies. A document published by Yukon Archives (2011) described how "Bishop William Bompas and Bishop Isaac Stringer established the first residential school in the territory in 1911 at Carcross" (Yukon Archives, 2011, p. 1). Before Bishop Bompas partnered with Bishop Stringer, he had established a "short-lived boarding school at Forty Mile Mission in the Yukon in 1891. It closed when Bompas moved his base of operation to Carcross (Caribou Crossing)" (TRC, 2015a, p. 58).

Moreover, several day schools in the Yukon were "operated [at] Forty Mile, Moosehide, Old Crow, and Fort Selkirk, [would also] eventually [be] absorbed [into] the residential school system" (p. 1). Eight Indian Day Schools operated in the Yukon, beginning with the opening of Teslin Lake Indian Day School in 1908. Teslin Lake was later closed in 1940 but reopened in 1943, only to close again and be transferred to become a Residential School in 1949. The second Day School, Champagne Landing Indian Day School, opened in 1910 and closed or transferred to become a Residential School in 1946. The third-day school, Moosehide Indian Day School, opened in 1911 and closed or was transferred to become a Residential School in 1957. The fourth Indian Day

school, Ross River, opened in 1916 and ceased operation in 1934. It would re-open in 1950 and close or be transferred into a residential school in 1959. The fifth Indian Day School, located in Little Salmon, opened in 1914 and closed or was transferred to a Residential School in 1955. The Sixth Indian Day School, Old Crow Village, opened in 1917 and ceased operation in 1939, but would later be re-opened in 1942, and would cease operation again in 1943, and would be opened again for the third time in 1950 and would be closed or transferred to become a Residential School for a final time in 1963. The seventh Indian Day School, Burwash Landing Day School, opened in 1945 and was closed or transferred to become a Residential School in 1951. The eighth and final Indian Day School in the Yukon to be opened was the Mayo Day School, which opened in 1947 and was subsequently closed or transferred to become a Residential School in 1956. There was also a ninth Indian Day School, located in Watson Lake, British Columbia (B.C.), situated near the Yukon-B.C. border, and in operation from 1968 to 1975 (Christou et al., 2023).

In addition to the eight Indian Day Schools that operated in the Yukon, there was also a total of six Indian Residential Schools that were located across the Yukon: Shingle Point, St. Paul's House, Carcross, along with three that were located in and around the city of Whitehorse (Whitehorse Baptist, Yukon Hall, Concert Hall). The sixth school, Lower Post, was located on the southern border with British Columbia. Many of the Residential Schools in the Yukon were staffed by religious organizations and funded by the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. Johnny Johns, a Survivor of the Choutla Residential School in the 1960s, was located in Carcross, Yukon. Johns described the conditions at the school as "like a big jail," and he went on to state that

"[t]o this day it was the worst incarceration I have ever had in my entire life" (CBC News North, 2020a, para. 1 & 3). Johns would be sent to a group home at 14 years old due to issues at the Choutla Residential School, and "said he was often in jail for drinking as a teen, where he saw many people from the residential school" (CBC News North, 2020a, para. 12). Johns's story highlights the profound impacts that Residential Schools had and sadly continue to have in the Yukon on Northern Indigenous peoples, families, and nations. It should be noted that Residential and Day Schools located in the Far North typically operated with less oversight from the federal government, as the Far North was viewed as less of a priority for colonization by the Canadian Government. This allowed church officials more autonomy when operating Residential and Day schools in the Far North, in cooperation with the RCMP.

Chapter 16 of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba's Implementation Commission report (1999), focused on policing, elaborated on the role that the RCMP occupied in the Indian Residential School system by stating that "Indian children who ran away from residential schools were sought and returned by the NWMP officers" (Government of Manitoba, para. 8). LeBeuf (2011) further highlighted a report published by the RCMP about the role the organization had in the Indian Residential School system found that "former students' personal stories, give the perception that the RCMP had a role in the Indian Residential School system because police were part of the system of authority along with medical doctors, religious communities and lawyers" (p. 32). Shirley Coullierrier, the senior advisor on reconciliation for the RCMP and a Mohawk woman, elaborated on the issue of mistrust that the actions of the RCMP partook in during the Residential School period as "a history that is deep-rooted [and]

Indigenous people have a hard time trusting the police and I understand that" (Roache, 2018, para. 18). Similar comments were made about the Residential School period by Larry Hay in regards to trust with Indigenous communities in that "[c]ertainly our people have not forgotten about that [and] [s]o there's a deficit of trust" (Roache, 2018, para. 18).

The next portion of this section will examine why hunting tourism, coupled with the building of the Alaska Highway, would significantly expand the RCMP's role and power in the Yukon and see an increase in the number of officers and support staff in the Yukon. There was also a significant expansion of Indian Day Schools that were being constructed or reopened as Residential Schools across the Yukon, as discussed above. The building of the Alaska Highway also brought significant changes to the natural environment of the Yukon and the day-to-day lives of Northern Indigenous peoples.

Further Expansion of the Role & Impact of RCMP in the Yukon

Hunting Tourism

After the Klondike Gold Rush had ended in 1899, the Yukon Territorial Government (YTG), to attract tourists and businesses, "invested in mining tourism" to increase revenue due to a drop-off in gold seekers to the territory (Green, 2021, p. 150). During this time, the YTG also began to notice the potential profitability of hunting tourism. This resulted in the YTG eventually "amend[ing] game regulations accordingly to ensure an ample supply of game for hunters when they did arrive – to the disadvantage of Indigenous Yukoners" (pp. 148 & 150). The RCMP would be provided the power to "enforce game regulations and [inspect] game caught in the territory." However, "there [was] little evidence that game regulations were strictly enforced until after 1920 when

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First Nations were subjected to the regulations." This resulted in Northern Indigenous individuals in the Yukon being arrested and charged with numerous hunting violations for traditional subsistence hunting. An example of the impact of the new hunting ordinances in the Yukon can be seen in 1922 when a Northern Indigenous "man was charged and brought to court for killing a beaver. He pleaded not guilty, though he admitted to killing the animal, but [he] did so to feed his family and was sentenced to ten days hard labour or a $50 fine" (p. 154). Throughout the 1920s, Northern Indigenous individuals were charged with many of the new game ordinances that included the taking of animals out of season, ignoring bag limits, and the killing of female animals, along with other ordinances that banned Northern Indigenous individuals from working as hunting outfitters or guides along with selling animal skins or other byproducts of a hunt or trapping outing. The number of outsider hunters travelling to the Yukon would significantly increase in the 1940s with the building of the Alaska Highway, which also considerably impacted wildlife populations in some regions of the Yukon.

Construction of the Alaska Highway

In 1942, construction of the Alaska Highway and the southern portion of the Klondike Highway, also known as the Carcross Road, began. The building of the highway was propelled forward due to the Cold War period, which would also bring an increase in the number of RCMP officers and facilities to the Yukon, along with a large influx of Canadian and United States military personnel and equipment to the Yukon and into neighbouring Alaska (Ironside, 2000). Around this time, the RCMP would officially move their "headquarters from Dawson to Whitehorse in 1943-44, significantly increasing the size of the local constabulary" (Coates, 1991, p. 98).

The 2,447 Km route of the Alaska Highway starts in Dawson Creek, BC, and ends in Delta Junction, Alaska. It should be noted that there was zero consultation done with Northern Indigenous peoples in the Yukon, BC, or Alaska before or during the building of the Alaska Highway. The road cuts through the traditional territory of eight Northern Indigenous nations in the Yukon, which includes the Teslin Tlingit Council, Kaska Dena Council, Carcross Tagish First Nation, Kwanlin Dün First Nation, Ta'an Kwäch'än Council, Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, White River First Nation, and Kluane First Nation.

The construction of the Alaska Highway and the Carcross Road brought significant changes to many aspects of the day-to-day lives of Northern Indigenous peoples living within the regions of the route of the Alaska Highway that was rooted in the land being destroyed by dynamite and large equipment.[45] Thousands of U.S. Army Personnel and construction workers from Canada and the U.S. were posted to hundreds of construction camps located "every 16-25 Km along the [route] of the Alaska Highway." Each construction camp accommodated up to 212 residents, "6-12 engineers and 100-200 construction workers" (Alaska Highway Heritage, 2012, para. 2). Construction camps were massive, sprawling complexes with a mess hall, equipment, and material storage facilities, kitchen, sleeping quarters, and other offices.

Furthermore, the natural environment and wildlife were significantly impacted during construction by large equipment that tore through the natural landscape, including steam shovels, blade graders, bulldozers, tractors, and trucks. Due to the harsh natural

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[45] Carcross road was the first portion of the South Klondike Highway that would later be combined with the Alaska Highway in 1942. The Southern portion of the Klondike Highway would be completed in 1978 from Carcross, Yukon to Skagway, Alaska.

setting of the Yukon and Alaska, many construction vehicles were abandoned because they broke down in the muskeg, permafrost, and/or mud that appeared during the summer months of construction. Marl Brown, a mechanic for the Canadian Army who worked on the maintenance of the road in the 1950s, elaborated on how broken-down construction equipment was dealt with: "[W]hen a bulldozer, grader or truck broke, it was pushed out of the way and they kept going" (Selkirk, 2022, para. 9). The construction equipment, machine shops where repairs to equipment were made, and the camps all required large amounts of oil and gas to function, which were spilled from time-to-time. Oil was shipped in via large barrels, often left in the wilderness. The primary construction material utilized for bridges, culverts, and camps was timber cut from the forests along the route. There was also an "incredible amount of waste [at] army construction camps and ruling that food materials had to be destroyed or abandoned rather than disturbed when personnel left the area." Some Northern Indigenous individuals recalled seeing "potholes filled with hams [to] bags of flour dumped in the garbage" (Cruikshank, 1985, p. 179). This type of behaviour was reported to the police, but at times, minimal to no action was taken by the RCMP, as an international agreement was signed between the Canadian and U.S. governments that allowed troublemakers to be given a ride home.

A similar view would also be taken by the RCMP when Northern Indigenous community members reported items being stolen from their homes, including sacred items that were also being stolen from graveyards, community buildings, and fences by soldiers or construction workers. Many Northern Indigenous homes and other buildings were also bulldozed to make room for the road or the many construction camps that were built. The soldiers and construction workers also brought with them a significant supply

of alcohol that was provided as gifts or utilized as a weapon to take advantage of Northern Indigenous individuals. During this time, RCMP officers strictly enforced the Indian Act ban on Indigenous individuals from possessing or buying alcohol. Still, charges were infrequently brought against the construction workers or soldiers who had supplied or sold the alcohol in the first place. However, the RCMP moving their headquarters to Whitehorse resulted in an "increase in convictions for alcohol offences [, which could be] attributable largely to the new pattern of law enforcement" (Coates, 1991, p. 98).

Cruikshank (1985) described the view that the RCMP in the Yukon took when it came to Northern Indigenous peoples being accused of a crime in that "Indians were severely punished, often out of all proportion to the violations" (p. 8). This was evident in many incidents that involved Northern Indigenous individuals, including one incident where a Northern Indigenous man was sentenced to one year in jail due to 'joyriding 'with a truck, but the non-Indigenous white man who provided alcohol to the Northern Indigenous man who took the truck was not punished. Moreover, a young 12-year-old Northern Indigenous child who was accused of theft was sentenced to a year in jail. Similarly, two teenage Northern Indigenous girls would also be charged with theft and later sentenced to a full year in jail.

The Alaska Highway would be fully completed in 9 months, which led to the north becoming accessible for military personnel in 1942. Six years later, the highway opened to civilian traffic, including tour bus companies like Greyhound. The Alaska Highway, including the construction process, had significant impacts on the lives of Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon only matched by the Klondike Gold Rush

since "the economy and society of the region now known as the Yukon [has gone through two] dramatic metamorphoses: the first in 1896-98 with the Klondike gold rush, then in 1942-45 with the construction of the Alaska Highway" (Curikshank, 1985, p. 8). The Alaska Highway also brought similar changes and concerns to the Yukon, echoing the Klondike Gold Rush. Although with unique circumstances, the 1940s saw a more developed Indian Act that provided the RCMP with an additional tool to control Northern Indigenous peoples of the Yukon. Moreover, throughout the Cold War, "the pace of change accelerated markedly in the 1940s and 1950s when federal officials began asserting control over the lands and peoples of the Canadian north" (Nadasdy, 2017, p. 104). This period saw the federal government, via the Indian Act, establish "distinct administrative 'bands,' each with its own elected chief and council" (p. 104). The establishment of 'bands' in the Yukon was "shaped in large part by the construction of the Alaska and Southern portion of the Klondike highways [, since] [w]ithin several decades of their construction, most Yukon Indian people had relocated (sometimes having been coerced to do so) to highway settlements" (Cruikshank, 1985, pp. 176-177 as cited in Nadasdy, 2017, pp. 104-105). The federal government would later classify many highway settlements as 'bands.' Several Northern Indigenous river communities' populations greatly diminished during this period due to a drop in fur prices, and the adoption of alternative modes of transportation for trade led many Northern Indigenous peoples to migrate or, at times, be coerced by the government into highway settlements. Impacted Northern Indigenous river communities included Upper Laberge, Lower Laberge, Big Salmon, Little Salmon, and Fort Selkirk. Highway settlements established during this time and expanded included Watson Lake, Haines Junction, Beaver Creek,

Pelly Crossing, Teslin, Carmacks, and Burwash Landing (Cruikshank, 1985). The

creation of highway settlements had a direct impact on the number of Northern

Indigenous youth who were attending Day or Residential Schools as "new schools were

constructed in highway settlements" (Cruikshank, 1985, p. 5).

Impacts on Northern Indigenous Peoples & Formation of M Division

The role of the RCMP in the hunting tourism program discussed earlier in this

section, coupled with the construction of the Alaska Highway and the buildup of military

personnel during WWII, would aid the Canadian federal government in asserting control

over the Far North. The power that the RCMP would assert in the Far North would then

allow for the federal government to begin the creation of 'bands' along with the strict

enforcement of the Indian Act via severe punishments of Northern Indigenous individuals

by the RCMP and the justice system in the Yukon. This situation was also compounded

by severe impacts of the spread of several new diseases and outsider-driven

discrimination of Northern Indigenous peoples that would take a significant toll on the

daily lives of Northern Indigenous peoples in the Yukon. Several other disruptions to the

daily lives of many Northern Indigenous peoples and communities during this period

included a decline in the fur trade and many negative environmental impacts. All these

events contributed to the expansion of the RCMP in the Yukon during the 1940s and

1950s, resulting in the establishment of a new RCMP highway patrol and the RCMP's

oversight of three border traffic control gates.[46] This period also saw an expansion of the

footprint of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources (DMR)

as the DMR had been put in charge of administering the newly established Family

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[46] Newly formed RCMP Highway Patrol units were based out of four Yukon RCMP detachments: Haines Junction, Watson Lake, Teslin, and Whitehorse (RCMP (1992) as cited in ExploreNorth, 2024, para. 46).

Allowance Act program (1944-1945) that offered financial provisions to Northern

Indigenous families "as a direct inducement to register children in schools" (Cruikshank,

1985, p. 176). Seven years later, the federal government also established a revised

version of the Family Allowance Act program, which included providing old-age

assistance to Northern Indigenous families with family members aged 70 years or older.

This old age assistance program was distributed directly to Northern Indigenous families.

The program was generally viewed positively, although due to the monumental changes

that had occurred with the building of the Alaska Highway, "younger [Northern

Indigenous individuals], unable to find work themselves, began to exploit the old as an

easy source of cash" (Cruikshank, 1985, p. 176).

The RCMP would eventually establish an entirely separate division for the Yukon

in 1974 on July 1st, known as M Division. The decision to establish a separate RCMP

division for the Yukon was primarily influenced by the construction of the Trans-Alaska

Pipeline (TAPS), which began in 1974. TAPS significantly increased traffic along the

Alaska Highway and was viewed as a "major contributing factor for [an] increase of

criminal activities in the Yukon" (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1976, p. 28). Before

M Division's establishment, the Yukon RCMP was known as the Whitehorse Sub-

Division of the Inuvik, N.W.T. G Division (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1976, p.

27). The newly formulated M Division of the Yukon had 91 employees, including 11

Special Constables, 4 Civilian Members, 7 Public Servants, and 69 Regular Members.

The 91 employees were "responsible for the enforcement of the Criminal Code, Federal

Statutes, as well as Territorial Ordinances in an area comprising 207,076 square miles of

land [that contained] approximately 23,000 widely scattered inhabitants" (Ministry of the Solicitor General, 1976, pp. 26-27).

The RCMP's expansion across the Yukon, due to the influx of outsider hunters to the construction of the Alaska Highway, along with a buildup of military personnel in Alaska and the Yukon, led to further strain on the relationship between the RCMP in the Yukon and Northern Indigenous nations, communities, and peoples. This was mainly due to the RCMP's adherence to the forces' colonial roots by supporting a large-scale military project, coupled with discriminatory settler views of Northern Indigenous peoples, which at times influenced the RCMP. This environment saw the RCMP take a lax view of certain crimes impacting Northern Indigenous peoples while strictly enforcing the Indian Act in the Yukon. This included swift "justice" for Northern Indigenous individuals who were accused of a crime, enforcing a ban on alcohol sales, the hiring of legal representation, wearing of regalia, community dances or conducting certain ceremonies, the establishment of the band council system, and the forced removal of Northern Indigenous youth as examined in the previous section. Further magnifying the issues highlighted above in the two previous sections was the RCMP's role in additional governmental colonial programs in the Far North.

The Role of the RCMP in Additional Colonial Programs in the Far North

Further magnifying the issues highlighted above regarding the relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and the RCMP was the involvement that the RCMP had in additional government-sponsored colonial programs within the Far North outside of the Yukon.

It must be noted that the additional government colonial programs to be examined within the N.W.T., Nunavut, and the Far North regions of Nunatsiavut and Nunavik will be discussed throughout this section. Although similar to the Yukon, the RCMP would support both the Residential and Day school programs across the Far North, as there were 26 Residential Schools in operation in the Far North outside of the Yukon: 10 located in the N.W.T. and 16 combined located in Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, and Nunavik. Moreover, there were also 67 Day Schools in operation across the Far North outside of Yukon: 29 were located in the N.W.T., and a combination of 38 Day Schools were in operation across Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, and Nunavik. The additional colonial programs to be examined that the RCMP was involved in within the other regions of the Far North include the Inuit removal program, the administering of the family allowance program, overseeing aspects of wildlife management, the Eskimo identification disk program (aka Eskimo Disk System / E-Tag Program), and the killing of thousands of sled dogs in cooperation with the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) in Nunavik, and Nunatsiavut, along with specific regions in the N.W.T.

Enforcement of Strict Quotas, Fines, and Hunting Licenses

The RCMP in many Far North regions within Nunavut and the N.W.T. enforced strict quotas, fines, and adherence to the carrying of required hunting licenses. One such ordinance that came into effect in 1903 was known as the "Game Ordinance [, which] banned the hunting of buffalo and bison, hunting at night, and the taking of game birds or eggs, even to prevent starvation. It also banned hunting on Sundays" (Kramer, 2022, p. 15). The ban on hunting on Sundays allowed for Anglican and Catholic missionaries to further attempts at the conversion of Northern Indigenous peoples. Another hunting

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ordinance that the RCMP enforced in the Far North was the 1949 Ordinance Respecting the Preservation of Game in the N.W.T. was coupled with another hunting ordinance that would be passed in 1953 actively attempted to "eliminate access to traditional food sources [, which included] limit[ing] the right of Inuit to hunt caribou- only five could be taken per year per family" (Kramer, 2022, p. 16). Kramer (2022) described how the "RCMP held a great deal of legal power over the Inuit, especially as the wildlife management laws grew stricter" (pp. 13-14). Additional hunting regulations within the Far North targeted hunting walruses and seals. The new regulations required permits to be obtained from the RCMP before hunting seals and walrus.

Killing of Sled Dogs

Beginning in the 1950s and ending in the 1970s, the RCMP, in coordination with the SQ, killed hundreds of Inuit sled dogs within the two eastern regions of Inuit Nunagat: Nunavik and Nunatsiavut. The killing of sled dogs was deeply painful as sled dogs hold a significant place in Inuk spirituality and on the land subsistence activities. The killing of sled dogs was viewed as a way "to deprive the Inuit of their means of subsistence and spiritual/cultural life" (Gouldhawke, 2020, para. 13). An example of the power that the RCMP held when it came to the killing of sled dogs was evident in 1966 when "[o]ne single RCMP officer in Pangnirtung reported that he had shot 275 loose dogs" (Kramer, 2022, p. 19).

The justification that the RCMP utilized for the killings of Inuit sled dogs was due to a need to protect public health and safety via an agricultural law aimed at "keep[ing] stray dogs from somehow ruining crops [, which was] used as a veil of protection to recklessly kill dogs in the arctic" (Dean, 2013, para. 14). In addition, the N.W.T. had also

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adopted a similar type of ordinance that authorized RCMP officers or dog control officers to kill sled dogs that had been running at large. The ordinance did not mention "compensation to the owner or family" (Kramer, 2022, p. 18). The results of the N.W.T. ordinance was devastating for Northern Indigenous peoples, as described by John Amagoalik, who "recall[ed] leaving for school and returning to find that every dog in their settlement had been shot" (Kramer, 2022, p. 18). In another incident, an owner had tied up his dog team outside of an HBC store, and when the owner had finished shopping, he found that all of his dogs had been killed. It should also be noted that the Federal Government would later formally apologize for the killing of sled dogs across the Far North. The first apology occurred in 2019, "to Inuit in Nunavut for the RCMP's role in the killing of sled dogs there." More recently, in 2024, the Federal Government would "formally apologize [again] to Inuit in Nunavik for the federal government's role in the mass killing of sled dogs" (Krymalowski, 2024, para. 5 & 1).

The Relocation of Inuit Families

The RCMP had also played an active role in relocating Inuit families to the High Arctic, which began in 1934 when families living on the Baffin and Devon Islands were moved to Dundas Harbour.[47] Similar relocations continued into the 1950s when "[a]n entire camp of Ahiarmiut [people] were moved to make room for a Canadian Army Signal Corps radio station." The Ahiarmiut found little food in a harsh environment in the area where they had been relocated to, which resulted in Ahiarmiut community members making attempts to move back to their homeland, but "the RCMP had them forcibly removed a second time, ignoring their complaints of struggle" (Kramer, 2022, p. 22). The

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[47] The high arctic is the region of Turtle Island aka North America that is at or north of the 70th parallel north line of latitude.

RCMP would also be tasked with informing Inuk peoples that they would need to volunteer to be relocated, based on possible payments for plentiful hunting and housing. However, most, if not all, Inuit were misled by the RCMP. If reasoning did not work, RCMP officers would utilize coercion that, at times, relied on fear of what might happen if an Inuk person or family did not relocate. The fear usually relied on the RCMP threatening physical force, arrest, or a fine.

Many Inuit families once relocated by the RCMP were then under a constant watch by RCMP officers for some time, so those Inuit did not leave, or overhunt as described by Samwillie Eliasialuk who was a part of one of the groups of Inuit that were relocated to Resolute Bay stated that they were "only [allowed to] catch one caribou per year for your family. That's the regulation...You are not allowed to kill any musk-ox. You are liable to a $5,000 fine or be arrested if you kill any musk-ox" (Kramer, 2022, pp. 25-26). Inuit in Resolute Bay were forced to survive in tents that were meant for summertime and by searching through the local dump of the nearby Royal Canadian Air Force Base. Although the food found in the nearby dump was helping the Inuit to survive, "an RCMP officer [eventually] discovered [the food, and] every tent was searched and all of the food was confiscated, even if it was the only food a family had" (Kramer, 2022, p. 26). The RCMP's justification for the relocation was for the well-being of the Inuit. Still, the relocation was part of the Canadian government's effort to assert its sovereignty claims in the High Arctic.

The E-Tag program

The RCMP also played a particularly prominent role in overseeing and administering the Eskimo disk identification program, which existed under the federal

government until the 1970s and was discontinued in Quebec in the 1980s. The role of the

RCMP in the disk program was connected to the location of each RCMP post, and in

> the physical placement of RCMP posts, RCMP constables were put in charge of the distribution of the discs. They also served as the administrators of the system as they maintained disc lists and reported information back to Ottawa. They were the enforcers of the disc system" (Dunning, 2022, p. 54).

How the RCMP maintained adherence of Inuk peoples to the disk program was

described by John Arnalukjuak as "[w]e were told by the RCMP not to lose those discs so

we were fearful that, uh, if we ever lose them, because that, in those days, the RCMP

were really bossy and you know, so we feared them" (Dunning, 2022, p. 84). An Inuk

mother, Rachel Uyarasuk, would detail that fear of the RCMP described by Arnalukjuak

when she thought she may have lost her family's discs. The fear of the RCMP would

drive Uyarasuk to attempt "to break up the ice in search of her family's discs because she

feared being sent to jail." Uyarasuk would later state, "I was very scared. I thought I was

going to be arrested" (pp. 84-85).

The impacts of the RCMP in the Far North on Inuk people's traditional customs

and beliefs were described by Elder and former educator/principal David Serkoak who

grew up in Arviat, Nunavut who stated that "[o]ne night when he was six or seven...a

drum dance was happening in the family's tent. Suddenly, the police broke in, retrained

his father, broke his drum, and tossed it aside" (Pfeiff, March 2012, p. 23). The actions of

the RCMP regarding the programs highlighted above about the role of the RCMP when it

came to interactions with Inuk peoples "was decidedly racialized; it was designed to

enforce Inuit conformity to the emerging colonial regime" (Pauktuutit Inuit Women of

Canada & Comack, 2020, p. 4).

The presence of the RCMP as vehicles for colonization and assimilation took place more recently within regions of the Far North than in the other areas of Canada, making the impacts of the actions of the RCMP in colonial policy more front of mind for Northern Indigenous peoples when it comes to interactions with the RCMP. Dr. Norma Dunning described in her book *Kinauvit* that by "1959 in Canada, the presence of the RCMP in the [Far] North and the law that they were enforcing was again trying to remove Inuit traditional spiritual practices." Dr. Dunning went on to describe how "[a]ssimilation in the North is truly happening much later and faster in comparison to First Nations in Canada" (Dunning, 2022, p. 46).

This section examined the RCMP's role in several additional governmental colonial programs within the other regions of the Far North, including the N.W.T., Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, and Nunavik. The additional governmental colonial programs discussed in the Far North further magnified issues in the relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and the RCMP.

The following section will examine the Indigenization efforts made by the RCMP to improve their relationship with Indigenous nations and peoples. Indigenization efforts by the RCMP include the RCMP's Band Constable Program, Native Special Constable program, Aboriginal Constable Development Program, Community Constable program, and the First Nation and Inuit Policing Program, as well as more recent policy/training programs instituted by the RCMP. This section will also examine the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) regarding the impacts of Indigenizing the police. The following section outlines key elements that highlight the need for further change within the RCMP regarding its policing culture. Institutional transformation will

be put forth as a possible mechanism for change to occur in resetting the RCMP's

relationship with Indigenous nations and peoples. This section will be followed by a

section highlighting several significant documents and reports that point to the need for

expanding Indigenous self-determination and self-governance as a crucial factor in

improving the administration of justice policy in Canada for Indigenous communities,

including policing rooted in decolonization.

NWMP & RCMP Indigenization Efforts

Indigenization efforts by the RCMP are a process that has taken many forms to

improve the national police forces' relationship with Indigenous nations and peoples,

with varying results. Today, the RCMP oversees policing services for six provinces

(excluding city or regional police service areas), each of the three northern Territories,

and certain regions of Ontario, Newfoundland, and Labrador. Within the current

responsibilities of the RCMP, as per the official RCMP website in July 2019, "RCMP

detachments serve 600 Indigenous communities coast to coast [to coast]" (RCMP,

2019b).

Cunneen (2011) defined Indigenization as "refer[ing] to the process of involving

Indigenous people and organizations in the delivery of existing or modified [justice]

services and programmes" (p. 44). The "Indigenization' [by police forces] in Canada

[has] involve[d] the affirmative recruitment of [I]ndigenous individuals as police officers

in federal, provincial, and municipal police forces." Moreover, police forces in Canada

have relied on Indigenization programs or policies as "an aspect of the solution to the

problem of the 'over-involvement' of [I]ndigenous people with the criminal justice system

over the last twenty years in policing" (Havemann, 1988, pp. 74-75). The driving force

behind the use of Indigenization programs by police forces in Canada was the result of

"Government-sponsored reviews and research [that] reveal[ed] that [I]ndigenization [was] the preferred means of 'integrating' [I]ndigenous people into the imposed system of social control" (Havemann, 1988, p. 75).

RCMP Indigenization programs or initiatives have sought to gain a more extensive involvement of Indigenous peoples in frontline policing roles via working as RCMP officers or supporting frontline RCMP members, along with RCMP-supported Indigenous police services. The NWMP, or the present-day RCMP, had established several programs or initiatives to achieve Indigenization, which began in 1874 when Métis individuals were hired as guides and interpreters. The Métis and First Nation Scouts program, established in 1875, expanded on the role of guides and interpreters. Both programs were replaced in 1892 when Métis and First Nation individuals were allowed to be hired as Special Constables in 1892 (except scouts who also worked as interpreters). Eventually, in 1936, Inuit RCMP employees were officially given the rank of Special Constables. The Department of Indian Affairs established the Band Constable program in 1969. This program was followed up in 1973 when the RCMP established the Native Special Constable Program, and 18 years later, in 1991, the First Nations Policing Program was established. Three years later, the Aboriginal Pre-Cadet program was established in 1994, concurrent with the N.W.T. Community Constable Pilot Project. It would be 12 years later, in 2006, when the RCMP established an entire Aboriginal Special Constable program, which would eventually transition into the Community Constable Program in 2013 (RCMP, 2019a).[48] A few of the programs or initiatives stated

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above will be examined further below, focusing on the Far North, beginning with the

Special Constable program in the Yukon.

Special & Band Constable Programs

The government-led Indigenization of the RCMP in the Far North began with the

NWMP in the late 1800s when, out of necessity, Northern Indigenous individuals were

hired as guides, interpreters, and Special Constables. The Yukon Special Constable

program employed Northern Indigenous and non-Northern Indigenous individuals who

"ranged from a high of forty-four in early 1906 to a low of two in 1917" (Dobrowolsky,

2013, p. 108). The Special Constables program would last until around 1969 when the

Canadian Federal Government Solicitor General released an annual report that stated:

> The general movement of the native people to larger settlements has affected our
> need for Indian and Eskimo Special Constables. They are no longer required as
> hunters, guides, and dogdrivers, however, an increasing need has been found for
> capable interpreters. As suitable natives become available, they will also be
> utilized to an increasing extent in an actual enforcement role (Dobrowolsky, 2013,
> p. 109).

After this report was released, the RCMP began to consider creating new Indigenous -

only constable programs. Two programs were eventually formulated following the

release of this report: The Band Constable and Special Constable programs. The first to

be enacted was the Band Constable program.

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[48] A number of additional RCMP program or initiatives were also established that do not focus on frontline member recruitment or training of First Nation, Métis or Inuit peoples, such as the formation of the Commissioner's National Aboriginal Advisory Committee in 1990, along with the establishment of the RCMP-Indigenous Relations Services. In 2017 Depot in Regina, SK began requiring the Blanket Exercise by all recruits via Indigenous cultural training, and that same year the Eagle Feather Initiative began in Nova Scotia across all 54 detachments. In 2018 the use of an Eagle Staff became common practice by the RCMP for certain ceremonies to honour Indigenous peoples, along with the first Sweat Lodge was established at RCMP Nova Scotia headquarters in Dartmouth. In 2019 Manitoba also adopted the Eagle Feather initiative from Nova Scotia RCMP, and RCMP Commissioner Lucki participated in a land transfer ceremony to "honour and commemorate the Regina Indian Industrial School cemetery where at least 35 children were buried" (RCMP, 2019a, para 38).

Monchalin (2016) examined the establishment of the Band Constable Program in 1969. The Band Constable Program was formulated by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which has since been renamed Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. The Band Constable program initially focused on hiring Band Constables by Band Councils from a First Nation community that was being policed by RCMP or a provincial police service, but with the stipulation that the Band Constables could only enforce local Band bylaws. The Band Constable program "[i]n 1971 was expanded to include the hiring of 'special constables' from Indigenous communities to supplement the senior police forces at the local level" (Monchalin, 2016, pp. 264-265). The Band Constable program was ended in 2015 due to issues with training, the ability to carry a weapon, and interactions with non-Indigenous counterparts (Murray et al., 2019). Several other criticisms of the Band Constable program included pay, limited jurisdiction, required outside help, "lacked the respect of [B]and elders and were subject to excessive politicization and personalization in the exercise of their discretion" (Kirby, 1978, p. 28 as cited in Havemann, 1988).

The Special Constables (SC) employed by the RCMP did vital work that supported the overall function of the RCMP. Still, the SC program had several flaws that significantly impacted the program's ability to function. A number of the flaws included SC's being paid the minimal salary for an officer at the time, needing to provide their vehicle for patrols, SC's being granted less authority than civilian police officers, SC's were also not allowed to carry a firearm on patrol, and for specific SC's, they were not issued uniforms. This was especially concerning for SCs in the Far North, as most RCMP officers posted there had a limited understanding of how to survive the harsh elements of

the region. Former SC Winston Moses summed up the impact and work that SCs oversaw in the Far North in support of the RCMP by stating that "[s]ome would have froze because they didn't know what kind of wood to use. What kind of footwear, direction of winds, hills, and mountains and where to camp" (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, 2018). It must be noted that the SC program in the Far North began in the late 1800s, and the work of SCs in the Far North was discussed in detail in a prior section titled *Northern Indigenous Special Constables, Guides & Interpreters of the Yukon.* Throughout the 1970s and into the 1990s, SCs were encouraged by the RCMP to become regular members, also known as frontline officers. In Alberta, the integration of SCs into the "regular RCMP was found to have resulted in constables spending inadequate time on reserves. Some [SCc also] chose not to live on reserves, suffering ostracism and conflicts of identity as a result" (Havemann, 1988, p. 89). Dean Gladue, a Métis man who worked as an SC for the start of what would become a 26-year career with the RCMP, described the issues he dealt with while working as an SC in that he felt like "a second-class citizen" (Taylor, 2023, para. 3).

Monchalin (2016) described how the Indigenization of the police in Canada in 1973 evolved even further with the publication of a report titled "*Report of Task Force: Policing on Reserves" by Indian and Northern Affairs.* Pressure had been mounting for a federal report from many Indigenous communities across Canada, including "the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians [were] seeking further improvement of the policing on reserves in Southern Ontario and had proposed an all-Indian provincial police force" (Higley, 1984, p. 540). At this period, the RCMP was withdrawing from most

regions in Ontario to make way for the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) to assume the majority of police functions across the province.[49]

The report made three recommendations about the future of Indigenous policing in Canada, about three possible models for Indigenous communities to utilize going forward. The three possible models were "band council policing, municipal policing, and provincial policing. The third recommendation, provincial policing, became known as 'Option 3b' and received the greatest attention from policy makers and police agencies" (Monchalin, 2016, p. 265). For option 3b, the report suggested two methods for implementation: 1) a separate semi-stand-alone Indigenous provincial police force that would be able to function and be formulated by the authority of the provincial attorney-general, which would have a certain amount of police commission. 2) Indigenous policing would be under the authority of provincial police but with limited authority to enforce specific laws on reserves. This was to be carried out mainly by establishing Indian Special Constables who would form a new special Indian Police Service within existing provincial police services or the RCMP (Monchalin, 2016). The RCMP provides contracted policing services for all three northern territories and certain provinces outside of population centres. The RCMP's ability to provide contract policing for certain provinces began in 1905, when the RCMP assumed policing responsibilities for the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The two provinces would be followed when "[t]he late 1920s onwards saw a number of provincial police forces being dissolved in favour of RCMP policing by contract" (King, 1997, p. 52). A significant reason for

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[49] The OPP was established in 1909 as a mounted police agency for Ontario.

provinces to opt into RCMP contract policing was the cost and the ability to enter into

cost-sharing arrangements with the federal government for policing.

Formation of Additional Constable Programs

The RCMP responded to the recommendations from the report by creating the

Native Special Constable Program (NSCP) in 1973 under the 3b option. The NSCP was

formulated to recruit Indigenous peoples to police in their home communities as peace

officers who served as adjuncts to the RCMP. In the Yukon, the first person hired by

"this program was Roger Kay from Old Crow" (Dobrowolsky, 2013, p. 109). The NSCP

would eventually transition to allow NSCs to apply to become regular RCMP members.

Two examples of NSCs that succeeded in transitioning to become regular RCMP

members were "Corporal Karen Olito, commander of the Teslin Detachment, and Chief

Superintendent Brenda Butterworth-Carr, in charge of criminal operations for RCMP F

Division in Saskatchewan" (p. 109).

Although even with the two successful transitions of NSCs highlighted above to

become frontline RCMP officers (regular members), the NSCP would be ended in 1990

due to issues with un-equal training, less rigorous entrance standards, not enough

incorporation of Indigenous viewpoints or feedback, role of special constables not well

defined, and lower salaries than regular RCMP members. The NSCP was later replaced

in 1990 by the Aboriginal Constable Development Program (ACDP). The ACDP was

formed to improve the number of Indigenous peoples working on the frontlines of the

RCMP as regular RCMP members. [50]

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[50] It should be noted that as of 2020, the number of "Indigenous candidates enrolling at Depot, the RCMP cadet academy in Regina, dropped to four per cent from six per cent" (Taylor, 2023, para. 14).

In the Far North, the first Community Constable (CC) pilot project began in 1994

when the N.W.T. and the Canadian federal government signed an agreement to establish

CCs in two N.W.T. communities: Fort Good Hope and Coral Harbour. The CC program

in the N.W.T. was to be administered as an "auxiliary service for the local RCMP

detachment" (Cummins & Steckley, 2003, p. 152). The hiring process for CCs in each

community was coordinated among the Band Council, community members, and the

local RCMP detachment to formulate the application process and interview questions,

and to select the final candidates. The Northern Indigenous community members that

would be hired as CCs in both communities were hired as "temporary civilian employees

of the RCMP, and [were] appointed by the force as peace officers under Section 7(1) of

the *Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act*." The main goal of this pilot project was to

"create a core group of Native people in Fort Good Hope and Coral Harbour who could

provide civilian policing and who would be available to assist the local RCMP." In

addition, this program was hoped to improve relations with Northern Indigenous

communities and "provide more career opportunities for Aboriginals within the police

force" (Cummins & Steckley, 2003, p. 152). The Aboriginal Pre-Cadet Program would

be established in the same year as the CC pilot program. This program would allow First

Nation, Métis, and Inuit applicants to spend three weeks at Depot in Regina to gain a

better understanding of what it is like to be an RCMP officer.

In 2006, the RCMP established the Aboriginal Constable Program. This program

is similar to the 1994 pilot Inuit program but emphasized recruiting First Nations and

Métis individuals to become frontline RCMP members. This program was rebranded

after the final troop of seven Aboriginal Community Constables graduated from Depot in

2011 and were converted to Community Constables (CC) in 2012 as part of the CC pilot program. The CC pilot program was established to provide Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities across Canada with an "armed, uniformed peace officer, at the rank of Special Constable Member, with local knowledge of the community they serve, including its language, culture and geography. CCs are to place an emphasis on crime prevention through community engagement" (RCMP, 2018, "Executive Summary," para. 2). In addition, if required, CCs also provide regular frontline RCMP officers with investigation or tactical support in certain situations. Successful CC candidates chosen from the application pool were sent to "a 21-week cadet Training Program at Depot, [where] they receive the same training as Regular Member (RM) cadets, with the exception of three weeks of advanced investigative techniques which only RMs receive. Following Depot, CCs [return] to the community were recruited from, where they remain for the duration of their career" (RCMP, 2018, "Program description," para. 4). The complete CC pilot program began in 2011 with varying amounts of CCs at the following RCMP Divisions across the country: D (Manitoba/ 7 CCs), F (Saskatchewan/ 6 CCs), K (Alberta/ 1 CCs), G (N.W.T./ 2 CCs), and V (Nunavut).[51] The program expanded to the E (British Columbia/ 4 CCs) Division in 2016. An evaluation of the Pilot CC program was completed in 2018 by the RCMP's National Program Evaluation Services, specifically the Community Constable Program Evaluation study, which examined the 20 CCs listed above from April 2017 to March 2018.

The evaluation found that "the RCMP was of the opinion the community's trust had increased and that the community felt more supported" (RCMP, 2018, "Community

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[51] RCMP V (Nunavut) Division was not included in the pilot program evaluation results.

Engagement – RCMP's Perspective," para. 1). CCs were found to have improved the accessibility and view of the RCMP to community members, and improved communication with community members via the CCs. Furthermore, the evaluation also found that most CCs had spent most of their working time dealing with activities related to enforcement duties of laws dealing with liquor, disturbances, and traffic. CCs were also found to have a positive effect on crime prevention, but at a significantly smaller ratio compared to enforcement duties. For all 20 CCs participating in this evaluation, the total number of enforcement occurrences was 7,514, compared to only 1,103 prevention occurrences. CCs participated in three main methods of crime prevention: Meetings/consultations/events or other community activities, as well as presentations/program delivery. Issues that were present with the CC pilot program were that CCs spent most of their time on enforcement duties than had originally been planned for the program, not enough human resources support in certain detachments, issues with clearly communicating the CC pilot program mandate, role & responsibilities to CCs, and oversight monitoring of the pilot program was suspect at times as well. It was recommended that tracking and reporting performance of information for the program be implemented to improve decision-making for the program, make the CC mandate of the program more straightforward for CCs, and communicate governance structure, along with the role of CCs more clearly to clear up confusion for community members or CCs and prevent the over enforcement duties by CCs in the future. The CC program will be expanded further across the Far North to the Yukon.

First Nation and Inuit Policing Program

Around the same time in the 1990s that the NSCP was ending, the federal government established the First Nation Policing Program (FNPP) (now known as the

First Nation and Inuit Policing Program) and the Tripartite Agreement system to bolster

self-administered First Nation policing services in 1992 (Clairmont, 2009). The FNIPP

was established by the Federal Government of Canada via Public Safety Canada as the

First Nation Policing Program (FNPP) in 1991 with the passage of the First Nation

Policing Policy. Bronskill (2019) explained how the FNIPP was set up to work with the

RCMP or Provincial police services by "help[ing] communities [to] either administer

their own culturally attuned police services or help them work with forces such as the

RCMP or provincial police to design and run police services keyed to their particular

needs" (p. 3). In addition, the formula for how the FNIPP funds one of the three potential

models allowed under the program of community tripartite agreements, self-administered

agreements, or a framework agreement is as follows, "The federal government funds 52%

of the policing activity provided under the FN[I]PP, with the provincial or territorial

government funding the rest [48%]."[52] [53] In the Yukon, as of 2018, around 75% of

Indigenous communities were policed under either a community tripartite agreement or

an RCMP First Nations Community Policing Services agreement (Murray et al., 2019).

In 2019, the Council of Canadian Academies published findings from a report

commissioned by Public Safety Canada to assess the role of police services in First

Nations and Inuit communities to identify promising approaches. The report found that

the FNIPP was "a source of frustration for many Indigenous communities, partly due to

inadequate resources and support. Almost one-third of eligible First Nations and Inuit

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[52] Self-administered agreement as defined by Murray et al. (2019) as being "governed by local police governance boards or commissions, which Indigenous communities with a direct role in police governance and facilitate their ability to communicate community concerns and needs" (p. 88).
[53] A Framework agreement as defined by Murray et al. (2019) as "negotiate[d] between federal and provincial/territorial governments for the use of the RCMP in Indigenous policing services" (p. 88).

communities do not have program agreements, instead relying entirely on whatever the Mounties or provincial police [were] able to provide" (Bronskill, 2019, para. 3 & 7). One of the areas of frustration detailed in the report was regarding Community Consultative Groups (CCGs). A CCG is a mechanism under a CTA for communication between the community & RCMP CTA policing expectations and goals, including overseeing/upholding a Letter of Expectation (LOE). An LOE means that "First Nation signatories and their local RCMP detachment are meant to formalize both parties' expectations, desired working relationships, and community policing priorities."

Furthermore, "LOEs give partnered First Nations greater input and oversight on how their communities are served and policed by the RCMP" (Yukon Dept. of Justice, Spring 2023, p. 123). Most LOEs are formulated via communication between the RCMP, and a CCG established by a First Nation or Inuit community. However, not all First Nation or Inuit communities that have entered or are covered by a CTA establish CCGs. Frustration with CCGs was detailed in a First Nations Community Policing Services survey, coupled with regional focus groups held in BC with several First Nation communities. These groups highlighted a "lack of awareness that [CCGs] were required, confusion regarding how they were to be created, and uncertainty about their intended purpose." Other frustrations touched on how those community members who volunteered for the CCGs "reported receiving no training on issues" detailed above regarding CCGs. In addition, many communities reported "difficulty in establishing interest in participating in CCGs [, which was] especially so in small communities where the same individuals volunteered on multiple committees and were stretched beyond their capacity" (Watt, 2008, as cited in Murray et al., 2019, p. 90). This would sometimes

result in a lack of attendance by community members at CCG meetings, or, in certain circumstances, no attendance by the community at all.

More recently, the Auditor General of Canada produced a report in 2024 that detailed several significant drawbacks and concerns with the current state of the FNIPP.[54] The report found that when an Indigenous community entered a CTA agreement, "the RCMP did not work in partnership with Indigenous communities to deliver dedicated and tailored policing services that supplemented those provided under agreements with their respective province or territory" (p. iii). The report's main findings were divided into two broad categories: 1) Public Safety Canada Poorly Managed the Program & 2) the RCMP did not consistently deliver on its responsibilities under the program. The two broad categories were then divided into smaller, more specific sub-categories relating to the FNIPP. The first broad category that focused on how Public Safety Canada Poorly Managed the Program was split into the following five more specific sub-categories' that included: 1) Poor financial management oversight, 2) Limited expansion of the program despite additional funding, 3) Lack of approach to support equitable funding decisions, 4) Lack of consistent engagement and partnership with communities & 5) Lack of information to measure the program's effectiveness. The second broad category that focused on how the RCMP did not consistently deliver on its responsibilities under the program was divided into four more specific sub-categories' that included: 1) Insufficient number of RCMP officers dedicated to communities, 2) No requirement for culturally specific training to understand the culture of the community to be served, 3) Inconsistent

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[54] As of 2021 according to the 2024 Auditor General of Canada on the FNIPP covers "680 First Nations and Inuit communities in Canada[,] 36 self-administered police service agreements, which covered 155 communities, and 140 community tripartite agreements, which covered 230 communities" (p. iv).

implementation and monitoring of whether policing services promote partnerships with communities & 4) No information on program effectiveness.

Expanding off a few of the primary key findings highlighted above from the report, one of the overarching issues detailed above focused on staffing, community engagement, and the appropriate allocation of funds when it came to staffing on the part of the RCMP for CTA agreements "[i]n 2022-.23, 61 funded positions in community tripartite agreements remained vacant" (p. iv). Moreover, the report noted that even with increased funding for more officers for CTA agreements across a period of the past three years, "the RCMP had not been able to fill these additional positions, leading to a greater difference between the number of officer positions funded and the number filled" (p. 15). When it came to community engagement, the report found "a lack of consistent engagement and partnership with communities that were funded under the [FNIPP]" (p. 10). Community engagement was also raised during funding negotiations, as several First Nation and Inuit communities voiced a similar viewpoint during the audit: "engagement with Public Safety Canada did not reflect true negotiations" (p. 11). Funding was also a serious concern raised in multiple areas of the report regarding the allocation, use, and oversight of funds earmarked for either CTA or SA agreements. First, when allocating funds to First Nations and Inuit communities via Public Safety Canada, the report identified glaring deficiencies in how funding is allocated.

> Public Safety Canada did not have an approach to allocate funds equitably to communities. The department told us that it relied on the provinces' or territories' readiness to fund their share of the program and on the past funding received by communities to determine the amounts allocated. We also found a lack of consistent engagement and partnership with communities by the department (p. iii).

The use of funds was also a concern, as $ 13 million of funding was never spent in 2022-23. In 2023, the report highlighted how this trend may continue regarding unspent funds: "Public Safety Canada was at risk of not disbursing over $45 million of funds for the 2023–24 fiscal year" (p. iii). Moreover, the Federal Government had a significant media push in 2021 to highlight a renewed commitment to the FNIPP via a substantial increase in funding for First Nation and Inuit communities that was "more than $500 million [to] stabilize and expand the program." The result of the increase in funding, as per the report, found that only a "limited expansion [of the program] was achieved" (p. iv).[55] It should also be noted that during the audit, the Department of Public Safety Canada "had no application process for First Nations and Inuit communities that wanted to join the program or for existing program recipients to apply for additional funding" (p. 9). The issues detailed in the report that focused on funding are of utmost concern due to several human rights complaints (HRC) that have been filed with the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) over numerous issues relating to funding for SA agreements, CTAs, and the overall manner by which funding is allocated via a grant funding type structure.

An example of the frustrations highlighted in the 2024 Auditor General of Canada report relating to the FNIPP funding can be seen in a 2023 HRC filed by nine Ontario First Nations police chiefs with the CHRT. The HRC was filed due to "chronic underfunding and under resourcing of the safety of Indigenous communities" (Freeze, 2023a, para. 3). The HRC complaint details how pledges by former Prime Minister Trudeau and his cabinet failed to establish the FNIPP as an essential service leading to

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[55] Expansion of the FNIPP in the Far North was especially limited due to "[n]o community tripartite agreements have yet been signed" in Nunavut or the Northwest Territories after the FNIPP had been expanded via a framework agreement to Nunavut in 2023 coupled with an increase in funding provided to the N.W.T. (p. 9).

improved funding and "the same standard of policing available to non-Indigenous communities" (para. 17). The HRC went onto describe how the federal government has approached past negotiations with First Nation police services in a discriminatory manner in that "negotiation tactics [had been] aimed at forcing First Nations to sign unfair, discriminatory funding agreements" (para. 5). The HRC was also supported by "22 First Nation police forces in Quebec" (para. 2).

The current environment surrounding the FNIPP regarding funding has led to significant frustration and anger for many First Nation police forces across Ontario for several years, due to their reliance on inconsistent discretionary funding that the federal government does not fully guarantee. The nine Ontario First Nation police chiefs also "argue[d] [that] the program's short-term deal-making process also means that Indigenous police forces may find themselves without any money at all if bargaining for a new deal breaks down" (para. 11). Police Chief Kai Liu of the Treaty Three Police Service located across a large region of north-western Ontario on the border with Manitoba that provides police services to over 25,000 citizens of the Anishinaabe Nation across 28 First Nation communities stated that "[w]e have a federal government with this First Nations and Inuit Policing Program that essentially allows the contract to expire without any mechanisms to continue the funding – that's unconscionable" (para. 12). In addition to the frustrations described above the NIMMIWGs Final Report's MMIWGs Calls for Justice that was released in 2019 went a step further when it came to the FNIPP referred to in the report as the FNPP and called for the entire program to be replaced. The 2019 NIMMIWG final report's Calls for Justice section 5 focused on calls for action

related to policing and the justice system. Call for Justice number 5.4 referred to the

FNPP needing to be replaced as detailed below:

> [T]he federal government's First Nations Policing Program must be replaced with
> a new legislative and funding framework, consistent with international and
> domestic policing best practices and standards, that must be developed by the
> federal, provincial, and territorial governments in partnership with Indigenous
> Peoples (NIMMIWG, [Calls for Justice], 2019c, p. 12).

Additional RCMP Programs Focused on Improving Indigenous Policing
Along with the FNIPP and the four RCMP Indigenization programs highlighted

above, the RCMP has also implemented several programs to improve the administration

of policing services for Indigenous peoples in Canada, overseen by Indigenous Relations

Services (RIRS). The additional programs include the Commissioner's National

Indigenous Advisory Committee, Indigenous and Inuit perceptions training, and annual

performance plans that address negative community issues as reported by Indigenous,

Inuit, or Métis community members (RCMP, 2019a). The RCMP also established the

Métis Community Liaisons in 2008, and this model of RCMP liaison officers was

replicated in several Northern Indigenous communities. Furthermore, community justice

committees have also been established in the N.W.T., Nunavut, and the Yukon. The

community justice committees work with Northern Indigenous communities, the RCMP,

and other Territorial Justice officials.

The RCMP has also begun to re-examine the required training that all RCMP

recruits receive at Depot in Regina. As of 2017, the KAIROS blanket exercise is now a

required element of the recruit training "module on missing persons" (RCMP, 2017, para.

7). The KAIROS blanket exercise is in addition to the required 17 hours of Indigenous

cultural awareness training that all RCMP recruits receive at Depot in Regina (Sebert,

2019). More recently, in May 2021, the RCMP began evaluating the required pre-

screening exams that all potential RCMP cadets must take, along with submitting their

complete application to be considered as an RCMP cadet applicant. Former RCMP

Commissioner Brenda Lucki highlighted how the current required pre-screening exams

"may create barriers to a diverse applicant pool." Former Commissioner Lucki went on to

state that the current required entrance exam utilizes "[o]utdated criteria, [which] lack[s]

strong supporting evidence, [which] may result in high-potential candidates being unable,

or unwilling, to apply." (Tunney, 2021a, para. 4). The examination of the RCMP's

required pre-screening exams is a part of the RCMP's Vision 150, which is a moderation

effort of the entire organization. Former RCMP Commissioner Lucki had also mentioned

that when it comes to modernizing the RCMP, she, along with other top officials at the

RCMP at the time, was "looking at those [types of] systems and those processes, those

policies and procedures that will eliminate systemic racism" (Tunney, 2021a, para. 6).

The RCMP also updated the organization's statement of core values in June of 2022, the

first update since 1997. The primary focus of the update added "references [into the

statement of core values to] 'reconciliation', 'diversity', 'honour' and 'empathy"

(Tunney, 2022, para. 1). The ethics officer for the RCMP, Alex Laporte who oversaw the

updating of the statement of core values stated that "the [updated] document is meant to

act as [a] foundation for the entire organization and could influence RCMP policies –

even recruitment" (para. 2). Laporte went on to state that

> [w]e value and promote reconciliation, diversity and inclusion by being
> considerate of the democratic rights, history and lived experiences of others [and
> the] embracing [of these] values means recognizing the RCMP's role in that
> history — especially when it comes to Indigenous people" (Tunney, 2022, para
> 10-11).

Additional Indigenous -focused programs offered by the RCMP include those overseen by the RCMP Aboriginal Policing Services, such as the First Nation and Inuit Perceptions training and the Native Spirituality Online Guide. In addition to re-examining the required training offered at the Depot, the RCMP in Manitoba established the Eagle Feather Initiative in 2019. The initiative is centred around the distribution of "eagle feathers [to] all [RCMP] detachments throughout the province [to] provide victims, witnesses, suspects, and police officers the option to swear legal oaths on an eagle feather" (RCMP, 2019b, para. 1). Each of the northern territories RCMP divisions has also been re-examining required training practices that they offer. In 2011, RCMP Yukon began requiring a supplemental training course for all new RCMP officers posted to the Yukon. The latest training courses are required for new RCMP officers posted to the Yukon, and the training, titled "Yukon First Nations Information Session," is offered at Yukon College via the Northern Institute of Social Justice in Whitehorse. The RCMP in Nunavut has also planned "[a] new two-week cultural training course [that] will begin in the fall [of 2020] for new members" (CBC News North, 2020, para 10). In the N.W.T., recruits to G division are required to attend "six hours of Indigenous awareness training" (Sebert, 2019, para. 8). The RCMP in Inuvik also established an initiative in 2017 known as "the Mini Mountie program, which [brings] officers into the local schools" (Panza-Beltrandi, 2018, para. 1).

Moreover, RCMP Nunavut Chief Superintendent Jones had also floated the idea that all the northern RCMP divisions in the territories, including M (Yukon), G (N.W.T), and V (Nunavut) divisions were in talks focused on "creating a community constable [program in the Far North]– type of auxiliary officer, [who would be] drawn from the

local community" (CBC News North, 2020b, para 12). In addition, as of 2023, the Yukon

Government signed "11 CTAs with Yukon First Nations, which fund 17 RCMP officers

throughout the territory" (Yukon Dept. of Justice, Spring 2023, p. 123).[56] Notably, eight

First Nations in the Yukon out of the 11 CTAs have signed LOEs. The most recent data

available for the N.W.T. and Nunavut from 2016 stated that there was one CTA

"agreement in the Northwest Territories, covering 10 communities. No Nunavut

communities [had] agreements in place or coverage under the FN[I]PP" (Cholette, 2016,

p. 2). All the FNIPP agreements in the Far North that have been signed are community

tripartite agreements (CTAs), as opposed to the other option under FNPP, which is a self-

administered (SA) police agreement. Although "communities [in Nunavut] have separate

agreements in place with the RCMP." Moreover, Inuit communities within other regions

of Canada are covered by FNIPP agreements that include "[f]ive agreements [which]

cover 18 Inuit communities in Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador, and two

additional Inuit communities have an FN[I]PP agreement in the Northwest Territories"

(Murray et al., 2019, p. 87). However, as of 2022, "[t]he Government of Nunavut and the

federal government [had] signed an agreement in principle to bring the First Nations and

Inuit policing program to Nunavut" (Tranter, 2022, para. 2).

The Yukon RCMP has also been active in Northern Indigenous restorative justice

agreements, such as the Pre-& Post-Charge Diversion protocol, which involves the Teslin

Tlingit Council, Justice Canada, the Yukon Government, and the RCMP M Division.

RCMP across the Far North have been active in "[m]any other First Nation communities

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[56]As of 2023 the Yukon Dept. of Justice (Spring 2023) stated that only "[t]hree First Nations [in the Yukon] do not currently have CTAs: Teslin Tlingit Council, Kluane First Nation and Ta'an Kwäch'än Council" (p. 123).

in Yukon, and the N.W.T., as well as communities in Nunavut, have similar agreements with the RCMP and their territorial governments" (Scott Clark Consulting Inc., 2007, p. 17). It should also be noted that another possible avenue provides Indigenous peoples, along with all other Canadian citizens, an opportunity to volunteer for the RCMP via the RCMP Auxiliary program. As of 2023, only one of the three northern territories had an auxiliary program, specifically the N.W.T.

The NSCP, CC, and FNIPP, along with the Aboriginal Pre-Cadet program, along with the additional new training requirements discussed above, and new programs like the eagle feather initiative, updated statement of core values, and the inclusion of the KAIROS blanket exercise during training are all positive steps in the right direction for the RCMP in regards to beginning to address some of the issues highlighted above. Still, specific problems have continued that draw connections to the historical relationship between the RCMP and Northern Indigenous communities discussed earlier in this dissertation. Monchalin (2016) summed up the issues with many of the programs discussed above when it comes to the Far North as "attempts to 'Indigenize' or 'Indianize' the white policing system from an outsider-driven perspective. In other words, through these programs, Indigenous peoples are slotted into various roles in the criminal justice system, which makes room for them in the system without actually changing it" (p. 266). This results in Indigenization programs or policies "assimilate[ing] [I]ndigenous people into the imposed social control apparatus rather than autonomizing the social control apparatus for the benefit of [I]ndigenous people" (Havemann, 1988, p. 74). Havemann (1988) went on to state that "Indigenized police, by definition, must

always serve within the imposed system of social control backed by the sovereign power of the state and enforce the criminal law of the state" (p. 74).

In addition, the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) also made reference to the impacts of Indigenizing the police in that Indigenizing "initiatives might promote awareness of Aboriginal issues and allow for greater Aboriginal input, but do not significantly change the structure of the police forces [and] [n]or do these kinds of initiatives necessarily change racist attitudes or actions" (Samuelson & Strelioff, 2001, p. 388). Furthermore, Griffiths (1996) highlighted how Indigenizing the imposed system of social control, also known as the criminal justice system, creates further issues for Indigenous peoples in that "[I]ndigenizing the system by hiring more [Indigenous] police officers, probation officers, and correctional workers, will not be sufficient to address the needs of [Indigenous] peoples in conflict with the law" (p. 199). The RCAP final report also made note that "[t]he real danger of an exclusively [I]ndigenized approach is that the problems may appear to be 'solved,' little more will be attempted, partly because [I]ndigenization is a very visible activity" (Samuelson & Strelioff, 2001, p. 389).

The goal of many of the RCMP Indigenization programs or initiatives was generally a positive idea in terms of more inclusion and representation of Indigenous peoples on the frontlines of policing, but how many of those programs went about achieving that goal brought into view the notion of potential tokenism, funding issues and unequal treatment.[57] What many of these programs are doing is "impos[ing] an unjust

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[57] Tokenism was defined by Niemann (2016) as a "skewed group structure is the foundation that affects interactions and perceptual phenomena associated with the non-dominants, or tokens, in the context. These perceptions relate broadly to three overarching phenomena. The first is visibility and awareness, [the] second is polarization- dominants are more aware of commonalities with and differences from the token, [and] third is assimilation- tokens' attributes are distorted to fit preexisting generalizations about their social types" (p. 452).

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obligation on Indigenous peoples to adapt to approaches to justice that may not

necessary fit their sociocultural models and existing infrastructure" (Monchalin, 2016, p.

266). Havemann (1988) expanded on the impact of the imposed obligation on an

Indigenous person by stating that "[t]he [I]ndigenous person employed in the imposed

system of social control must manage a number of major contradictions impinging upon

his/her identity and political loyalty" (p. 87). The contradictions impacting an Indigenous

individual "will create serious conflicts of loyalty and personal identity and undermine

existing non-state forms of social control such as traditional informal justice"

(Havemann, 1988, p. 91). Moreover, "Indigenization serves as a cheap substitute for

some measure of autonomy, self-government or, indeed, sovereignty" (Havemann, 1988,

p. 74).

The following section will examine police culture regarding the RCMP's

relationship with Indigenous Nations and peoples. Several additional factors will be

discussed as elements that, at times, have supported or provided space within policing

institutions, such as the RCMP, for the abuses described earlier in this document to occur,

particularly in incidents involving police abuse of power. Possible reasons as to why

police abuse occurs at times will also be discussed, including the 'Us vs. Them'

mentality, Systemic Racism, and the Reproduction of Order. The final portion of this

section will examine institutional transformation as a possible evolution of police in

Canada for resetting their relationship with Indigenous nations and peoples.

Police Culture, Power, Systemic Racism & Institutional Transformation

Manning (1989) defined police culture as "accepted practices, rules, and

principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and

beliefs" (p. 360). The culture within a police organization can be a very guarded and

sacred bond among officers, due to the nature of the work that police do. They need to know they can count on a partner or any other officer in that organization to have their back in a crisis that could mean life or death. Skolnick (1975) expanded on the idea that crises have a significant influence on the shaping of police culture in that "social situation[s] tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves" (p. 42). The environment in which police work can, at times, foster a distinct perspective on the world and those who break the law. Furthermore, police pass on knowledge to the next generation through stories that inform officers to a certain extent about crises in which they may find themselves. Shearing and Ericson (1991) further highlighted that police stories can be "[l]ike biblical parables and legends police stories provide directions for being a police officer, guidance as to how officers should experience the world if they are to act as police officers within it" (p. 485).

Over time, the culture of policing organizations can become rigid and be based on a hierarchical view of the world that, for some police organizations, may be informed by racial hierarchical views. In Canada, racial hierarchies and settler colonialism are two issues that are to be considered regarding how the replication of order by police is occurring.[58] During interactions with Indigenous peoples, the first large-scale police service, the NWMP, was first utilized to carry out colonial governmental policies that were based on a racial hierarchical worldview. Crosby and Monaghan (2018) expanded on racial hierarchies when it comes to policing in Canada by stating that "[p]olicing is modelled on racial hierarchies, yet [they] suggest that a foundation for the racial hierarchies in Canada is shaped by settler colonialism" (p. 193). Racial hierarchical views

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[58] Racial hierarchies are a view of a society that places racial groups into a hierarchical order that perceives certain   racial groups as superior or inferior to others based on negative stereotypes and racism.

by police in Canada have influenced the administration of policing at specific points that evolved into racialized policing, which was evident in the Starlight Tours discussed earlier in this proposal.[59] Comack (2012) described how "in the broader context of racialized policing, Starlight Tours may well have become normalized as a strategy that police use to reproduce order when dealing with troubled or troublesome people" (p. 25). Racial hierarchical views by police in Canada were also seen in practice via racialized policing in Nunavut when it came to police responses to gendered violence. Paktuutit Inuit Women of Canada & Comack (2020) highlighted the issue of racialized policing in a report on gendered violence that found "[f]or some Nunavut participants, police treatment of Inuit is racialized. In their view, police officers' encounters with Inuit are based on racialized assumptions and a legacy of tensions stemming from the colonial history of police-Inuit relations" (p. 6).

A manifestation of the sacredness of police culture is known as the blue wall, which is an idea that centres around the need to defend the police department and support other officers who are challenged or accused of wrongdoing. This type of culture within a police organization works to protect the image and culture of the police. The public's perception of an officer's conduct in a high-pressure situation or why an individual was arrested in a minority neighbourhood may be seen as an attack. Stroud (1983), in his text *The Blue Wall,* described the strength of the blue wall effect on a partner relationship as "[a] man could cheat on his wife, his children, his parents, and himself, but the loyalty to the police partner was perhaps the strongest social bond I've ever seen" (p. 231). Stroud

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[59] Racialized policing is a form of policing that is based in viewing and treating minority individuals, including Indigenous peoples through a lens of "racist serotypes or racialized practices" that constructs "racialized frames that police use to interpret situations" (Comack, 2009, pp. 1-2).

(1983) went on to state that for police officers, one of the most important certainties in the culture of police is to always "stand by your partner" (p. 231). The culture of a police department can also drive the reproduction of order, which is how police put crises, as referred to above, into an order that makes sense to them and adheres to the values of the police organization's culture. How police restore order to a crisis through the administration of justice via arrests, investigations, or writing tickets makes police "essentially a vehicle for the reproduction of order" (Ericson, 1982, p. 7). Ericson (1982) went on to state that "it is not the mandate of the police to produce a 'new' order. [Instead the police produce] their sense of order and the order they seek to reproduce [is] that of the status quo" (p. 7). The reproduction of order by police can also include spaces within a city or region since "[o]ver time. Certain spaces come to be identified as places in which crime and violence are most likely to occur" (Comack, 2012, p. 64).

The reproduction of order by police can also be viewed from a colonial lens in Canada in that "the NWMP served both as the practitioners for the imposition of a new political order and the destruction of Indigenous political orders were seen to be an impediment to progress" (Bell & Schreiner, 2018, p. 118). Bell & Schreiner (2018) also highlighted how "the Mounties were tasked with the construction of a new society and unseating the old." The construction of a new society was carried out through a reproduction of order by the NWMP via "a variety of tasks, such as administering rations to reserves, delivering mail, working as land agents, health officers, and reporting crop yields" (p. 119). Moreover, the NWMP had a "principled commitment to order above all else, "meaning allowances for Indigenous sovereignty and northern autonomy became virtually unthinkable (p. 124). The reproduction of order by the Mounties continues to

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this day across Canada as "the RCMP [has] remained [a] part of the ordering of society along market lines, starting with access to land and resources" pertaining to Indigenous protests. Furthermore, the actions of the modern-day RCMP can be "tied to the larger civilizing mission [of the RCMP], which views non-conforming ways of life as requiring civilization" (p. 120). The civilizing mission of the present-day RCMP is constant and ongoing via actions of officers to the symbolism of the red serge dress uniform as "[s]ettler colonialism is ongoing and requires reproduction" (Wolfe, 1999, p. 2).

The replication of the order discussed above pertaining to the RCMP perpetuating settler colonialism across Canada occurs due to many different factors, including the culture of the RCMP as an institution regarding self-reflection, oversight, and unique cultural values such as the 'Blue Wall' effect that provides further space for the replication of order to occur. In addition to these different factors, the unique powers bestowed on police within Canada further heighten the risk of the replication of order. Police are bestowed with the unique power to make an arrest or detain a citizen as per legal statutes, but to complete day-to-day tasks, police are bestowed with three types of power that include: (1) Physical, (2) Expert, & (3) Legitimate. Physical power is in relation to the equipment, training, and force that officers are bestowed under the law to enforce the law within certain situations when dealing with unruly or aggressive citizens that put the life of citizens or the officer at risk, bringing into consideration the possible of the use of deadly force, a taser, pepper spray, physical force, and placing one into handcuffs. Legitimate power is about the power that "makes a police officer unique is conferred upon him [or her] by the social and cultural acceptance of the citizens he [or she] is assigned to protect." The legitimate form of power "allows the police officer to

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undertake certain activities which society would not tolerate if undertaken by non-police individuals" (Elliot & States, March 1980). Police officers use legitimate power to enforce the law, including using physical power when investigating a crime to implement a search warrant or to locate a criminal with a warrant out for arrest. The final unique type of power that police are bestowed with is expert power, which refers to the specialized "skills acquired through training, education, and experience" that police officers gain through[out] their careers (Elliot & States, March 1980).

Police Power. It must be noted that expert power is unique to each specific police officer, and their views and lived experiences may influence how they engage with training and education within their careers as police officers. Furthermore, police departments will also differ in the types of training, career experiences, specialized units, and equipment available to their officers, which will also vary. Different types of expert power are bestowed upon officers from various police departments across Canada. This will also vary regarding how a police department approaches training and educational classes, as well as its view or approach to certain citizens within its community or region, which may also factor into how expert power is constructed from one police department to another.

Police are bestowed with unique powers, as examined in the previous passage. Still, the bridge that any of the powers or actions discussed above must cross to perpetuate a replication of order that propels settler colonialism forward is the concept known as discretion that each police officer utilizes to varying degrees within their day-to-day work. Essentially, discretion, as it pertains to a police officer, is about the ability to choose to enforce a specific law or where/how to patrol a particular neighbourhood to

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choosing to chase a fleeing subject in a vehicle to deciding to make an arrest or use physical force or even use deadly force is all based on how one comes to determine their judgement within the confines of their official work as a police officer. Moreover, "[d]iscretion of police officers is not limited to just enforcement of the law; it is a powerful force in the other police roles of public service and order maintenance" (Reed, November 1980).

Walter Benjamin, a German theorist and philosopher of culture, state power and violence, in his 1921 piece titled '*Critique of Violence*' discussed the administration of state power and violence with the idea of police discretion when he mentioned that "[t]he police are the face of [the] state, both in its law-making violence and law-preserving violence" (McBride, 2022, p. 1). Benjamin defined law-making violence as "paradigmatically military violence, a predatory violence which not only is destructive but also constructive, for it establishes the state" (p. 10). Benjamin defined law-preserving violence as "nothing other than 'threatening violence'" (Benjamin 285, p. 11). The ramifications of both types of violence have been highlighted throughout this piece as it relates to the RCMP upholding colonial laws. Michel Foucault, a foremost French theorist and philosopher of society, culture, and justice, including state power and violence, put forth several theories and reasons about why and how police are bestowed with power by the state, along with the discretion and ramifications of police power. Police are granted unique powers, as highlighted above, to administer justice and uphold law & order. However, to fully understand why police are granted these powers in Canada, Foucault points to the state's need to normalize sovereignty, exercise domination over citizens, and subjugate them. Normalizing the network of state sovereignty rooted in

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worldviews of whiteness, as was the case in early Canada, informed the acts of the network of policing and police power since "[p]olicing is an essential state vehicle through which conquest becomes inscribed on the ground" (Nichols, 2014, p. 446). The NWMP, as a policing institution in Canada, is an example of a policing institution utilized as a vehicle for conquest, as the NWMP carried out colonization policies, as detailed earlier in this chapter. The actions of the NWMP minimized Indigenous nations' governance structures rooted in that land since "settler state policies aimed at explicitly undercutting Indigenous political economies and relations to and with land" (Couthard, 2014, p. 4). The administration of state sovereignty in Canada to this day is rooted in colonialism and informed by early laws that minimized individuals of colour, that to differing degrees, educate the power of policing as articulated by Foucault, which can still be seen in the present-day actions of the institution of the RCMP with Indigenous nations and peoples.

To further expand on Foucault's discussions of the power of the police and why police are granted such unique powers rooted in state sovereignty, the lens must now be turned towards the RCMP in answering the how and the possible ramifications of police power that is rooted in ideas of the state to normalize sovereignty, exercise domination over citizens, and to subjugate. A separate theory that Foucault put forth about the punishment of criminals, known as panopticism, which relates to a proposed prison that was thought of by 18th-century English philosopher and theorist Jeremy Bentham, which was known as the Panopticon. The panopticon was a prison that maintained constant surveillance over its inmates. A large tower in the centre of the prison kept watch over hundreds of cells always situated circularly for surveillance. The Panopticon was named

after the Greek word *panoptic*, which translates into all-seeing in English. Bentham

believed "power should be visible and unverifiable" (Foucault, 2012, p. 201). Foucault's

theory of panopticism focused on constant visible surveillance of inmates that "assure[d]

the automatic functioning of power." Foucault stated that the "architectural apparatus

should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the

person who exercises it" (p. 201). In addition, the idea of power is intimately connected

with the key ideals of panopticism in that it "must be understood as a generalizable model

of functioning; a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men"

(p. 205).

When applying Foucault's theory of panopticism in conjunction with Bentham's

underlying views of power that informed the design of the panopticon prison and

extending this to the present-day institutions of the RCMP and Indigenous nations,

communities, and peoples, the similarities become clear. The overall apparatus known as

the present-day institution of the RCMP was created in a colonial policing model and to

this day, as per the previous sections of this paper, have exercised their power to sustain

power and control over Indigenous nations, communities, and peoples in Canada that

relies on the RCMP to be all-seeing and knowing of Indigenous nations and peoples. This

is evident in how the early NWMPs "were deployed on the Canadian frontier to facilitate

Indigenous peoples' subjection to colonial law" (Dhillon, 2015, p. 8). Subjecting

Indigenous peoples to colonial law was crucial to "ensure the negation of Indigenous

sovereignty and to implement effective policies of containment and surveillance"

(Nettelbeck & Smandych, 2010). To accomplish this goal, the early NWMP would be

provided extensive "power to arrest, prosecute, judge, and sentence offenders, making

any notion of the legal protection of Indigenous peoples under the British Crown a complete illusion" (Graybill, 2007). Moreover, NWMP posts were then built across Indigenous Nations' lands and utilized to collect information on Indigenous Nations and peoples to the modern-day RCMP officers who choose to use their power in a number of ways that demonstrate control and power over Indigenous Nations, communities, and peoples especially Indigenous women and girls as discussed in the previous section to the use of surveillance of Indigenous Nations, communities, and peoples via specialized programs such as Project SITKA that monitored Idol No More supporters, along with water and land defenders from 2012 until 2015 to "the Community-Industry Response Group (C-IRG), a special unit that polices protests against resource extraction in British Columbia" that responded to Wet'suwet'en citizens and land defenders in 2019 (Forester, 2023, para. 1). The visibility of the RCMP today presents a look of power and domination that are embodied by the red surge dress uniform that harken back to the early days of the NWMP. Furthermore, the examples highlighted above demonstrate how "[t]he RCMP act as agents of colonialism not only in their original missions but continue into the 20th century in aiding the colonialist project" (Lajtman, 2020, p. 1).

The application of the unique powers police that are bestowed to officers in consort with the application of a police officer's discretion coupled with the possible presence of the Blue Wall culture of a police department in the context of why, how, and possible ramifications of power at times can elevate the potential for an 'Us vs. Them' syndrome to formulate within a police department elevating the possibility for abuse of power incidents to occur, such as those incidents examined up to this point regarding the RCMP. The 'Us vs. Them' syndrome refers to a mindset of certain police officers that

"believe [that they] are a special group of people because [they] have been selected among hundreds if not thousands of other applicants." This type of feeling and belief in oneself can be heightened when officers see citizens at their worst potentially leading to "feeling[s] of elitism enforces [an] attitude that [they] are better than most others and slowly [officers] begin to operate from the rest of society" (Gugliotti, 2016, para. 2). Gugliotti (2016) further elaborated on how the 'Us vs. Them' syndrome can begin when officers are recruits by that "when recruits are assembled together in a para-military style of organization to begin their academy training, where from the onset the attitude is one of elitism" (para. 2).

The presence of the 'Us vs. Them' syndrome can also be an indicator of deeper problems present within a police department regarding systemic racism, resulting in individuals of colour coming into contact with the police at a higher rate than other citizens, especially for Indigenous women and girls.[60] As was examined earlier within this chapter, systemic racism has been demonstrated to be a factor or a possible factor within police services in Canada, such as in Thunder Bay and Saskatoon, along with certain members of the present-day RCMP pertaining to surveillance, MMIWGs, and how certain RCMP officers have chosen to utilize their power to negatively impact Indigenous Nations, communities or peoples that are influenced by ideas or views rooted in systemic racism. As examined within the previous sections of this document, the colonial roots of the NWMP focused on containing and controlling Indigenous nations

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[60] Systemic Racism as defined by the University of British Columbia (2021) "is also known as institutional racism, refers to the ways that whiteness and white superiority become embedded in the policies and processes of an institution, resulting in a system that advantages white people and disadvantages BIPOC [black, Indigenous, and other people of colour]/IBPOC [Indigenous Peoples, Black Peoples, and Peoples of Colour] notably in employment, education, justice, and social participation.

that were influenced by systemic racism. Furthermore, the origins of policing in metropolitan areas of early Canada (e.g., Montreal, Halifax, Toronto) were also influenced by early policing institutions in England (e.g., the Metropolitan and Constabulary Police), France, and the Peelian Principles and Watchmen systems. The early metropolitan police in Canada were also influenced by the formation of "slave patrols in the southern regions of the United States that were formulated in "the 1700s and 1800s that caught and returned runaway slaves" (Kaba, 2020, para. 3). This provides further evidence how the power of the police was thought of in early Canada as a tool to be utilized for maintaining and supporting the Eurocentric views of society that viewed individuals of colour as less than or in the way of "progress" for the young settler nation. Charmaine Nelson, professor of art history at McGill University, expanded on the connections between slave patrols and the formation of police in Canada by stating that "[p]olicing arose out of slave patrols" (Brown, 2018, para. 8). This is not to say that each police officer within Canada adheres to an 'Us vs. Them' syndrome or systemic racist views or thinking but that the origins of the institution of policing as a whole in Canada should be re-examined in that how policing was formulated in what would become Canada immensely privileged and supported settlers to the detriment of Indigenous Nations along with individuals of colour as discussed above further highlights a pressing need to re-examine policing institutions in Canada, especially when it comes to the RCMP.

      Systemic Racism. The issue of systemic racism within policing in Canada has become such an increasing problem that in 2021, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security formulated a report focused on

systemic racism in policing in Canada. The committee heard testimony from 53 witnesses that included Indigenous, Black, [LGBTQ2S+], and other racialized people" from across Canada that highlighted issues of over-policing, racial profiling, use of force, and under-policing. Moreover, "[t]he committee heard that Indigenous women, girls and LGBTQ2S+ people are particularly impacted by systemic discrimination in policing, experiencing both over-policing and under-policing (i.e., a lack of police assistance) when they are the victims of criminal acts" (McKay et al., 2021, p. 1). The committee also heard testimony from Hon. Michel Bastarache, who highlighted aspects of his 2020 final report, which focused on the state of sexual harassment of women in the RCMP. The report, titled *Broken Dreams Broken Lives: The Devastating Effects of Sexual Harassment on Women in the RCMP,* "described the internal culture of the RCMP as toxic."

Over and under policing's impact on Native American communities in the United States was examined by Dr. Barbara Perry, Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice and Director for the Centre on Hate, Bias, and Extremism at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology, who had found that "law enforcement perpetuates marginalization and disempowerment by simultaneously over-and under-policing Native American communities" (Perry, 2006, p. 412). Perry (2006) expanded on the impact that under-policing can have on Native American communities by describing how "negligent practices extend a powerful message and justification for the violent marginalization of Native American victims of crime. They signal to perpetrators, criminal justice personnel and the rest of society that anti-Indian violence will not be punished" (p. 429). The presence of over and under-policing may indicate deeper issues, such as systemic racism.

The House of Commons Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security's report focused on systemic racism in policing. It concluded that "systemic racism in policing in Canada is a real and pressing problem to be urgently addressed" (McKay et al., 2021, p. 75). The findings of the committee were also echoed by the former RCMP commissioner Brenda Lucki, who referred to the presence of systemic racism as being "a part of every institution including the RCMP, and historically as well as today, the force has not always treated racialized and Indigenous people fairly" (Breen, 2020, para. 4).

In Canada, police culture coupled with the use of police power and discretion that occurs within the colonial lens of the origins of the RCMP regarding the present-day relationship between the RMCP and Indigenous nations that at times has heightened the presence of an 'Us vs. Them' syndrome or even systemic racism as highlighted in the previous section has led to situations occurring of blaming a victim or not taking a victim seriously as was discussed earlier about the death notification of Colton Boushie's mother and the murder investigation of J.J. Harper to the abuse of Indigenous women by RCMP officers to the lack of sufficient investigations into the abuse of Indigenous women. The following section will examine the potential for institutional transformation regarding the RCMP in Pelly Crossing to begin to occur as a result of day-to-day work with the SFN CSO program. This could also expand on current institutional transformation that the RCMP in the Yukon has begun to embrace to improve its relationship with Northern Indigenous nations and peoples in the Yukon.

Institutional Transformation. Police culture has been taught and ingrained in the next generation of officers for generations, to varying degrees, depending on the specific police service's own internal culture and beliefs. Eckel, Hill, & Green (1998) defined the

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four main aspects of what institutional transformation seeks to do: "1) alters the culture of the institution by changing select underlying assumptions and institutional behaviours, processes, and products; 2) is deep and pervasive, affecting the whole institution; 3) is intentional; and 4) occurs over time" (p. 3). The potential for institutional transformation to have begun within Pelly Crossing RCMP, driven by the day-to-day work of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers with SFN CSOs, will be examined in further detail in Chapter 5. Although if it is found that institutional transformation has begun to occur in Pelly Crossing RCMP, a possible example of how to apply institutional transformation policy from the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment to all of M Division for the Yukon can be found in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) plan to institute institutional transformation. In 2002, the FBI initiated an institutional transformation plan over several decades as it sought to change its structure to better meet the needs of U.S. citizens. Speaking at a Subcommittee hearing on Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary, Committee on Appropriations for the United States House of Representatives, the Comptroller General of the United States at the time, David Walker, laid out a plan for how the FBI was to institute institutional transformation. Comptroller General Walker (2002) stated three main goals that the FBI had laid out via three priorities to accomplish transformation:

> Major communications and information technology improvements, development of an internal control system that will ensure protection of civil liberties as investigative constraints are loosened, and management of the ripple effect that changes at the FBI will have on other aspects of the law enforcement community (p. 10).

Comptroller General Walker (2002) went on to state during his testimony to the subcommittee that for an institutional transformation to begin to occur within the FBI,

"[i]t [will] require a redefinition and communication of priorities and values and a performance management system that will reinforce agency priorities. It will also require a fundamental reassessment of the organizational layers, levels, units, and locations" (p. 13).

If it is found that institutional transformation has occurred or is beginning to occur, as per the knowledge offered during interviews for Pelly Crossing RCMP, then the plan described above by Comptroller General Walker (2002) could build on the potential work of Pelly Crossing RCMP due to the impacts of the SFN CSO program. The work of the Pelly Crossing RCMP could offer a blueprint for expanding institutional transformation across all of M Division, building on current policies and strategies for improving the Yukon RCMP's relationship with Northern Indigenous nations and peoples in the Yukon. This would include a 2010 RCMP Yukon formulated reconciliation plan, focused on improving training, partnerships, and relations with Northern Indigenous peoples in the Yukon. One of the RCMP's recent efforts to transform its relationship with Northern Indigenous peoples in the Yukon can be seen in the planting of a healing heart garden in August 2019, outside the RCMP Whitehorse detachment facility. The Healing Heart Garden was a joint project between the RCMP Whitehorse detachment, KDFN, and Ta'an Kwäch'än Council to signify a new beginning for the RCMP's relationship with both First Nation communities. The plaque for the Healing Heart Garden states that "[i]t symbolizes working together to strengthen relationships between the RCMP and [I]ndigenous communities in Whitehorse" (Maratos, 2019, Healing Heart Garden Plaque photo). The Healing Heart Garden project has caught the interest of several RCMP detachments across the Far North, who hope to

replicate the efforts of the RCMP Whitehorse detachment to improve their relationship with Northern Indigenous communities. The now former RCMP Yukon Chief Superintendent Scott who retired in 2024 elaborated on the importance of the healing heart garden as "to act as a reminder of reconciliation and its importance and its power" (Plonka, 2019, para. 2). Former Chief Superintendent Sheppard went on to state that the healing heart garden "represents a meaningful metaphor [, which] [m]uch like a relationship if it isn't cared for, if it isn't nurtured, it doesn't develop; it doesn't grow and it doesn't bear fruit" (para. 5).

In addition to the Healing Heart Garden, the RCMP Yukon M Division has been an active member of the Yukon Police Council, a citizen advisory council for the administration of policing in the Yukon. Three of the seven seats on the council are designated for three Northern Indigenous individuals nominated by Northern Indigenous communities across the Yukon to serve on the council for up to three years (Government of Yukon, 2019). Furthermore, in 2011, RCMP Yukon began requiring a supplemental training course in addition to the online course offered at Depot in Regina, along with programs offered by RCMP Aboriginal Policing Services, such as a First Nation and Inuit Perceptions training and a Native Spirituality online Guide. The new training courses are required for new RCMP officers posted to the Yukon. The training is titled "Yukon First Nations Information Session" and is offered at Yukon University (formerly known as Yukon College) through the Northern Institute of Social Justice in Whitehorse. The course instructor is Davida Wood, a member of Teslin Tlingit First Nation, along with her co-instructor Cassandra Ivany (Gerster, 2015). The topics taught by Wood and Ivany for the training course include the following issues pertaining to Northern Indigenous

peoples of the Yukon, such as "their history, their heritage, and culture, their worldviews,

their governance, their contemporary issues, and their [R]esidential [S]chool

experiences" (Gerster, 2015, para. 15). Moreover, to the supplemental training in 2013

RCMP Yukon signed onto two separate safety protocol agreements aimed at improving

relationships with Northern Indigenous women, the first was in 2011 known as Together

for Justice "between the Liard Aboriginal Women's Society and Watson Lake RCMP"

and the second was signed in 2015 known as Together for Safety (Whitehorse Star, 2015,

para. 3). The second agreement was signed between Whitehorse RCMP, and several

women's groups located in Whitehorse that included "the Whitehorse Aboriginal

Women's Circle, Yukon Women's Transition Home Society, Victoria Faulkner Women's

Centre, Public Service Alliance of Canada Aboriginal People's Committee and Regional

Women's Committee, Yukon Status of Women Council, and Les EssentiElles"

(Whitehorse Star, 2015, para. 2). More recently as per the Yukon RCMP Year in Review

2020-2021 document highlighted a number of other efforts that Yukon RCMP has

undertaken to support reconciliation. The efforts include the Commanding Officer's

Yukon First Nation Advisory Committee, support for restorative justice in the Yukon,

Officers attending Peacemaking Circle and Healing Circle trainings, the wearing of

fireweed pins made by Northern Indigenous individuals in the Yukon, officers taking part

in hunting trips, such as the first hunt of the season with citizens form Tr'ondëk

Hwech'in, and a youth hunt with citizens from Kwanlin Dün First Nation (RCMP,

2022d). Most, if not all, of the initiatives and programs detailed above were included in

the M Division Reconciliation Strategy, known as *Our Approach to Relationship*

Building, which began to be implemented in 2011 (RCMP, 2021a). The knowledge

offered in answering key question #6 touched upon the potential for the SFN CSO

program to impact institutional transformation within the Pelly Crossing RCMP. A

further discussion of knowledge offered in answering key question #6 and all other key

questions will be examined within Chapter 5.

The following section will examine several significant documents and reports that

have pointed toward a need for expanding Indigenous self-determination and self-

governance as a crucial factor for improving the administration of justice policy in

Canada for Indigenous communities, including policing rooted in decolonization. The

documents and reports include: *the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of*

Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP),

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWGs) Final Report, The Truth

and Reconciliation Commission (TRC*),* a Law Reform Commission of Canada Report

titled: *Aboriginal Peoples and Criminal Justice: Equality, Respect, and the search for*

Justice, a 2019 report authored by the Council of Canadian Academies titled: *Toward*

*peace, harmony, and well-being: Policing in Indigenous communities***,** a 2005 Ipperwash

Inquiry research paper titled: *Policing Aboriginal occupations and Aboriginal/police*

relations, a 2021 House of Commons report from the Standing Committee on Public

Safety and National Security tilted: Systemic Racism in Policing in Canada, and the

2022-23 Yukon's Policing Priorities.

**Future of Indigenous Justice & Police Policy: Expansion of Self-Determination &
Self-Governance Rooted in the Decolonization of the Police**

UNDRIP, Indigenous Self-Determination & Self-Governance

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)

defined Indigenous self-determination and Indigenous Self-Governance in articles 3 and

4. Self-determination was described in article 3 as "Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (UN General Assembly, 2007, p. 4). Murphy (2008) further expanded upon the UNDRIP definition of Indigenous self-determination by stating that "[s]elf-determination is usually understood as a means of gaining distance or protection from rather than inclusion in state institutions. Indigenous peoples frequently express a profound sense of alienation toward these institutions, which carry the stigma of colonial domination" (p. 186). Kuokkanen (2019) examined the key concepts behind Indigenous self-determination in a Canadian context in that "self-determination and self-government discourses [in Canada] draw upon pre-existing sovereignty of Indigenous nations, treaty-making, and the consequent nation-to-nation relationship with the Crown" (p. 94). The basis for a nation-to-nation relationship in Canada can be traced back to "the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the attendant Treaty of Niagara (1764)" (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 93). In addition, Chisholm (1988) (INDG Law & State Text) went on to examine key aspects of Indigenous self-determination policy as "[t]he policy of self-determination further emphasizes the importance of creating or strengthening legal, administrative, and economic structures that might enable Aboriginal people and communities to exercise real power in their own affairs" (p. 317). However, it should be noted that self-determination can take several different forms when realized as per each Indigenous nation's realities about resources, challenges, and/or leadership. Imai (2008) described four ways that self-determination can be exercised: sovereignty and self-government, self-management and self-administration, co-management and joint management, and participation in public

government. Moreover, "[w]ithin each category, there are a number of variations. These options are not mutually exclusive, and in some jurisdictions, all four forms co-exist" (p. 11).

Article 4 of UNDRIP (2007) defined Indigenous self-governance as "Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions" (p. 8). Kuokkanen (2019) furthered expanded on Indigenous self-government in Canada by stating that "[s]ince 1995, Indigenous self-government has been recognized as an 'inherent right' and considered an existing Aboriginal right under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 by the federal government" (p. 94). The importance of Indigenous self-government was detailed by the Indigenous Corporate Training (ICT) organization (2012) by that Indigenous self-government "matters because it is one of the key building blocks for strengthening and supporting Indigenous governments thereby promoting and supporting a greater self-reliance" (para. 1). Moreover, "Indigenous self-government is about restoring rights and powers that Indigenous Peoples in Canada enjoyed and exercised for thousands of years prior to European contact" (ICT, 2024, para. 4). In the Far North today there are currently 20+ self-governing agreements that either have been signed and are in place or are in the process of being negotiated or considered that provide or will provide Northern Indigenous nations with autonomy over many different aspects of modern-day life that are rooted in the land and traditional knowledge systems (see Appendix D, Modern Treaties and Self-Government Agreement Map).[61] In addition, as was mentioned in an

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[61] As of 2023 a few additional Northern Indigenous nations are at different stages of negotiating self-governance agreements that include: South Slave Métis, and the Dehcho First Nations.

earlier section of the literature review that was titled: *Issues of Today and Distrust: Isolation, Limited Duration Postings, and Contract Policing* all three Northern Territories of Canada have in the past eleven years signed 20-year policing agreement contracts with the RCMP, except for the Nunavak region of Inuit Nunagat that have their own police service (CBC News North, 2012a, & CBC News North, 2012b).

Murray et al. (2019) further highlighted the importance of self-determination when it comes to the future of Northern Indigenous policing in that "[a]ny vision of community safety and well-being requires that Indigenous communities have self-determination in policing [and] [c]onventional policing is not the only solution to public safety challenges. Confronting these challenges require[s] a holistic approach that draws upon other services and providers" (p. 183). Murray et al. (2019) also stressed the need for "approaches to policing that emphasize the strength and capacity of Indigenous communities, rather than perpetuate concepts of victimization and damage. Police officer perceptions of community capacity significantly affect the ability of police to form community relationships built on reciprocal respect" (p. 119).

McKay et al. (2021) published a report focused on the issue of systemic racism in policing in Canada that included witness testimony focused on a need for self-determination for the future of policing for Indigenous peoples. The President of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Natan Obed, "expressed, policing must be characterized by self-determination with each community shaping its own path forward" and President Obed's remarks were also echoed by testimony from Regional Chief Terry Teegee, Regional Chief of Assembly of First Nations (British Columbia) who stated that "the rights to sovereignty and self-determination enshrined in the United Nations Declaration on the

Rights of Indigenous Peoples are applicable to policing" (p. 38). Several other

"[w]itnesses [also] emphasized that First Nations groups must be provided with clear

jurisdiction over policing in their own communities" (p. 38).

RCAP, MMIWG & TRC

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) report also "stressed that

self-determination must include justice initiatives that are rooted in each community

(RCAP, 1996e) (Murray et al., 2019, p. 146). RCAP also examined the topic of

Indigenizing, which was discussed earlier in this proposal and was viewed by RCAP "as

a stepping stone to more fundamental changes rooted in Indigenous self-determination"

(Murray et al., 2019, p. 157). The processing that went into creating the full five-volume

RCAP report involved generating several reports from national round tables focused on

the larger issues examined in the RCAP report. One of the subsequent national round

tables focused on Aboriginal Justice Issues, which produced a 1993 report titled

"*Aboriginal Peoples and the Justice System*." In this report, the former Legal Advisor to

the Deputy Minister of Public Security in Quebec, Régis Larivée, alluded to the

importance of self-determination when it comes to policing in Indigenous communities

by stating that "[t]hose who know the realities of a community are those in the

community. We must give them the necessary resources." Larivée would also go on to

state that "[i]f justice comes from the outside, not the inside, the police are useless" (p.

463). Moreover, the 2018 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

(MMIWGs) final report's call for justice #5.4 focused on issues related to policing and

the justice system in that the report called "upon all governments to immediately and

dramatically transform Indigenous policing from its current state as a mere delegation to

an exercise in self-governance and self-determination over-policing" (MMWGs, 2018, p. 12).

In addition to RCAP and the MMIWGs 2018 final report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) final report referred to a need for self-determination for Indigenous communities regarding justice and police policy stating that "the TRC emphasized the role of self-determination in reconciliation. This can be seen in the TRC's discussion on the need to revitalize Indigenous laws" (Murray et al., 2019, p. 79). In addition, two of the TRC's 94 calls to action specifically focused on addressing the administration of justice policy in Canada for Indigenous communities. The two calls to action that focused on addressing the administration of justice policy for Indigenous communities were Calls to Action 38 and 42; both are directly quoted below from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action (2015) final report.

38. *We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to commit to eliminating the overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth in custody over the next decade*

42. *We call upon the federal, provincial, and territorial governments to commit to the recognition and implementation of Aboriginal justice systems in a manner consistent with the Treaty and Aboriginal rights of Aboriginal peoples, the Constitution Act, 1982, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, endorsed by Canada in November 2012* (TRC, 2015b, p. 4).

Gaudry and Lorenz (2018) expanded upon how the TRC emphasized achieving a number of the 94 calls to action through a reconciliation-based Indigenization model, which was described as "center[ing] dialogue and collaboration, which ultimately yields space to Indigenous intellectual traditions" (p. 222). Moreover, "Indigenous respondents [had]

also repeatedly noted that [I]ndigenization must be an Indigenous -led process" (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 222).

Hylton (2005) produced a book titled *Canadian Innovations in the Provision of Policing Services to Aboriginal Peoples* that touched on the importance of Indigenous self-determination and self-governance for the future of Indigenous policing in Canada by referring to the Harvard Project, which reinforced Indigenous self-determination and self-governance as key factors for the future of Northern Indigenous policing. The Harvard Project focuses on American Indian economic development. The Project website detailed that the primary focus of their work "aims to understand and foster the conditions under which sustained, self-determined social and economic development is achieved among American Indian nations through applied research and service" (The Harvard Project, 2015, para 1). Hylton (2005) expanded upon the data generated by the Harvard Project in that "[o]ver the past two decades, the United States Harvard Project has demonstrated that people, both individually and collectively, take responsibility for their actions and for the actions of those around them when they have a measure of control over the decisions that affect their lives. This control has to be provided through a democratic process and through institutions that deliver services" (pp. 2-3). Hylton (2005) further expanded on the ideas raised by the Harvard project in terms of Indigenous policing in Canada by stating that "effective policing for Aboriginal people will require the devolution of responsibility and accountability to Aboriginal governments and communities, where community-level solutions can be applied to community-level problems" (p. 3).

Community Level Solutions

Létourneau et al. (1991) authored a report titled "*Aboriginal Peoples and*

Criminal Justice: Equality, Respect, and the Search for Justice" for the Law Reform

Commission of Canada, focusing on improving the administration of justice and police

policy for Indigenous communities. The report made two recommendations (3 & 4) that

emphasized the need for Indigenous-led community-level solutions relating to policing in

Indigenous communities. The two recommendations are quoted below from the report:

(3) The federal and provincial governments should facilitate autonomous Aboriginal
police forces wherever local communities desire them. No single structure or role for that
police force should be demanded. If the force is to be autonomous, then its structure and
its role must be determined by the community.

(4) Funding for autonomous police services should not be limited to programs that are
directly analogous to existing agencies (p. 47).

Letourneau et al. (1991) expanded on the third recommendation by emphasizing the

importance of "traditional Aboriginal justice systems, [which] may not be a body

operating as what we think of as a police force, but something that provides much

broader service functions – counselling, advising, conciliating and resolving disputes." A

final discussion centred on the following recommendation about how "[g]overnments

should bear in mind that these agencies can, to some extent, serve as an alternative to

policing services" (p. 47).

Matthews and Côté (2005) further expanded on the importance of community-

level solutions in Indigenous policing by highlighting the crucial role of social capital

within these solutions. Matthews & Côté (2005) published a piece titled "*Understanding*

Aboriginal Policing in a Social Capital Context," *which* was part of a Canadian Policy

Research report titled *"Social Capital in Action: Thematic Policy Studies*." Social capital

was defined by Lin (2001) as "an investment in social relations with expected returns" (p.

19). Matthews & Côté (2005) went on further to elaborate on social capital in that "[s]ocial capital relations can be analyzed in terms of bonding, bridging, or linking relationships. Bonding social capital forms to protect, preserve, and maintain existing relationships" (p. 137). Social capital within Indigenous communities can also include an "understanding of key cultural practices, traditions, and ways of thinking that are exclusive to particular communities and serve to distinguish insiders from outsiders" (Matthews & Côté, 2005, p. 138). An expansion of Indigenous social capital regarding community-level solutions for policing may highlight a need for Indigenous self-governance and self-determination, as Indigenous communities are the most knowledgeable of their traditions, ceremonies, and beliefs when it comes to community health and safety. This is emphasized because police within Indigenous communities may have a tough time building social capital since "the police officer is quite clearly the representative and local embodiment of larger police institutions whose past behaviour may have engendered feelings of distrust and even outright hostility in some Aboriginal communities" (Matthews & Côté, 2005, p. 137).

This would also fit within a "major complaint of Aboriginal community leaders and residents [which] has been that policing has fallen short in providing community-based, problem-solving policing that is culturally sensitive" (Linden & Clairmont, 2001, p. 25). This need for culturally sensitive policing has been echoed by several reports that have made "clear that an awareness of the cultural capital predispositions of Aboriginal communities is critical to effective policing within them. Lack of awareness of these cultural perspectives will lead police officers to ignore them and see them as obstacles to be overcome" (Matthews & Côté, 2005, p. 140).

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Cultural capital is "factors that provide human societies with the means and adaptations to deal with the natural environment and actively modify it" (Berkes & Folke, 1992, p. 2). This can include "social attitudes, beliefs, values and conventions derived from historical experiences. This knowledge is important as it represents how [a specific] population has categorized and classified what is important to them" (Boyd et al., 2010, p. 272). Boyd et al. (2010) went on to state that "cultural capital includes the ways in which societies interact with their environment (...) [and it is] an important value inherent in Indigenous societies" (p. 272).

McKay et al. (2021) presented 42 recommendations in the House of Commons report referenced earlier in this chapter, which focused on eliminating systemic racism in policing across Canada. The report was "aimed at fundamentally reforming Canadian policing to ensure that all Canadians can access police services free from racism and other forms of discrimination" (p. 2). A few of the 42 recommendations emphasized a need to expand self-determination and/or community-driven solutions for improving the administration of policing services for Indigenous nations communities and peoples. The following three recommendations from the report highlighted the need for Indigenous nations and/or communities to lead future policy or program development focused on expanding self-determination and community-driven solutions, including recommendations 11, 13 & 16.

(11) *That the Government of Canada provide funding to all Indigenous communities who are interested in Community Safety Officer programs based upon the Kwanlin Dün First Nation model.*

(13) *That the Government of Canada, through consultation and partnership with First Nations, Inuit and Métis communities, and recognizing that decisions surrounding policing must be community driven, develop an Indigenous Police Services Framework designed to promote self-determination and self-governance over policing to Indigenous communities*

(16) *That the Government of Canada provide necessary resources and work with Inuit stakeholders on an Inuit led consultation within Inuit communities on the most appropriate and effective model of policing of Inuit communities, should they desire to undertake such consultations.*

In addition, for 2022-23, the Yukon Minister of Justice identified several policing priorities for the Yukon RCMP to focus on for a yearly basis and a number of the 22-23' Yukon policing priorities focused on supporting community-led policing initiatives and safety initiatives led by First Nations, along with strengthening current relationships with First Nation governments. One of the priorities listed were included within the primary objectives for the section of the 22-23' priorities labelled "Engage with and support children and youth" stated the following: "Actively engaging in and supporting safety initiatives led by First Nations including community safety and security officers, and community safety planning" (Government of Yukon, 2023). The next priority was focused on the first primary objective included within the section labelled "Strengthening relationships with communities and partners and continue to implement community policing initiatives" that stated: "Actively engaging in and supporting community-led policing and safety initiatives" (Government of Yukon, 2023).

The Decolonization of the Police

Several driving forces have been highlighted in the previous sections of this document, underscoring why Indigenous nations, communities, and peoples have sought to decolonize policing services within community-led solutions that elevate Indigenous self-governance and self-determination. These reasons are related to the colonial roots of

the present-day RCMP along with significant issues present in the current state of the

relationship between the present-day RCMP and Indigenous peoples that included issues

around misconduct, use of surveillance, the use of force, and sexual abuse of Indigenous

women and girls by RCMP officers, and the state of investigations and/or the lack thereof

into MMIWGs.

Dyck (2022) further expanded on the need to decolonize the state of policing in

Canada for Indigenous peoples through several essential ideas and reasons why policing

needs to move towards decolonization sooner rather than later in Canada, within a

chapter titled "Decolonization and Justice: An Introductory Overview." In the chapter

titled "*Decolonization and Policing",* Dyck made several points focused on why policing

must decolonize, emphasizing how "[p]olicing practices are entangled with colonial

mindsets and racialized practices" (Dyck, 2022, p. 90). The impacts of a colonial

mindset, as described by Dyck (2022), have not only influenced the actions of individual

officers but also influenced the institution of policing within Canada. At times,

perpetuated racialized policing practices in that "[r]acilized policing is part and parcel of

settler colonialism as it reinforces and naturalizes structural inequalities Stewart, 2018, p.

186" (as cited in Dyck, 2022, p. 88). These types of policing mindsets are also protected

and insulated from change due to the colonial structure of Canadian society, but even

more so for a police service, such as the RCMP that was formulated out of a colonial

policing model and at times supported by "a code of silence that prevents officers from

holding one another accountable" (Dyck, 2022, p. 89). The code of silence, otherwise

known as the 'Blue Wall,' was discussed within a previous section titled Police Culture,

Power & Institutional Transformation that focused on the 'Blue Wall' regarding police

culture and systemic racism within the RCMP. Furthermore, additional issues examined previously in this document also highlight the need for decolonization from systemic racism, the 'Us vs. Them' syndrome, and racialized policing. Dyck (2022) went on to state that the "impacts of colonization on policing in Canada demonstrate the clear need for a decolonized policing framework" (p. 93).

Decolonization does not have a single, specific definition when it comes to decolonizing policing, as the term "decolonization "holds many different meanings to many different people" (Dyck, 2022, p. 89). A few key concepts to consider when it comes to decolonization are that it must be rooted in and defined by the community regarding a specific Indigenous nation's traditional customs and beliefs about community safety. Moreover, decolonization can be viewed "as both a goal and process to bring about a fundamental shift in colonial structures, ideologies and discourses" (Monchalin, 2016, p. 1). In addition, "[d]ecolonization is about restoring Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, as well as shifting to a narrative" away from Eurocentric-rooted ideas on safety and health to one that elevates Indigenous worldviews to support positive change (Indigenous Corporate Training, 2017 as cited in Dyck, 2022, p. 89).

To further expand on the idea that decolonization is a process, Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) offered the following as a more in-depth understanding of how decolonization can be understood: "as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power" (p. 98).

Within the key concepts highlighted above for what constitutes decolonization as a goal and a process, two specific forms of decolonization emerge, specifically when it comes to the police, which can be understood as micro and macro forms of

decolonization of the police. The first form known as "micro decolonization focuses on the mind, body, language, culture, and ceremonies [, which focus on] restor[ing] culture, ceremonies, traditions, and praxis that have been lost through colonization and works to undo these harms" (Asadullah, 2021, p. 3 as cited in Dyck, 2022). The macro form of decolonization "involves structural and institutional change [and] this form [of] decolonization is about changing policy and the systems they inform as a means of retaking power" (Asadullah, 2021, pp. 3-4 as cited in Dyck, 2022, p. 90). For the macro form of decolonization to occur when it comes to policing "decolonized policing would require institutional change including redirecting authority to Indigenous communities. First Nation Policing and Indigenous Patrols are examples of a decolonial model of policing" (Dyck, 2022, p. 90). Macro decolonized policing initiatives or programs "encompass cultural values that reflect the communities they serve and incorporate the current ideas and voices of those community members" (p. 90). The microform of decolonization is focused on "Indigenous representation within police forces and officers who are able to speak the languages of the communities they police" (p. 90). In addition, non-Indigenous settler Canadians must also play a role within the decolonization of policing in that "non-Indigenous peoples need to 'decolonize' themselves by stopping to view their practices as superior to Indigenous' practices and costumes (Monchalin, 2016, p. 297 as cited in Said, 2022, p. 58). Murray et al. (2019) further highlighted how non-Indigenous Canadians can begin the process of decolonization through the recognition of colonial history via "[r]eflections on the ways in which colonial history and practices have shaped and continue to impact the realities faced by Indigenous people in Canada are critical for supporting culturally appropriate and decolonized policing" (p. 43). This is

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a key reason why the literature review portion of this document included an in-depth historical analysis overview of the impacts of colonial policing in the Yukon and on the present-day actions of the RCMP and other police services in Canada when it comes to interacting with Indigenous nations, communities, and peoples. The form that a decolonized police program or initiative may take will vary depending on each Indigenous nation's traditional customs and beliefs, including connections to land, language, and governance structures as they pursue a decolonized police service. Still, any decolonized police service or community alternative must be rooted in "community empowerment" (Porter, 2016, p. 561).

A Northern Indigenous CSO program in the Yukon, such as the SFN CSO program provides an opportunity to examine the impact of a Northern Indigenous community-led solution that elevates self-determination and self-governance rooted in decolonization, as per the reports and documents highlighted above. To further understand the impact of a Northern Indigenous community-level solution, the SFN CSO program in the Yukon is the focus of this project in terms of understanding the strengths, tensions, and challenges of expanded Northern Indigenous self-determination and self-governance within a RCMP policing model located in the Yukon concerning Pelly Crossing RCMP. The project's findings, relating to the strengths, tensions, and challenges of the SFN CSO program, will be examined in further detail later in Chapter 5. It must also be noted that the SFN CSO program provides an opportunity to explore the impact of a CSO program similar to the Kwanlin Dün First Nation (KDFN) CSO model, as the House of Commons report authored by McKay et al. (2021), discussed above, signalled support for the KDFN CSO model via recommendation #11. The results

of this project will also support two of the objectives highlighted in the 2022-23 Yukon

Policing Priorities document by providing feedback on a community-led policing

initiative and offering support for a safety initiative led by a First Nation, specifically

regarding the SFN CSO program. The following section will examine a program similar

to the SFN CSO program, which countered colonial policing policies and expanded

Indigenous self-determination and self-governance through a program in Australia known

as Night Patrols.

Countering Colonial Policing in Australia: The Night Patrols

An example of an Indigenous community safety type patrol program that has

generated positive results in countering colonial policing models can be found in Australia,

through a program known as Night Patrols, which are also referred to as community, youth,

women's, barefoot, or community night patrols. The Night Patrols "represent a uniquely

Indigenous Australian form of grassroots, community service" (Porter, 2016, p. 280). Night

Patrols occupy a space between the formal Western policing model of the Australian state

or federal government and Aboriginal Australian communities' traditional concepts of

community safety. Porter (2016) further highlighted the unique space that Night Patrols

occupy in that "[p]atrols are independent of state and federal government, though in

practice most rely on a combination of one-off and ongoing grants from multiple sources"

(p. 4).

The Night Patrols were first established in the late 1980s in Tennant Creek, a

community located in the Northern Territory, and have generated positive results in

countering colonial policing dynamics. As of 2008, the number of Night Patrols in

operation across Australia was "approximately 130 [with] around two-thirds of these

being located in rural and remote parts of Western Australia and the Northern Territory"

(Porter, 2016, p. 3). Night Patrols occupy a space between the formal Western policing model of the Australian state or federal government and Aboriginal Australian communities' traditional concepts of community safety.

Night Patrols primarily focus on supporting community members by offering health and social support advice, liaising with relevant agencies or services for mediation or dispute resolution, conducting follow-up casework, and providing rides to support services or a safe location, such as a sobering shelter. Most community members that Night Patrols interact with are predominantly Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander peoples, including youth who may be dealing with anti-social behaviour, substance abuse, truancy, and youth crime, such as delinquency, solvent abuse, and family violence. Each Night Patrol is uniquely formulated to meet the community's needs in the area where a Night Patrol has been established. Most Night Patrols "define their core work around activities such as transportation for people at risk, either by taking them home or to a safe place. In the Northern Territory, for example, taking women to the Safe House" (Blagg & Valuri, 2004, p. 321).

Patrols can range in many ways, from the number of Patrol workers on the streets, which can range from two workers to up to 20, and most are volunteers. However, some may be paid, and the ages of Patrol workers usually range from 18 to 60 +, but the key issues Patrol workers focus on, and the cultural characteristics of each Patrol, do vary. Many of the Night Patrols that have been established across Australia have also been an avenue to empower communities, especially Aboriginal women, to support their communities in dealing with violence, substance abuse, and other community-wide issues. Moreover, several issues contributed to the establishment of the Night Patrols that

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included, under-policing, over-policing, deaths in custody of Aboriginal peoples, substance abuse, family violence, unhoused, youth crime, lowering high rates of incarceration, and "a desire to reduce contact between Aboriginal people and the police by offering an alternative to lock-ups for the intoxicated" (Blagg, & Valuri, 2004, p. 321). An example of a desire to reduce contact with the police can be seen in the formation of the Julalikari Night Patrol, which was formulated due to a "dissatisfaction with the policing in their communities" (Langton, 1991, p. 439).

An example of the work that Night Patrols participate in can be seen in the Djarindjin Night Patrol, located in the Kimberley Region of Western Australia, on the isolated northern tip of the Dampier Peninsula, which addresses youth delinquency and crime. The Night Patrols in the region look to support youth found walking the streets while a team of two Night Patrol workers drives around in a Land Cruiser. Support for youth can be in the form of a ride home or words of encouragement to stay out of trouble. One of the Night Patrol workers "Darcy Sampi [who] has been part of the group for two years [stated that they] can pick up as many as 15 children in a single night" (Bamford, 2018, para. 5). This has resulted in calls for the police dropping by "as much as 40 percent." The Djarindjin Night Patrol has helped to improve the relationship with the Western Australia Police via a partnership as described by Night Patrol worker Derek Manado, who stated that "[t]he cops [are] actually asking for help, it really makes me see the cops are doing better in the community" (Bamford, 2018, para. 14 & 19). Similarly, to the Djarindjin Night Patrol, the Community Night Patrol program in the Northern Territory signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the Northern Territory Police and the Australian Government to "increase collaboration in communities between

night patrollers [with] police [and] ensures night patrollers are better supported to undertake their important role in helping keep communities safe at night" (Northern Territory Police Force, 2023).

The uniqueness of the work that Night Patrols carry out was examined by Blagg & Anthony (2019), who stated that their work "cuts across the divisions created by white governance structures when it regulates community: traversing boundaries of community policing, brief intervention, peacemaking, youth outreach, drug and alcohol intervention, and family violence prevention" (p. 286). The Night Patrols have also "nurture[d] stories of community strength and cohesion, preventing rather than reacting and making mainstream policing visible and transparent and accountable to the community (patrols often 'keep their eyes on the police')" (Blagg & Anthony, 2019, p. 286). As was examined in a previous section titled 'What's in a Name?', the Night Patrols fit within a counter-policing type framework that is also evident within the SFN CSO program.

It is hypothesized that due to the similarities between the SFN CSO programs and Night Patrols, the SFN CSO programs may generate similarly positive outcomes in Pelly Crossing, thereby counteracting colonial policing narratives that undermine Northern Indigenous self-determination regarding policing, as has been achieved by the Night Patrols in Australia. However, when attempting to better understand a counter-policing program within a Eurocentric policing framework, Porter (2016) emphasized the need for "grounding analyses with reference to localized Indigenous justice practices. This requires seeking out the perspectives of those involved in everyday Indigenous governance at a local community level" (Porter, 2016, p. 13). This project focused on elevating the lived experiences of SFN community leaders and knowledge holders about the strengths,

tensions, and challenges of the SFN CSO program to gain a better understanding of the state of the SFN CSO program that operates within the current RCMP Eurocentric policing structure of the Yukon along with the SFN CSO programs may generate similarly positive outcomes in the Yukon to counter colonial policing narratives that strengthen Northern Indigenous self-determination in regards to policing, as has been generated by the Night Patrols in Australia.

The next chapter will outline a detailed pathway forward for the SFN CSO program through the lens of capacity development. Capacity development, discussed in the next chapter, will be understood as an avenue for elevating the lived realities of SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and RCMP, relating to the tensions, challenges, and strengths of the current SFN CSO program. Indigenous Criminology will also be explored through the main research question, four interview key questions (#4, #5, #6, and #8), and the opening question #2. Possible policy and/or program ramifications for the SFN CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP will also be explored. Several other key themes to be discussed will include institutional transformation regarding the impact of the SFN CSO program on the Pelly Crossing RCMP, decolonization, reconciliation, and self-governance, as explored through four interview key questions (#5, #6, #8, and #9), and the closing question.

Chapter 5: A Pathway Forward & Policy Implications

To begin this chapter, the answers to the main research question will be presented to provide an understanding of the challenges, tensions, and strengths of the SFN CSO program from a capacity development perspective rooted in the lived realities of a Northern Indigenous nation regarding SFN for the SFN CSO program. Capacity development rooted in the lived realities of a Northern Indigenous nation was selected as a lens for guiding the discussion portion of this project due to the knowledge offered for key questions #1, #2, and #3, which detailed several strengths of the current SFN CSO program. Still, much of the knowledge that was offered by SFN Community Leaders & knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, indicated a higher number of tensions and challenges as well as areas of potential growth or future development that point to a need for a re-imagining of the program via capacity development that is led and overseen by SFN leadership. It should be noted that additional strengths, tensions, and challenges related to themes generated by knowledge about key questions #4, #5, #6, and #7 will also be included in the discussions relating to applying capacity development to the SFN CSO program.

Capacity Development

Capacity development as defined by the United Nations (U.N.) Development Program (1997) is "the process by which individuals, organizations, institutions, and societies develop abilities (individually and collectively) to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives" (Missens, 2008, p. 10). The definition offered by the U.N. also includes three underlying key principles to keep in mind when choosing to adhere to capacity development for an institution such as the SFN CSO program that includes: 1) a continuous process of learning and change; 2) it emphasizes better use and

empowerment of individuals and organizations; and 3) it requires a systematic approach

in devising capacity development strategies. Missens (2008) would provide a more

nuanced definition for capacity development that offered clear connections to First

Nation communities expanding off the U.N. definition above. Missens (2008) stated that

"capacity development in its broadest sense involves transformation and change" (p. 9).

The application of capacity development to the SFN CSO program fits well with the self-

governing principles and aspirations of SFN, since Richard Missens (2008) would go on

to state that

> Capacity is the combination of people, institutions, resources, organizational
> abilities, authority, and practices that enable First Nations communities to reach
> their own goals. Capacity development is about change – when effective capacity
> development happens, it is transformative and forms the basis for self-
> determination (p. 10).

Ingram (2021), the former Chief Operating Officer for the Australian Indigenous

Governance Institute and current Judicial Registrar with the Australian Federal Court,

would provide further evidence as to why building capacity is crucially vital for

Indigenous nations and communities, especially when it comes to longer-term planning

and the development of future leaders. Building capacity was referenced by Ingram

(2021), who considered Native title in Australia to be "human capital and leadership,

corporate management, and knowledge, administrative capability, financial management

skills and negotiation skills." Ingram (2021) would also go on to add that when it comes

to building capacity, "longer-term planning for skills development, leadership

[development] and succession planning for governing native title is urgently required" (p.

42). I believe the emphasis on the need for longer-term planning relating to leadership

and succession plans applies to SFN due to the knowledge offered when answering

specific questions relating to tensions and challenges. Ingram (2021) also noted that "that there are many members of communities who are able to fill such roles [for capacity building, but] they are often also called upon to take up senior positions across many other facets of life within their community" (p. 42). Ingram (2021) went onto describe how certain citizens of Indigenous nations may sometimes take on numerous roles and positions in the community, raising the chances of burnout or stress impacting those specific citizens. Based on the knowledge provided for certain key questions related to this project, it appears that, at times, the issue raised by Ingram (2021) concerning community members taking on multiple roles or experiencing burnout may be a consideration for the SFN CSO program. In addition, longer-term planning relating to leadership and succession plans was also touched upon via certain aspects of knowledge offered in answering the key questions relating to tensions and challenges of the SFN CSO program.

For applying capacity development to the SFN CSO program, Figure 1 below will be a visual guide for how each of the themes detailed in Chapter 4, which were informed by knowledge offered by SFN Community Leaders and knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, to answer the three elements of the main research question focused on strengths, tensions, and challenges, will fit into one or more of the categories below in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Scope of Capacity Development
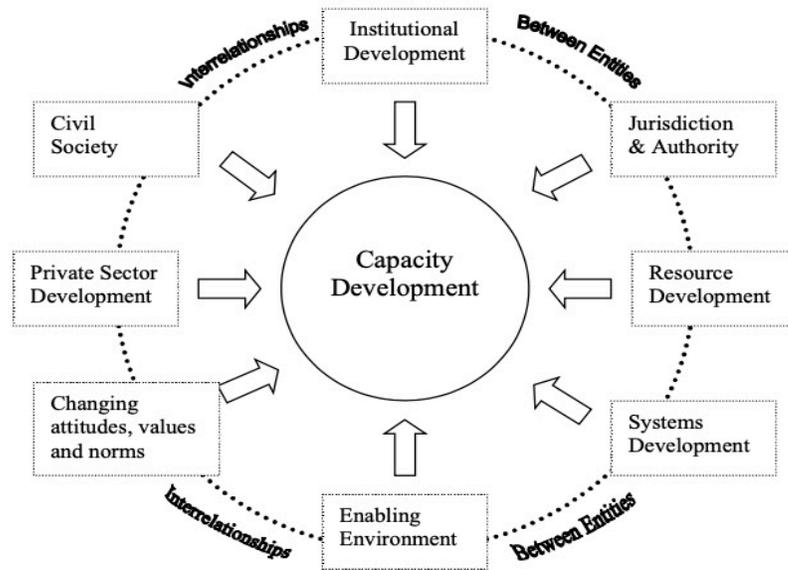
Note: Figure 1 titled: *Scope of Capacity Development* produced by Missens, R. (2008). Sovereignty, Good Governance and First Nations Human Resources: Capacity Challenges as a research paper for the National Centre for First Nations Governance.

To answer and understand the ramifications of the themes identified for answering the three elements of the main research question via key questions #1, #2 and #3 that focused on strengths, tensions, and challenges of the SFN CSO program, each will be discussed by way of how each theme can support capacity development or how capacity development may provide a pathway for addressing identified tensions and challenges. This will be achieved by demonstrating clear connections between one or more of the eight categories in Figure 1, titled '*Scope of Capacity Development,' and* the themes generated from the knowledge shared during the Zoom interviews. The eight categories in Figure 1 include Institutional Development, Jurisdiction and Authority, Resource Development, Systems Development, Enabling Environment, Changing

Attitudes, Values and Norms, Private Sector Development, and Civil Society. In addition to the eight categories, Figure 1 details the importance of instituting capacity development to focus on interrelationships between civil society and institutional development and between changing attitudes and norms and enabling environment. Figure 1 also emphasizes relationships between entities pertaining to an enabling environment with systems development and institutional development with jurisdiction and authority. The eight categories, coupled with a more profound understanding of how specific categories relate to each other regarding 'interrelationships' and 'between entities' provide a holistic structure for how to go about addressing identified tensions and challenges while supporting the expansion of clear strengths identified by knowledge offered by SFN Community Leaders, and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP. It is also hoped that discussing how each of the themes connects with one or more of the categories identified in Figure 1 can provide a platform for addressing tensions and challenges of the SFN CSO program via capacity development. Moreover, the following sections focused on the strengths, tensions, and challenges may potentially serve as a guide for understanding the real-world application for capacity development in the Far North for the SFN CSO program, potentially aiding in the expansion of self-determination and self-governance for SFN.

Strengths

The strengths of the SFN CSO program to be discussed in this section provide a base of support for capacity development when addressing the themes related to tensions and challenges. Three themes were generated as answers for key question #1: *What do you think are the largest strengths of the SFN CSO program?* The three themes included:

1) *Elevated connections to community & knowledge, 2) Increased community confidence with CSOs, and 3) SFN charting their own path for safety*. Each of the three themes generated for strengths from the knowledge provided demonstrates clear positive steps for supporting capacity development for the SFN CSO program that encompass aspects of the following three categories: Civil Society, Enabling Environment, and Changing attitudes, values, and norms.

Community Knowledge & Increased Community Confidence

The first two themes included *elevated connections to community and knowledge and increased community confidence with CSOs;* both touch upon aspects of Civil Society and an Enabling Environment. The first theme was described by Evelyn who stated that the CSOs are "knowledge keepers, I talk about culturally as well, you know the cultural and tradition of the community of the Selkirk First Nation, and they are the constant, they are the conduit, they are liaisons between the um the community, the citizens and all general uh justice professionals." Greg had described the second theme of increased community confidence with CSOs by how the CSOs "being in the community, knowing the community, living in this community, um, you know that's definitely knowing everybody, who everybody is, the family units, where everybody lives." Greg also articulated how CSOs improve connections with the community, thereby enhancing trust. Both themes demonstrate clear connections to civil society (SFN citizens), as the knowledge offered highlighted increased connections between SFN citizens and CSOs, as well as Northern Tutchone cultural knowledge, as noted by Evelyn. Civil society for SFN would also encompass traditions, customs, and beliefs, which Evelyn had acknowledged via cultural connections, as the CSOs are viewed as "knowledge keepers" of the nation.

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Departure From RCMP Only Model to SFN Charting Own Path

Connections between CSOs with civil society (SFN citizens) and traditions, customs, and beliefs, along with elevated confidence by SFN citizens in CSOs, is a stark departure from the attitudes, values, and norms of the RCMP only policing model as per the themes that were generated by the knowledge offered for answering the second opening question that stated: *What was the policing environment for SFN prior to the formation of the CSO program?* The themes for answering the second opening question included: 1) *Unstable*, 2) *Officer Dependent*, and 3) *Detached*. The themes generated for the second opening question will be examined later in this chapter. The themes generated by the challenges and tensions questions will be discussed, and the questions will focus on the systems development category regarding Pelly Crossing RCMP. The final theme generated as a strength of the program stated *SFN charting their own path for safety*. This theme was described by Theresa, who said that "the biggest asset [of the CSO program] is that the beginnings of their realization that there's an alternative to the standard of RCMP or nothing." This passage from the knowledge offered by Theresa demonstrates an embrace of changing attitudes, values, and norms in SFN around community safety that do not have to be monopolized by the RCMP.

Moreover, it would seem as though capacity development for the future of the SFN CSO program has many positives to expand off regarding clear connections to civil society (SFN citizens), along with aspects of Northern Tutchone traditions, customs, and beliefs, coupled with increased confidence in CSOs due to their presence in the community. This theme will be discussed further in the themes generated by the knowledge offered to answer the key question, focusing on the tensions of the program. Although, confidence in CSOs by SFN citizens appears to have evolved at times post the

COVID-19 pandemic, indicating a further need for capacity development for the program. The final category of capacity development touched upon was embracing changing attitudes, values, and norms as per the theme of *SFN charting their own path for safety.* This final category, which was touched upon, provides a solid base for further capacity development to occur in the future. Knowledge offered relating to this final theme of *SFN charting their own path for safety* indicates the importance of SFN citizens seeing a tangible justice program in the form of CSOs working for the community other than just the RCMP seems to have had a large impact on SFN in terms of what could be possible in the future. Theresa offered knowledge that described the importance of SFN charting their own path by that SFN citizens have a newfound realization "that there's an alternative to the standard of RCMP or nothing." Theresa also added that "their beginning to see that there is I would say [an alternative] that's the biggest asset." This is an important strength that I believe SFN can build off in the future in relation to the CSO program or potentially other justice programs, further expanding the idea of SFN *charting their own path for safety*. SFN citizens have improved feelings of safety and trust in their own CSOs, demonstrating the value of an SFN designed, staffed, and administered justice program.

Additional Strengths

Several additional themes generated from key questions #4, #5, and #6 also touched upon elements that can be understood as additional strengths, providing further evidence of a base to build upon for the potential future support for capacity development to occur for the SFN CSO program. Key questions #4, #5, and #6 did not directly ask SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, to identify a specific strength. Although specific themes generated by key

questions #4, #5, and #6 amplify connections between the three key question #1 themes

detailed above with certain capacity development categories. The additional strengths are

to be viewed as broadening the support base for the SFN CSO program, which can be

built upon for potential future capacity development.

Citizens' Trust CSOs and Early Elevated Levels of Safety

        The first of the three additional key questions to be examined, which generated

additional strengths of the SFN CSO program, is key question #4: *In your opinion, has*

the SFN CSO program impacted SFN citizens' feelings of safety compared to the RCMP-

only model? Two themes that emerged when answering key question #4 can be viewed as

additional strengths: *Citizens' Trust in CSOs and Early Elevated Levels of Safety.* The

two themes generated from the knowledge offered when answering key question #4

amplify the base of support for the possible success of capacity development for the SFN

CSO program by further highlighting strong connections with civil society (SFN citizens)

via positive impacts on SFN citizens' feelings of safety, and changing attitudes, values,

and norms.

        Citizens Trust CSOs. Evelyn described how SFN citizens trust the CSOs by

highlighting how "people are trusting to call them [the CSOs] to say, you know, I noticed

something suspicious, or, you know, I know who did this criminal act but they're not,

they don't want to come and talk to the police about it so." This expands on what Greg

had offered when answering key question #1 by referencing how trust has been elevated

for SFN citizens to call or reach out to CSOs. Moreover, the knowledge Greg offered

when answering key question #4 that mentioned how "People don't trust them [the

RCMP] even, even today." Greg also stated, "But uh, you know, like I said, people just

don't trust the RCMP, so they utilize [the CSOs] as much as possible." Both passages

above highlight the theme of citizens trusting CSOs, demonstrating a shift in attitudes, values, and norms regarding SFN citizens having a trusted presence in the community to reach out to in times of need in relation to SFN CSOs. As mentioned in the earlier section focused on key question #1, there is an apparent change in how SFN citizens viewed interacting with Pelly Crossing RCMP, as per Greg's quote within this section.

Early Elevated Levels of Safety. The second theme, generated by key question #4, to be focused on as an additional strength, was *Early Elevated Levels of Safety*. This theme further amplified connections with civil society, specifically SFN citizens, and how, even after the establishment of the SFN CSO program, there was a noticeable change in attitudes, values, and norms. Both capacity development categories were detailed by a female SFN Citizen who stated, "It's okay, I know these guys are our, the CSO guys are out patrolling, and it makes me feel safe to walk home." Betty would also describe how "initially when they [CSOs] first started, it was such a great thing, and um it did the CSO program did give you did give you a level of safety because a level of safety you saw them driving around." Betty would go onto state how initially the CSOs patrols of SFN were well received by SFN Citizens since "you never see the RCMP unless they are called, they don't do patrol umm, but the CSO do so impact was positive because um you felt a level of safety." In addition, Betty had also mentioned how early on CSOs would actively check on house parties, but more recently, the checking of house parties by the CSOs, as described by Betty, has not been occurring regularly. A possible reason why levels of safety were elevated early in the SFN CSO program may have been due to the painful impact of two homicides that had occurred around the time that the CSO program was established. The momentum for the CSO program after the two homicides

was further described by Meg, who stated that "there was a lot, a lot of momentum with the [CSO] program, yes, and it had, it had leadership's support."

CSOs Improved Relationship with RCMP & SFN

The following question, which generated another additional strengths, was key question #5: *Has the CSO program impacted SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP?* For some SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP, their knowledge supported the answer of '*Yes' - CSOs Improved their Relationship with the RCMP & SFN.* Greg and Evelyn's knowledge supported the answer of 'yes,' further amplifying connections with civil society (SFN citizens) and leading to a change in attitudes, values, and norms regarding the relationship between SFN and the Pelly Crossing RCMP. In his response, Greg supported the answer of yes and detailed how "interactions with RCMP in the community have improved because [the CSOs] are working with them now, so they're feeling that you know, they know that [the CSOs are] always there standing in the shadows um, you know, to support them." Evelyn would also add that the CSO program can be viewed as a "bridg[ing the uh gap between the RCMP and the citizens, is that there's a there's a trust holder in place, that allows citizens to connect to, [and] to report."

Partnerships, Collaboration, and Potential Positive Impact

The third and final key question that provided further evidence of additional strengths of the SFN CSO program to provide a platform for the expansion of capacity development for addressing tensions and challenges of the program was key question #6, which stated: *Do you think that the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted RCMP members regarding how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens?* The themes

generated for key question #6, which are additional strengths, include: *Yes, via partnerships, collaboration, and potential positive impact.* Both themes offer evidence of additional strengths, encompassing the following three categories of capacity development: Changing attitudes, values, and norms; enabling the environment; and systems development. It should be noted that the interrelationships between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP emphasize changing attitudes, values, and norms about an enabling environment for the SFN CSO program. This is an additional strength and area of potential future growth, as the second theme highlights a possible positive impact on RCMP members regarding how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens.

      Partnerships & Collaboration. The first theme was detailed by Bob, who emphasized how the RCMP works with CSOs at community events, "and things like that. Ah, I'm sure that has an effect on the ah showing the perceptions of the RCMP being involved in the community and working actively with [SFN]." Greg would also stress the importance of partnerships and expanded collaboration between CSOs and the RCMP, which resulted in the RCMP "realiz[ing] how essential [the CSOs] are." Evelyn expanded on the points made by Bob and Greg by highlighting how, through improved partnerships between CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP, a form of accountability has also been established for the RCMP in Pelly Crossing. Evelyn described the presence of accountability for the RCMP via partnerships as "there's now one medium in place where they're going, oh shoot, I've got somebody else [the CSOs] I'm accountable to follow up and to let them know how the investigation went, you know, so I think um if we've provided you know, the CSOs provide that accountability."

Potential Positive Impact. Meg described the second theme of *Potential Positive Impact* by detailing how the lead SFN CSO had previously conducted an orientation for the new Pelly Crossing RCMP. The orientation covered topics including What settlement lands are and how SFN has ownership & control over specific settlement lands as per the SFN final agreement, common issues in the community, and the history/impact of Residential Schools. The orientation provided space for the potential for a positive impact on Pelly Crossing RCMP to occur, as Meg then stated that "whether that makes any difference in how they interact with some community members, I am not sure, but I'm hoping that the step taken by the CSO, that it does." Betty would also add the potential for the CSO program to impact the RCMP in that "[u]mm, if anything, it should be a good thing, right? I mean, these guys can stay home until somebody phones them. They don't patrol, you know so."

Tensions

Tensions of the SFN CSO program to be discussed in this section provide space for growth where capacity development could help to address the following five themes of tension that emerged from the knowledge that was offered: 1) *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty*, 2) *RCMP Confusion & Concerns,* 3) *Clarification of Roles Needed,* 4) *Community Confusion & Frustration* & 5) *Future Stability.* Each of the five themes will be discussed within this section by demonstrating how each identified theme presents an area for growth for the SFN CSO program, with one or more of the eight capacity development categories detailed in Figure 1. It is worth noting that before addressing the five themes of tensions, it is suggested that SFN leadership re-engage with SFN citizens about proposed methods for addressing each of the five themes of tensions discussed

below, based on the lived realities of the community.[62] Further details will be offered

regarding a re-engagement with SFN citizens regarding theme four, *Community*

Confusion & Frustration.

RCMP Staffing Uncertainty

The first theme generated from the knowledge provided focused on the tension of

RCMP Staffing Uncertainty, rooted in the Limited Duration Posting (LDP) staffing model

that the RCMP relies on across the Far North. The first theme relating to tensions

connects with three of the eight categories as areas for growth concerning capacity

development for the SFN CSO program, specifically regarding *RCMP Staffing*

Uncertainty, which encompasses Enabling Environment, Resource Development, and

Institutional Development. The knowledge offered by Greg and Evelyn both touched

upon tensions arising from *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty*. Greg described this tension as

"every 2 years they change the RCMP, and new members go and come in." Evelyn also

added that "within the last 5 years, we've had a complete shift change of officers at least

three times, where the two officers, like completely new faces, come and go, kind of

thing."

RCMP Staffing Uncertainty presents an area for growth relating to the need for

more of an enhanced enabling environment for the SFN CSO program when it comes to

the RCMP, as staffing uncertainty for the RCMP at times has influenced CSOs to alter

how they interact with the RCMP or how the RCMP interacts with the CSOs resulting in

a potential change in the presence of an enabling environment in SFN for the CSO

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[62] Re-engagement is process to be defined by SFN leadership that provides space for SFN citizens to offer their views and opinions on the state of the SFN CSO program. Possible anonymous or identifiable methods of re-engagement may include online or mail surveys, listening sessions, feedback forms with accompanying locked drop boxes, or another method that SFN leadership chooses.

program from the standpoint of the RCMP. Missens (2008) defined an enabling

environment as actions, communication, respect, and/or ceremonies that "influences the

behaviour of organizations and individuals in large part by incentives. The traditional

institutions, organizations, people, and private sector would be viewed as being in an

open system where they are in constant interaction with each other" (pp. 10-11). A lack

of clear incentives could also "foster passivity" by not always having an open system

where constant communication or interactions can take place. This scenario of passivity

appears to have occurred at times with Pelly Crossing RCMP interactions with SFN

CSOs, rooted in the constant turnover of Pelly Crossing RCMP personnel due to the LDP

staffing model. At times, the RCMP's passivity regarding the SFN CSO program suggests

a lack of an open system of interaction, which may increase the possibility of influencing

how CSOs choose to interact with the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Passivity and its potential

impact on the relationship between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN CSOs will be

discussed further, particularly in relation to the third theme: *Clarification of Roles*

Needed.

Resources Development

The second category that the first theme of *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty* connects

with, presenting an area for additional growth, relates to the capacity development

category of resources development regarding the need for improved consistency and

equity of RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing. Missens (2008) described resources

development as "refer[ring] to the quality and state of resources available to a community

in meeting their developmental goals. These resources include human, financial,

technological, cultural, social, and natural – to name a few" (p. 11). For SFN, the quality

and state of resources available is about the overall quality of policing services offrered

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via each individual RCMP officer. The developmental goals would be related to how those deployed "resources," aka RCMP officers, may be able to better support the success of the SFN CSO program via improved consistency and equity when new officers are posted to Pelly Crossing. The third category, the first theme of *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty, provides an* additional area for potential growth related to institutional development. The theme of *RCMP Staffing* aligns with a potential area for growth in institutional development, specifically regarding the staffing model that the RCMP relies on for most of the Far North, including the Yukon.

RCMP Confusion and Concerns

RCMP Confusion and Concerns was the second theme generated from the knowledge provided by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. *RCMP Confusion and Concerns* presents two areas for growth, relating to the following two categories of capacity development: specifically, a need to clarify jurisdiction and authority regarding the role of SFN CSOs in relation to the Pelly Crossing RCMP. The clarification of roles would also need to include a definition of authority for both CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Another category of growth that this theme would address is further emphasizing the need for an enabling environment for the SFN CSO program, particularly in relation to the Pelly Crossing RCMP, with a complete understanding of the roles and authority of the SFN CSOs. Improved knowledge of roles and authority could also impact the increase in the presence of an enabling, supportive environment, as it provides an incentive for the Pelly Crossing RCMP to understand that SFN CSOs are consistent partners with intimate knowledge of SFN. It is hoped that with an enhanced understanding of jurisdiction and authority, the passivity of the Pelly Crossing RCMP towards the SFN CSO program will be minimized.

Evelyn had described *RCMP Confusion & Concerns* with the CSOs about how certain

RCMP officers are "almost being intimidated by the knowledge of the CSO, [and] they

almost feel like they're being replaced." Meg also added that "it was confusing for the

RCMP at the beginning; they didn't understand what their roles were [and that the

RCMP] were open to working collaboratively with the program and, [but] always um

ha[d] issues."

Clarification of Roles Needed

        The third theme generated from the knowledge provided was the *Clarification of*

Roles Needed. The third theme encompasses five categories for capacity development

growth, including jurisdiction and authority, civil society, institutional development, an

enabling environment, and changing attitudes, values, and norms. *Clarification of Roles*

*Needed align*s with the category of jurisdiction and authority by amplifying the area for

growth highlighted above for Theme Two, *RCMP Confusion and Concerns,* regarding

the need to clarify the roles and authority for both CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP.

The connection of the third theme with the category of jurisdiction & authority, also as

per the knowledge that was provided, is deeply connected with a need for institutional

development of the SFN CSO program on the part of Pelly Crossing RCMP when it

comes to the working relationship coupled with clarifying roles, authority, and how goals

of the CSO program & Pelly Crossing RMCP may better respond to lived realities in

SFN. This should include the circumstances under which CSOs can assist Pelly Crossing

RCMP, as well as the types of calls that may require RCMP backup support. Within the

capacity development framework, it is essential to emphasize that institutional

development for SFN CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP should not occur in separate

silos, but rather within an enabling environment contextualized by open communication, respect, and partnership.

Institutional Development Needed

It is suggested that Institutional development occur within an enabling environment between the SFN CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Still, the openness of communication, respect, and partnership must also define the interrelationship between each organization and civil society (SFN citizens), including SFN leadership, to clarify roles, authority, and goals for the CSO program. This will enable Pelly Crossing RMCP to better respond to the lived realities of SFN citizens. The fifth and final category that the third theme presents as an area for growth would be changing attitudes, values, and norms, which is hoped to occur for SFN citizens, CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP when institutional development, coupled with a clarifying of jurisdiction and authority, occurs within a respectful enabling environment. For a change in attitudes, values, and norms to happen, the enabling environment must emphasize supporting and prioritizing interrelationships with SFN citizens regarding the SFN CSO program, along with how the working relationship between SFN CSOs with the Pelly Crossing RCMP impacts SFN citizens, and how Pelly Crossing RCMP's relationship with SFN citizens may evolve after a process of institutional development, coupled with clarifying jurisdiction & authority.

Meg, Theresa, Betty, and Bob offered knowledge that articulated aspects of the third theme: *clarification of roles needed regarding the CSOs and* the RCMP. Meg detailed a need for clarification of the roles of CSOs, as some SFN citizens were sometimes unclear about the role of SFN CSOs. Meg had described how CSOs received "a lot of phone calls too about, laughing people have been drinking or whatever and they

are like 'give me a ride home – your community safety officer, you need to make sure I

get home safe!' No, we don't, [but the CSOs] always say we are not a taxi service but its,

but if you're going to put yourself in harm's way then we will pick you up." Theresa also

added to the knowledge offered by Meg by stating that SFN citizens at times did not have

a "clear [view] on what [CSOs] can or can't do they recognize [who CSOs] are while

they have vest, they are not armed they don't have any any weapons they don't have

anything to do anything of these things." Betty had also offered knowledge that detailed

the need for a distinction of roles between the CSOs and RCMP, since "right now the

CSOs have completely backed off on anything remotely close to law enforcement. If

there is a domestic dispute somewhere they'll maybe, they will go outside and stay on the

road watching the house." Bob would also add to the need for clarification of roles and

authority when it comes to emergency calls. Bob had described how for particular

emergency calls the handling of information was a concern, "had that call gone directly

through to the RCMP um sometimes it can result in a time delay if it's having to translate

through the CSO program on to [the RCMP, which may result in] potentially a loss of

evidence there um if information is handed off through an intermediate party."

Community Confusion and Frustration
The fourth theme generated from the provided knowledge was *Community*

Confusion & Frustration, which focused on CSO work schedules, initial unease,

clarification of roles, and the state of the program post-COVID-19. The fourth theme

presents six categories for growth relating to capacity development: Civil society,

enabling environment, changing attitudes, values, and norms, private sector development,

jurisdiction and authority, and institutional development. The first category that

Community Confusion & Frustration connects with is civil society, as the citizens of SFN

comprise the civil society of SFN. It appears from the provided knowledge that capacity development may also provide an opportunity for re-engagement with SFN citizens regarding the SFN CSO program.

Re-engagement with SFN Citizens. As noted earlier a re-engagement process with SFN citizens could allow for addressing citizens' concerns and frustrations relating to identified tensions. This could also allow for hearing SFN citizen feedback on the current state of the CSO program relating to the mission, goals, authority, and roles of CSOs. It would be encouraged that a re-engagement with SFN citizens would occur before addressing all prior themes discussed up to this point, as to inform and root all solutions when addressing the first three areas of tension themes examined up to this point, which include: *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty*, *RCMP Confusion & Concerns,* and *Clarification of Roles Needed.* Once re-engagement occurs between the SFN CSO program and SFN citizens, the second category of an enabling environment will be examined in conjunction with the fourth theme. An enabling environment for the SFN CSO program, involving the citizens of SFN, is crucial for the program to be rooted in the community. Re-engagement is key to re-establishing and clarifying the goals, objectives, authority, and abilities of SFN CSOs for SFN citizens. Still, as re-engagement is proposed to avoid *Community Confusion & Frustration,* but the mechanism for re-engagement must be embraced by SFN citizens.

Enabling Environment Between SFN CSO Program with SFN Citizens
An enabling environment for the SFN CSO program with SFN citizens would need to rely on open, transparent communication avenues and information campaigns to inform SFN citizens of programs or policy updates, as an incentive to influence their behaviour and promote a culture of openness, honesty, and clear communication. If

implemented over an extended period, this could influence and change the attitudes, values, and norms of SFN citizens regarding their previous confusion and frustration with the SFN CSO program. An environment that enables clear communication and openness with SFN citizens is beneficial for extending to the private sector, thereby developing a culture of openness, honesty, and clear communication in SFN regarding the CSO program. This could be achieved through open invitations to SFN citizens to attend information sessions, which could be posted at gas stations, grocery stores, schools, SFN offices, and other community gathering locations. Private sector development will also be discussed in relation to the fifth theme, *Future Stability.* The final two categories of institutional development, jurisdiction and authority, are rooted in SFN citizen re-engagement and an enabling environment related to SFN citizens. In addition to rooting all communication with SFN citizens in an open framework, a review of the SFN CSO program would benefit from the knowledge provided. Institutional development could be facilitated via re-engagement sessions highlighted above that would be able to reflect the lived realities of SFN citizens better to address confusions and frustrations relating to the work schedules of SFN CSOs, the state of the program post-COVID 19, and, at times, SFN citizens viewing CSOs as police.

Meg, Betty, and Theresa had each touched upon the fourth theme of *Community Confusion and Frustration* via the knowledge offered. Meg first detailed frustrations with CSO work schedules by describing how "work schedules like we have between 9-2 am covered, but then people are saying, well that's when the activity starts, is after 2, so you need to change your work schedules." Confusion and frustration regarding the work schedules of CSOs were also discussed by Theresa, who stated that "what's the point, for

example, having CSO if they work office hours [and] nothing ever happens during the

daytime is their big thing, you know they should be here at 2 o'clock in the morning."

Betty would expand on community frustrations with the SFN CSO program by describing

how the CSO program had changed since COVID, stating that "when they first started

off, they would drive around like early hours, and that's when you see people coming

from neighbouring communities for drugs." Theresa would go on to highlight another

frustration relating to a need for a clarification of roles between CSOs and Pelly Crossing

RCMP. The frustration of roles was highlighted by Theresa, who had stated that "if I call

the RCMP then they tell me to call the CSOs but if I call them at night the CSO says well

you gotta call the RCMP and so now they're stuck and so I think the feeling that exists is

a frustration of well I'm calling you so you can call the RCMP I don't want to call the

RCMP because I don't want to have to deal with that." Meg also described how certain

SFN citizens were uneasy with the CSOs early as "they thought the CSOs were like

Narcs (uses air quotations)."

Future Stability of the SFN CSO Program

The fifth theme, generated from the knowledge provided regarding the tensions of

the current SFN CSO program, focused on the *Future Stability* of the SFN CSO program,

specifically improving collaboration, program structure, and funding. To address the

theme of *Future Stability* for the SFN CSO program, as mentioned previously, a future

stability document for the SFN CSO program must be rooted in the views and lived

realities of SFN citizens, as discussed within theme four, through re-engagement with

SFN citizens. As far as categories of capacity development to focus on when addressing

the future stability of the SFN CSO program, all eight categories should be examined

regarding the long-term viability of the SFN CSO program, with an emphasis on

institutional development of the SFN CSO program along with a focus on the relationship between CSOs with civil society as noted above via a re-engagement with SFN citizens.

CSO Program's Relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Furthermore, the second key portion of the future stability of the SFN CSO program will need to re-examine the CSO program's relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP in terms of jurisdiction and authority to improve collaboration. The program structure should also be discussed with civil society and through institutional development, informed by re-engagement with SFN citizens and discussions with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Seven possible topics that re-engagement sessions might focus on regarding the SFN CSO program could include: 1. Improved structure of the program to better support positive impacts in SFN, 2. Work schedules of CSOs, 3. Citizens contacting CSOs, 4. Supporting CSOs, 5. The role/power of CSOs, 6. How can CSOs better meet the needs of citizens, and 7. Possible partnerships with health and social services to better support SFN citizens in crisis via improved outreach services.

Future Stability & Funding. The final category to be emphasized when formulating a future SFN CSO program stability document could connect with the following two capacity development categories: Resource and Private Sector Development. These two categories would provide a platform for examining and clarifying the program's funding structure in the future, including funding needs, expenses, and future infrastructure improvements. Resource and Private Sector Development may occur in multiple ways to best stabilize the state of equipment, resources, and funding available for the SFN CSO program. This may include advocating for changes to the current funding formula offered by the FNIPP provided by the federal

government, along with an expansion of possible grant funding opportunities. It is crucial that funding is consistent, clear, and substantial to fully support the program into the future and supplement current funding from SFN. As SFN is a self-governing Northern Indigenous nation, the Federal and Yukon Governments must uphold their role in the nation-to-nation relationship as per the SFN Self-Government and the Selkirk First Nation Final Land Claims Agreements.

   Possible Options for Stabilizing Future Funding. As far as private sector development as it relates to funding of the SFN CSO program, it is suggested that a possible option for stabilizing future funding if the Federal and Yukon governments do not provide a secure avenue for funding via the FNIPP or another source it is proposed a private-public partnership (PPP) may be an option for SFN when it comes to long-term funding for the SFN CSO program.[63] A PPP arrangement may be sought to upgrade and/or expand current SFN CSO facilities or equipment within a funding framework that can help offset high construction and maintenance costs for buildings, as well as vehicles, in the Far North. In addition, key portions of knowledge from the first four themes of tensions discussed above, as well as how each theme connects to specific capacity development themes, should be included in the full capacity development review. This will enable the formulation of a document that addresses all aspects of the future stability of the SFN CSO program. Suggestions and proposed solutions should also inform improved collaboration and program structure via those capacity development categories touched upon for addressing the first four themes within this section: 1) *RCMP Staffing*

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[63] The Canadian Council for Public Private Partnerships (n.d.) defined "Public-private partnerships, also called PPPs or P3s, [as] partnerships between governments and the private sector to build public infrastructure like roads, hospitals or schools, or to deliver services" (p. 5).

Uncertainty, 2) *RCMP Confusion & Concerns,* 3) *Clarification of Roles Needed, &* 4)

Community Confusion & Frustration.

Meg and Betty offered knowledge that touched on the *Future Stability* of the SFN

CSO program. Meg had alluded to the need for improved outreach work by SFN CSOs

when it comes to certain SFN citizens who may be dealing with substance abuse

regarding alcohol. Meg described how the role of the CSOs may evolve to include

outreach to SFN citizens who may be struggling with substance abuse by that the CSOs

could "knock on the door the next day [after an incident] and say okay you're making

things unsafe for yourself, um and the health and social team would be there kind of

doing outreach to that individual." Meg went on to state that the outreach role she

detailed for the CSOs "hasn't evolved here. Like the CSOs will say oh okay here is this,

but then the outreach doesn't happen." Betty would also offer knowledge regarding the

structure and funding of the SFN CSO program as key elements to focus on for the future

s*tability* of the SFN CSO program. Betty detailed the need to re-examine the structure of

the SFN CSO program by saying that "the CSOs have to become a structured program

now because if it's going to do any good in the future, it has to become structured so that

people you know are going to be there, like after hours." Betty would also add, "I think it

[the SFN CSO program] needs to be properly funded um for the next while [like] 10-

years maybe."

Additional Tensions

Knowledge offered in answering key question #4: *In your opinion, has the SFN*

CSO program impacted SFN citizens' feelings of safety compared to the RCMP-only

model? If yes, in what ways have you observed SFN citizens' increased feelings of safety?

If no, why not? The portion of knowledge that fits into an additional tension theme was

the third theme generated from the knowledge offered in answering key question #4. The third theme, stated as '*Minimal to No Impact,*' was mainly due to concerns raised about the growing state of crime in SFN being too severe at times for CSOs to make a significant difference in relation to SFN citizens feelings of safety.

Concerns about Crime in SFN

The third theme from key question #4 presents several possible areas for connection with four of the capacity development categories that offer growth opportunities for addressing this additional tension. The four categories of capacity development are civil society, institutional development, systems development, and resources development. The knowledge offered by Theresa formulated the third theme, which touched upon concerns she raised about crime in SFN potentially impacting the CSOs' ability to operate in SFN. Theresa stated, "We are at the point where some of us don't even feel safe with the RCMP. They are there is some real fear about the criminal element in the community." The knowledge offered by Theresa points to a need for the CSO program to re-engage with citizens of SFN (civil society) to better understand the state of crime and how it impacts citizens' day-to-day lives.

Further Support for Re-engagement. Re-engagement sessions with citizens could also include posing questions about the role of CSOs in SFN and how well citizens feel CSOs are equipped to handle the current state of crime in SFN, as well as their relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The knowledge gained from SFN citizen re-engagement sessions would then be able to help to inform institutional development, systems development (CSO's relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP), and resources development (proper equipment, such as bulletproof vests, radios, vehicles, and adequate training) focused on the CSO program and its ability to respond to the current level of

criminal activity in SFN. This theme also aligns with the overall mission and goals of the

CSO program, particularly in relation to institutional development. It is crucial to

understand that the CSO program was not designed to deal with violent criminals on a

daily basis. Therefore, this might be an area where CSOs may need to re-examine their

working relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Possible CSO Program MOU, LOE, or TOR with Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Furthermore, the CSO program may want to formulate its own Memorandum of

Understanding (MOU), Letter of Expectation (LOE), or Terms of Reference (TOR) with

Pelly Crossing RCMP to clarify authority, jurisdiction, and protocols for dealing with the

current growing state of crime in SFN to ensure safety comes first for CSOs and SFN

citizens. A final area to focus on might be the current level of training that CSOs

complete, and whether this level of training matches the state of crime in SFN. Another

area of training to consider is whether SFN CSOs should collaborate with the Pelly

Crossing RCMP on communication, clarifying authority and jurisdiction, to ensure all

parties are aligned. All three mechanisms for clarifying authority, along with jurisdiction

and protocols between the CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP, will be discussed

Challenges

Challenges of the SFN CSO program to be discussed in this section provide space

for growth where capacity development to address challenges raised via the themes

generated that included: 1) *CSO Retention & Support*, 2) *Community Support*, 3) RCMP

Awareness, Recognition & Respect, 4) State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse &

5) *Undergo Growth & Conduct a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current*

CSOs. Each of the five themes generated from the knowledge offered by SFN

Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing

RCMP, presents areas for growth relating to capacity development.

CSO Retention & Support

The first theme generated from the offered knowledge focused on the challenge of

CSO Retention & Support. As far as the possible areas of capacity development that

present opportunities for growth in addressing the challenge of *CSO Retention &*

Support, the following categories would need to be focused on, addressing all aspects of

the first theme: Enabling environment, resource development, institutional development,

jurisdiction & authority. The category of an enabling environment addresses certain

aspects of the challenges related to *CSO retention and support* by ensuring that SFN

CSOs are supported by the civil society of SFN (SFN citizens) along with SFN

leadership.

Enabling Environment for SFN CSOs. A more enabling environment for SFN

CSOs may, in turn, increase the "incentives [that] encourage productivity and growth" for

CSOs who feel supported by having a more enabling environment from SFN citizens and

leadership, which could result in CSOs wanting to stay working for SFN (Missens, 2008,

p. 11). An enabling environment may also aid in recruiting new CSOs by SFN. The

second capacity development category that addresses additional aspects of the challenge

of *CSO Retention & Support* raised by the knowledge that was offered is resources

development. The category of resources development goes hand-in-hand with a

supportive enabling environment, in that resources development may help further signal

to SFN CSOs that they are supported and valued by SFN citizens and leadership in the

form of equipment, training, supports, and other important crucial items for CSOs to be

to do their job. The final two categories that present space for growth to address the

challenges of *CSO Retention & Support* are institutional development and jurisdiction & authority.

Institutional Development. Institutional development should focus on SFN leadership working to clarify the role of SFN CSOs, including when, how, and what they are to be trained to respond to, work schedules, training/reporting requirements, and relationships with other social service providers, such as health, addictions, mental health, youth, and elder services. Training and reporting requirements will need to be clarified via the re-engagement sessions detailed in the prior sections to better prepare SFN CSOs for the current state of the lived realities of SFN citizens and social services. Addressing the aspects of institutional development listed above for the SFN CSO program may help to clarify better and equip SFN CSOs with a clear vision of their role, relationships with social service providers, and training requirements. The final capacity development category to be focused on for addressing the challenge of *CSO Retention & Support* is jurisdiction & authority.

Jurisdiction & Authority. The reason for including the category of jurisdiction & authority as a pathway for addressing this first theme is because of concerns that were raised by the knowledge that was offered for this theme and others that touched on CSOs at times not always having a clear understanding of their authority as it relates to the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Moreover, community confusion and frustration were also detailed in the fourth theme of tensions in the prior section. Following a comprehensive review of institutional development, it is recommended that the jurisdiction and authority of SFN CSOs be reassessed to clarify their roles and responsibilities. Clarifying the authority and jurisdiction of CSOs will help to provide current and future CSOs with a

clearer understanding of their relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP and their day-to-day authority within SFN. When clarifying jurisdiction and authority, it is believed that once again, the root of clarifying jurisdiction and authority for SFN CSOs should be guided by re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens and possibly Pelly Crossing RCMP to uphold an enabling environment with SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP. However, including Pelly Crossing RCMP at potential re-engagement sessions is only a suggestion and must be entirely led by SFN leadership. Re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens may also help to alleviate a stigma relating to SFN CSOs held by some SFN citizens that SFN CSOs are viewed as NARCS who, as described by Meg, are "going around and spying on everyone and telling the cops."

Knowledge that Articulated Aspects of the First Theme: Retention & Support. Meg, Theresa, and Greg all offered knowledge that touched upon the first theme regarding the challenge of *CSO Retention & Support*. Greg would also touch on the topic of stigma raised above by Meg in that "all of a sudden they were being labeled narcs they're pigs, you know, they're rats, and you know [they were] warn[ed] everybody that during the class, that things are going to change when [they] get into [the CSO] program, [they] have to have a big set of shoulders and not take it to heart right." Meg would also add that the SFN CSO program has at times been dealing with "a huge challenge with um staffing the positions." Theresa also added that "we've got to get our heads together we've got to decide what were going to do because were struggling to get people to come into the office."

Community Support

The second theme generated from the offered knowledge focused on the challenge of *Community Support*. As far as the possible areas of capacity development

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that presents space for growth for addressing the challenge of *Community Support* the following capacity development categories would need to be focused for addressing all aspects of the second theme that include: Civil society, enabling environment, institutional development, and jurisdiction & authority. Much of the knowledge presented provides further support for re-engaging with SFN citizens to re-examine the mission and focus of the SFN CSO program, aiming to meet the current lived realities of SFN citizens and clarify the mission/focus of the SFN CSO program with civil society (SFN citizens).

Further Support for Re-engagement. Re-engagement sessions, as mentioned above, would allow space for SFN citizens to offer their views on the SFN CSO program, which may bolster support for the program in the future. The second capacity development category of an enabling environment would also be crucial for sustaining support from SFN citizens. The importance of an enabling environment is further magnified, and I would echo the discussions included above within the fourth tension's theme of *Community Confusion & Frustration.* As detailed previously, the root of an enabling environment is to promote an enabling environment with SFN citizens, including SFN leadership, relating to the SFN CSO program rooted in a culture of openness, honesty, and clear communication. This is not to say that an enabling environment already does not exist, but that as far as the knowledge that was offered by SFN Community Leaders and knowledge Holders, including SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, re-engagement sessions for addressing the challenge of *Community Support* may provide an opportunity for re-setting the support from SFN citizens and SFN leadership to better meet the current realties present in Pelly Crossing.

Institutional Development, & Jurisdiction & Authority. The final two categories that provide further opportunities for addressing additional aspects of the challenge of *Community Support* are institutional development and jurisdiction and authority. Each of the final two categories focuses on an area of growth for the SFN CSO program and the need for the program to adapt to the new reality regarding institutional development, jurisdiction, and authority. Theresa described the need for the SFN CSO program to adjust to a new reality in SFN as "the program is going to have to adapt." As noted above it seems there are a number of areas where the CSO program will need to adapt in terms of better responding to SFN citizens at times, working with Pelly Crossing RCMP, and the current state of crime and substance abuse.

Institutional Development. Institutional development would provide a pathway for addressing *community support* challenges regarding the SFN CSO program being reoriented via knowledge offered by SFN citizens generated from re-engagement sessions detailed above. The SFN CSO program could then be reoriented to better address challenges raised from the knowledge provided in this project by SFN Community Leaders and Knowledge Holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, and additional knowledge offered at SFN citizen re-engagement sessions. The reorientation of the SFN CSO program through institutional development would also provide an opportunity to re-examine the state of the SFN CSO program's jurisdiction and authority, clarifying possible concerns of SFN citizens regarding when SFN CSOs can respond to incidents or calls for help.

Jurisdiction & Authority. This re-examination may also include a full review of how or when CSOs can answer citizen phone calls and what citizens can do when the

CSO's phone is busy or not being answered. The role of SFN CSOs should also be examined as the knowledge that was offered touched upon concerns around the role of SFN CSOs and how certain SFN citizens do not always have a clear understanding of what the role of SFN CSOs is and when they can respond to an incident or a call for help. It is hoped that a review of the SFN CSO program, conducted through institutional development and an assessment of jurisdiction and authority, will help adapt the program to the new reality of the state of SFN and ensure it has community support. A review of the SFN CSO program, including institutional development, jurisdiction, and authority, could also provide an opportunity for SFN CSOs to articulate what they may need from SFN leadership and the community to feel supported and successful. It should also be noted that the two categories of institutional development and jurisdiction and authority discussed in this section echo the importance of the third tension's theme of *Clarification of Roles Needed.*

Knowledge that Articulated Aspects of the Second Theme: Community Support. Betty, Theresa, and Meg each provided knowledge that detailed the challenge of *Community Support*. Betty had first offered knowledge that highlighted the need to make sure the SFN CSO program maintains community support by "keeping the faith of people because they started off one way where they would drive around late and then they'd see somebody needs help to get home and they'd give that person a ride." Betty also touched on the area of concern regarding the SFN CSO program maintaining community support when it comes to SFN citizens calling SFN CSOs for help. Betty described this as "sometimes you don't [know] who's on the phone or lead CSO, and he's holidaying." Betty also stated that the role of SFN CSOs of late has been "hit and miss"

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regarding SFN CSOs responding to incidents or calls for help. Theresa also detailed the

need for the SFN CSO program and SFN to adapt to a new reality since "the community

as a whole is facing, and the program is going to have to adapt." Finally, Meg also

offered knowledge that also pointed to a need for addressing community support for the

program since "if the CSOs know that know that they don't have that support it becomes

a very minimal program, they are just going to be doing patrolling they are just yeah."

Meg also detailed the need for SFN leadership to support the program by "[i]n order for

[the CSOs] to um to be successful and when we [had a] change over in leadership it

didn't seem that they had that support."

RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect for the CSO Program
The third theme generated from the knowledge focused on the challenge of

RCMP Awareness, Recognition, and Respect for the CSO program. As far as possible,

areas of capacity development that present space for growth for addressing the challenge

of *RCMP Awareness, Recognition, and Respect,* the following capacity development

categories would need to be focused on addressing all aspects of the second theme, which

include Systems Development, an Enabling Environment, and changing attitudes, values,

and norms.

Systems Development. The first of the three capacity development categories

that provide an avenue for growth to address aspects of the third theme is systems

development. The challenge of *RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect* for the SFN

CSO program seems rooted in the staffing formula utilized in the Yukon and across the

Far North, the Limited Duration Post (LDP) model discussed earlier in Chapter 1. Much

of the provided knowledge focused on the LDP staffing model for the RCMP, which

presents a significant challenge for Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in gaining

awareness/recognition of the SFN CSO program, as well as respect for it. Evelyn had described the constant challenge of educating new Pelly Crossing RCMP officers on the SFN CSO program who have been rotated into Pelly Crossing via the LDP staffing model as "the challenge that we face is that we just finished educating the last batch of RCMP officers that were skeptical of the program from the beginning, they're only there for three years." Evelyn would go on to add that "by the time [the new RCMP officers] get on board and adopt, want to adopt the [SFN CSO] program and move forward with it - now they're gone." Systems development may provide an opportunity for cementing into the staffing structure for Pelly Crossing a potentially required education element where new Pelly Crossing RCMP officers must review information material on the SFN CSO program, including why the program was established, what types of work the CSOs do in the community and the program's relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Missens (2008) described systems development as "the development of a group of interdependent and interrelated social organizations, including civil groups, government organizations and the private sector, such as the justice system or a health system" (p. 11). The development of clear guidelines (i.e., educational material) for new RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing would provide consistency in knowledge of the CSO program helping to stabilize the relationship between the SFN CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), Letter of Expectation (LOE), or Terms of Reference (TOR). As mentioned previously within this chapter, an MOU, LOE, or TOR were put forth as a potential mechanism to address Tenison themes generated by the knowledge offered. It is proposed that the same or fully separate MOU,

LOE, or TOR could be possible mechanisms for developing clear guidelines for systems development related to educating RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing about SFN as a self-governing nation, expectations of working in Pelly Crossing, SFN CSO program, and potentially revitalizes the previous Lead CSO orientation program. An MOU is a written document that is an "agreement negotiated between two or more parties that outlines the responsibilities to be assumed by each party to achieve certain goals or results." Furthermore, it should be noted that an MOU "may or may not be legally binding, depending on the intent of the parties and the wording contained in the document" (Kwantlen Polytechnic University, 2023, p. 1). RCMP M Division Reconciliation Strategy (February 2021a) defined an LOE as an agreement that "defines and promotes positive and cooperative relationships and provides policing priorities, goals, and strategies that are specific to the needs" for a specific Northern Indigenous nation (para. 33). In 2020 KDFN signed an LOE with Whitehorse RCMP that "is meant to make the RCMP more accountable to the First Nation and help build a new relationship between police and the community." The LOE also "requires RCMP to deliver monthly policing reports and to meet with [KDFN] council quarterly. At the same time, [KDFN] will provide cultural awareness training to the RCMP to help them better understand the community they [are] policing" (CBC News North, 2020c, para. 2 & 7). Moreover, as noted in the footnote on page 139 a TOR is described as document that has been agreed to between two groups or parties that are working together to accomplish a shared goal, objective, or project. The TOR can be as long as the two groups or parties agree, and it will clearly break down agreed-upon objectives, along with roles and responsibilities of all groups/parties involved.

Changing Attitudes, Values, and Norms: Educational Material + Systems

Development. Either an MOU, LOE or a TOR may provide a mechanism for clarifying

expectations and goals for Pelly Crossing RCMP that also requires new RCMP officers

posted to Pelly Crossing to thoroughly review educational material welcoming new

RCMP officers to the nation of SFN, including an overview of the SFN Self-Government

Agreement and Final Land Claims Agreement, the importance of clans to Northern

Tutchone peoples, governance structures, and traditional on the land activities. The

education material could also include a detailed overview of the SFN CSO program,

including jurisdiction of the program, relationship with the community and Pelly

Crossing RCMP, and contact information for the lead SFN CSO. The MOU, LOE, or

TOR could also include language that revitalizes the previously discussed orientation

conducted by the lead CSO, which was detailed earlier in this chapter in the *Potential*

Positive Impact section regarding the knowledge Meg had offered. The revitalized

orientation could cover similar topics, such as what are settlement lands and SFN

ownership & control over specific settlement lands via the SFN final agreement, common

issues in the community, and the history/impact of Residential Schools. SFN leadership

may also want to include an official welcome to the new RCMP officer at the Pelly

Crossing post, which could allow the newly posted RCMP officer to introduce

themselves to the nation. The final two categories of capacity development that connect

with the third theme include enabling the environment and changing attitudes, values, and

norms. It is hoped that through a straightforward systems development process as

detailed above, the final two categories will be touched upon by increasing the potential

for an enabling environment to occur potentially elevating Pelly Crossing RCMP's

Awareness, Recognition & Respect for the CSO program, in turn positively impacting a change in attitudes, values, and norms when it comes to the Pelly Crossing RCMP officers' views of the SFN CSO program.

Knowledge that Articulated Aspects of the Third Theme: RCMP Awareness, Recognition and Respect for the CSO program. Evelyn, Meg, and Theresa each offered knowledge that touched on aspects of the challenge of *RCMP Awareness, Recognition, and Respect* for the CSO program. Evelyn detailed the impact of the LDP model on the RCMP a*wareness, Recognition, and Respect* for the CSO program in that it constantly must re-educate new RCMP who are posted to Pelly Crossing as "it's just like a hamster on the wheel." Meg would also add that COVID-19 had significantly impacted SFN regarding conducting an orientation for "new people come into the community, RCMP, nurses, teachers, [but] we haven't done that in years, especially because of COVID." Theresa also added further knowledge that pointed to a need for recognition and respect for SFN as a nation along with the SFN CSO program by RCMP, saying that "Officers come in they recognize I'm walking into a nation that has [an] already operational program that I am going to contribute to."

State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse in SFN

The fourth theme, generated from the knowledge, focused on the challenge of the *State of criminal elements and substance abuse* in SFN. As far as the possible areas of capacity development that present space for growth for addressing the challenge of the *State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse,* the following capacity development categories would need to be focused on addressing all aspects of the fourth theme: Civil society, intuitional development, systems development, and jurisdiction & authority.

The first of the four capacity development categories that offer a pathway for addressing the fourth theme of the *State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse* in SFN is civil society. SFN citizens (civil society) should be engaged via re-engagement sessions like those detailed in this chapter to understand the state of the *Criminal Element and Substance Abuse* in SFN.

Re-engagement Sessions with SFN Citizens. These proposed SFN citizen re-engagement sessions focused on the state of the criminal element and substance abuse and the role of SFN CSOs. Re-engagement sessions could be led by SFN leadership to better understand how CSOs are currently dealing with crime and substance abuse and if there could be any changes or updates to policy as to how CSOs respond and possibly coordinate with health, social services, Pelly Crossing RCMP, youth programs, and educators. It should be noted that, as per Chapter 1, the portion of the chapter titled *Formation of the SFN CSO Program*, SFN CSOs have had a positive impact previously on the challenge of bootlegging and drug trafficking into Pelly Crossing through coordination between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP. SFN leadership, if it is believed beneficial and appropriate, may also want to include short presentations from current CSOs, health, social service, addictions, youth programs and educators, and possibly Pelly Crossing RCMP focused on the state of the criminal element and/or substance abuse in SFN at Council meetings or public information sessions about the state of crime.

During the proposed re-engagement sessions, discussions could also focus on the institutional development of the SFN CSO program, systems development, and jurisdiction and authority relating to the SFN CSO program's working relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP regarding the state of the *Criminal Element and Substance Abuse*

in SFN. Knowledge generated from these re-engagement sessions may also inform a potential future separate MOU, LOE, or TOR between SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP, which is explicitly focused on the relationship between SFN CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Worsening State of Illegal Drugs. Additionally, SFN may consider updating the terms of its agreement with the Yukon government's Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods (SCAN) initiative. The challenge of the *State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse* relating to opioids and crack cocaine in SFN, as described by former SFN Chief Isaac, has reached a crisis point since "[i]n an affidavit filed with the petition [referenced in Chapter 1 - Formation of the SFN CSO Program], [former SFN Chief] Darin Isaac [had stated] that drug and alcohol abuse has been a longstanding issue in his small community, but it's become a lot worse in the last couple of years" (CBC News North, 2023, para. 10). Former SFN Chief Isaac would go onto describe how "[t]he availability of these illegal drugs in our community has led to a significant number of our citizens abusing illegal drugs. This has created a crisis in our community" (para. 10). The seriousness of the challenge of the *State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse* in SFN, as described by former SFN Chief Isaac, heightens the need for re-engagement sessions to be held with SFN citizens, but also a potential new model for addressing both substance abuse and crime in SFN that works to leverage justice, social services, health, the CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Northern Tutchone Tribal Council & Public Health Policing. Moreover, as per aspects of knowledge that were offered that supported the fourth theme, SFN may also want to possibly consider approaching both challenges of crime and substance abuse

from a collective standpoint by working with their Northern Tutchone neighbours within the Northern Tutchone Tribal Council due to each nation's deep cultural connections as well as geographical proximity via the southern and northern portions of the Klondike Highway. Whitehorse and Dawson City are viewed as hub locations where a significant amount of drug and gun trafficking originate via highways & waterways that provide avenues for the drug and illegal gun trade into the Northern Tutchone Tribal Council region (CBC News North, 2023a; CBC News North, 2023b; Deen, 2024; Elliot, 2023; Fox, 2019). It should also be noted that the Yukon's proximity to Alaska may also increase the potential for higher incidents of drug and gun trafficking to occur in SFN and the two other Northern Tutchone Tribal Council Northern Indigenous nations (Klein, 2022).

A possible new model that may be an avenue for leveraging SFN resources and certain personnel in identifying individuals who may be struggling with substance abuse or are actively bringing illegal drugs or alcohol into Pelly Crossing via a public health model of policing approach.[64] The public health model of policing is a suggestion for how to leverage SFN resources and personnel in dealing with substance abuse and crime. This model could also potentially be expanded into a separate regional Northern Tutchone public health model of policing group with representatives from the three Northern Tutchone Tribal Council nations to coordinate efforts among the three Northern Tutchone nations regarding substance abuse and crime.

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[64] The public health model of policing approach can be understood as a policing model that views serious issues in the community as a public health issue, and police are viewed as agents of public health. Police are connected with social, health, addictions professionals to leverage their expertise and skills to get to the root of the serious issues facing the community. This policing approach was first established in Glasgow, Scotland in 2005 via the creation of the Violence Reduction Unit (VRU).

Knowledge that Articulated Aspects of the Fourth Theme: State of Criminal

Element and Substance Abuse in SFN. Betty, Meg, and Theresa each had offered

knowledge that touched upon the challenge of the *State of Criminal Element & Substance*

Abuse in SFN. The knowledge provided by Betty expanded upon the statements above

from former SFN Chief Isaac by that Betty stated, "drugs are very bad here... And its

only May and we have 10 people 10 deaths in the Yukon drug overdose maybe more now

probably about 13." Meg also added that the issue of substance abuse in SFN has become

more of a significant challenge due to "the drug dealers coming into town. For example,

we do have bootlegging happening." Theresa would expand on the knowledge offered by

Betty and Meg by stating that "we used to worry about just the bootleggers and the odd

guy bringing a trunk full of whisky that they could sell out now we've got young people

selling drugs out of their own homes [and that] OPOID[S] and narcotics crises that [SFN

is] facing." Theresa also touched on the need for an expanded approach by SFN when it

comes to the challenge of substance abuse by stating that

> The kids are just going to drive to their cousin's house or the guy that their dating
> or the girl their dating their going to go next door and then eventually the drugs
> are going to make their way back in.

Undergo Growth & Conduct a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs

The fifth theme generated from the knowledge focused on the challenge of the

need for the SFN CSO program to *Undergo Growth and Conduct a Review that Includes*

Examining the Role of Current CSOs. Regarding the possible areas of capacity

development that present opportunities for growth in addressing the challenge of the

program's need for expansion *and review,* all seven capacity development categories

would need to be examined to address all aspects of the fifth theme.

The seven capacity development categories include civil society, institutional development, jurisdiction and authority, resource development, systems development, enabling environment, changing attitudes, values, and norms, and private sector development.

      Re-Engagement Sessions. To address the challenge of undergoing growth, a review examining the roles of current CSOs' re-engagement sessions would need to occur with SFN citizens (civil society), as noted in the re-engagement sessions previously mentioned in this chapter. Re-engagement sessions would enable SFN citizens to share their perspectives on the state of the CSO program, along with feedback on potential growth and the role of current CSOs. The mission, goals, and day-to-day operations of the CSO program should also be of focus for re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens since prior themes, such as the fourth tensions theme, had focused on *Community Confusion & Frustration* that further magnify the need for a review of the CSO program to take place as to fully understand what SFN citizens believe the mission, goals, and day-to-day operations of the CSO program should look like in their view. Re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens for the fifth challenge theme may be combined with other proposed re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens, as suggested for several of the challenge and tension themes. It is also recommended that separate re-engagement sessions be held with Pelly Crossing RCMP, social service providers, health professionals, educators, and addictions workers, focusing on topics similar to those detailed in the SFN citizen re-engagement sessions above. All re-engagement sessions can help to better understand the community's attitudes, values, and norms towards the CSO program and their views on all categories of capacity development. The knowledge

offered at re-engagement sessions could then help guide the institutional development of the SFN CSO program, which will be led by SFN leadership.

Institutional Development. The program's institutional development process would provide space for SFN leadership to conduct a review based on all knowledge gained from all re-engagement sessions. The review to be completed by SFN leadership could be focused on all aspects of the CSO program, including training, work schedules, communication strategies, support for CSOs (including mental health, counselling, and possibly financial compensation), along with the program's relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP relating to jurisdiction & authority. According to the knowledge shared by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, such as Theresa, it is recommended that the review conducted by SFN leadership be done on a 3- to 5-year basis. Theresa had stated that this would be important as "not [to] let it get stale based on the assumptions that were true 5 years ago and are no longer true today, so that this can be a living, dynamic program rather than something that gets written down in policy and goes to a shelf somewhere to die."

Addressing the Fifth Challenge Theme via Previous Challenge Theme Suggestions & Recommendations. It should also be noted that suggestions and recommendations detailed prior to the first four challenge themes of 1) *CSO Retention & Support*, 2) *Community Support*, 3) RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect, and 4) State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse may also be applicable for fully addressing the fifth challenge theme. In addition, the recommendations suggested how to address the fourth and fifth tension's themes that focused on *Community Confusion & Frustration* and *Future Stability* of the SFN CSO program about improved collaboration,

program structure, and funding may also be necessary for the SFN CSO program to fully *Undergo Growth & Conduct a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs*. The recommendations offered prior for the challenges and tensions themes listed above included the incorporation of a public health model of policing approach formulated in cooperation with Northern Tutchone Tribal Council nations for dealing with crime & substance abuse in the region, the possible formation of MOU, LOE, or TOR to be formulated in cooperation with Pelly Crossing RCMP, and a PPP for stabilizing funding avenues for the CSO program.

Furthermore, a review to be conducted by SFN leadership may also want to build off the strengths of the CSO program as detailed in the strengths section of this chapter which included: 1) *Elevated connections to community & knowledge, 2) Increased community confidence with CSOs, and 3) SFN charting their own path for safety.* It should also be noted that the knowledge offered in answering key question #7 may be beneficial when SFN leadership reviews the program, focused on the aforementioned tensions and challenges. Key question #7 stated: *What are the key elements needed for establishing a Northern Indigenous CSO program similar to the SFN CSO program?* Four themes were formulated from the knowledge offered in answering key question #7: 1) *Community Buy-In & Collaboration,* 2) *Clearly Defined Values & Roles for CSOs*, 3) *Training & Funding &* 4) *Assessment & Implementation of a Plan.*

Knowledge that Articulated Aspects of the Fifth Theme: Undergo Growth & Conduct a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs. Theresa, Meg, Betty, and Bob provided knowledge that supported the fifth theme of the need for the SFN CSO program to undergo growth and c*onduct a Review that Includes Examining*

the Role of Current CSOs. As mentioned earlier, Theresa had alluded to the need for the

CSO program to become "a living, dynamic program." Theresa would also state "that the

program is going to have to adapt because we haven't yet we have not adopted to the

reality that has now landed on in on Pelly Crossing." Meg would also provide additional

knowledge that supported a review of the program with an emphasis on a need for a re-

examination of the role of CSOs that "the challenge or the question everyone is

wondering is what is the CSO role going to be." In addition, Betty would also add to the

knowledge offered by Meg by describing how there have been changes to the program

since it began by that "u]mm they [the CSOs] started off with a bang like somebody

phones them to get a ride home they go and get that person and take them home pretty

soon they got tired of doing that, and they stopped doing that.." Lastly, Bob would

expand on the need for a review focused on the role of CSOs when he referred to

clarifying the authority between "the RCMP and what are [CSOs] really handling and

just [clarifying the CSOs] authority with that what they um what [CSOs] have the

authority to act on and what [CSOs] don't."

The Importance of Re-engagement & Hollow Water

For several, the suggestions detailed above, when it comes to addressing tensions

and challenges, themes raised by knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and

knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, point to a need for re-

engagement to occur with SFN citizens as well as justice, public health, youth, and

addictions professionals. A re-engagement period would provide space for the CSO

program to understand what made the program function in the beginning, pre-COVID,

and how the CSO program is currently functioning with an emphasis on the tensions and

challenges detailed above. The current post-COVID state of SFN supports the suggestion

that SFN should formulate its own re-engagement processes. The post-COVID world of SFN also impacts the CSO program and is key to understanding the importance of a re-engagement with SFN Citizens due to the significant changes that have occurred for SFN post-COVID. The post-COVID reality of SFN was discussed in the previous section, which discussed the fourth theme of tensions: Community C*onfusion and Frustration*. Context is key for understanding the ramifications of several strengths, challenges, and tensions of the SFN CSO program, which were framed within a pre-& post-COVID-19 context, in that the SFN CSO program had been established before COVID-19 and focused on meeting the realities of a different SFN that exists today in a post-COVID-19 world. The SFN CSO program has reached a point where it needs to be re-imagined as per the higher number of tensions and challenges detailed above. A re-imagining of the current SFN CSO program would allow the CSO program to better reflect the current state of lived realities for SFN Citizens. This includes re-examining all aspects of the current SFN CSO program via re-engagement sessions focused on the mission, goals, work schedules, shift work, interaction with RCMP, and powers of CSOs to be clarified for improved understanding with SFN citizens and RCMP. Although with that said, there do seem to be several key strengths of the current SFN CSO program that offer a base to build off when re-imagining the current SFN CSO program, as indicated by knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Strengths of the program detailed earlier in this chapter included: 1) *Elevated connections to community & knowledge, 2) Increased community confidence with CSOs, and 3) SFN charting their own path for safety*. As detailed earlier in this

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chapter, it should be noted that several additional strengths were also indicated by the knowledge offered for key questions #4, #5, and #6.

An example of the power of re-imagining and re-engagement, as suggested for SFN about the CSO program, previously had taken place in Hollow Water First Nation (Waanibiigaaw), an Anishinaabe First Nation located over 200 Km north of Winnipeg. In the late 1980s, Hollow Water began the process of formulating a community-led alternative program to provide a pathway for dealing with an epidemic of generations of sexual abuse known as "[t]he Community Holistic Circle Healing program (CHCH), which is grounded in regional Anishinaabe values of healing, was created specifically to handle instances of sexual abuse" (Fairbank, 2020, para. 30).

The Formation of the CHCH Program

The CHCH would be founded as a community-led restorative circle process after a significant push by the women of Hollow Water working with Elders; and social workers who all "understood sexual violence to be part of a cycle of abuse, a problem concerned with relationships and prevailing culture" (para. 30). The cycle of abuse had been occurring for years in tandem with alcohol and substance abuse, along with violence that had created a nation in a state of dysfunction. For many, the abuse would become learned behaviour over time, and substance abuse and/or violence would be used as mechanisms for masking deep trauma that many in Hollow Water were struggling with due to generations of sexual abuse. It was estimated that around the time of the creation of CHCH, "75 percent of the children [in Hollow Water] were being sexually abused" (APTN, 2019). The main goal of the CHCH program was to provide space for healing to occur for victims, offenders, and the community to end a cycle of intergenerational

trauma of abuse rooted in colonial-sanctioned abuse that had taken place at Residential and Day Schools.

The Work of the CHCH Program. The CHCH offers an alternative to the colonial Western justice system pertaining to prison and Eurocentric understandings of probation for those deemed to have perpetrated abuse "so that family relationships are reconciled and restored" (Spice, 2022, p. 6). Citizens of Hollow Water or those arrested on abuse charges are encouraged to contact CHCH. After an allegation of abuse has been raised, the intervention team is mobilized to investigate. The CHCH intervention team is a collaborative group that "consist[s] of representatives of CHCH, Child and Family Services, Band Constable conducts an initial investigation to find out what really happened" (Bushie, 1999). Once the intervention team has completed their investigation and they have concluded that abuse did occur, the CHCH intervention team will then confront the abuser and inform them that they will be charged. The accused then must admit guilt in court as the CHCH actively worked in cooperation with the court system in Manitoba to allow Hallow Water citizens found guilty of sexual abuse to serve out their probation voluntarily participating in the CHCH program's healing process.

The Healing Process. The CHCH probationary healing process sentences would range from 6 months to 2 years. The first phase of the healing process during the probation period centres around CHCH employees "assess[ing] the authenticity of the commitment" by the abuser to participate in the healing program, which takes a minimum of 4 months to conclude (Bushie, 1999). After the authentication process of the commitment on the part of the abuser has been completed, the CHCH healing process will then begin with several circles being held with the victim, abuser, family of the

victim, family of the abuser, and staff. It should be noted that during this time, CHCH staff are also making home visits, carrying out other work in the community, and holding periodical case conferences with numerous different agencies/programs/organizations (i.e., RCMP, legal aid lawyers, treatment centres, child and family services, health services, probation & parole, and others) as to make sure that those involved in each case has all the support that they need. Fairbank (2020) described how the circles, coupled with the work of the CHCH staff, "culminates with a group-sentencing circle where a "Healing Contract," similar to probation terms, is presented. Ideally, those terms are then relayed to the Crown and presiding judge" (para. 31). In addition to attending regular circles as per the parameters of the healing contract the abuser will also be required to participate in on the land activities, anger management, counselling, therapy, sweats, and ceremonies, along with other counselling sessions for alcohol or drug abuse as deemed by the sentencing circle. The CHCH program would generate significant healing outcomes as demonstrated in the "first nine years, only two out of forty-three participants ever repeated their crimes [and others] have come to CHCH, unsolicited to admit to crimes they committed" (para. 31).

  CHCH Program & Losing Focus. Although CHCH generated significant positive results in healing, "since the late 1990s, the CHCH organization [began] losing its focus." This resulted in a breakdown of communication between certain agencies/programs/organizations detailed above, which significantly impacted the "legitimacy that [CHCH] had within the community" (Spice, 2022, p. 6). The first generation of CHCH employees may have reached a point of being overworked or pulled in too many directions as many CHCH staff were also helping run new training programs

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and travelling to speak at conferences, all while continuing to support Hollow Water

citizens going through the CHCH process. It would also be around this time that Hollow

Water citizens began to wonder, "How will the CHCH organization return to its

mandate[?]" and "Will [the CHCH] be in the current form of the CHCH organization[?]"

(Spice, 2022, p. 6). Moreover, Spice (2022) alluded to the fact that the CHCH

organization needed to re-engage with citizens via

> community dialogue to develop an effective community assessment, planning and
> implementation of responses to social issues, ensure a stable funding base,
> develop community communication strategies, encourage inter-agency
> communication strategies, develop an effective evaluation process, and plan
> succession development (p. 7).

Citizens of Hollow Water suggested several ideas for addressing concerns circulating

throughout the nation for several years. One such suggestion focused on "that the CHCH

organization may need to be restructured and/or replaced to meet organizational and

community needs" (p. 7). One of the key elements emphasized by Spice (2022) in his

PhD dissertation titled *Keeping Circle: The Rise, Maintenance, Decline, and Re-*

Envisioning of Hollow Water First Nation Healing Movement Process and Restorative

Justice was the importance of maintaining and restoring CHCH's relationships with the

community. The CHCH program is rooted in healing relationships by understanding how

one's actions impact relationships and what actions need to be taken to restore those

relationships that have been negatively affected by one's actions.

The CHCH Program & the Concept of a Learning Organization. Spice

(2022) would then propose the concept of a 'learning organization' as a possible

mechanism for supporting a re-engagement with Hollow Water citizens regarding

CHCH. Senge (2006) defined a 'learning organization' as an "organizations where people

continually expand their capacity to create the results, they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together" (p. 3). A 'learning organization' as per the definition offered by Senge (2006) may also provide further opportunity for connection with community as the final passage of the definition states "people are continually learning how to learn together" (p. 3). Moreover, the concept of learning together, in my view, should be balanced with respect and care to uphold harmony in the community. In addition, a potential outcome of learning together within an Indigenous organization that operates in and for an Indigenous nation provides a possible opportunity for "collective aspirations" to be achieved by bolstering self-determination goals. It must be emphasized that learning together and the collective aspirations detailed above should include leadership, such as Elders, Chiefs, Council, and other community leaders. It would seem that leadership in Hollow Water in 2019 may not be upholding certain aspects of a 'learning organization' as certain citizens became concerned for the future of certain CHCH on the land programs due to a proposed "silica sand mining project" that resulted in a resistance camp being constructed by land defenders known as 'Camp Morning Star.' Many former participants of CHCH had joined the land defenders, such as Lisa Raven, who stated that "the healing she received from CHCH [has provided] her [the] ability to defend the land today" (APTN, 2019, para. 12). Concerns for the CHCH program were further magnified when an 18-year employee of the program Lance Wood, a now former CHCH counsellor was fired after he had "provid[ed] Elder services to Camp Morning Star" (para. 16). Although Hollow Water currently is facing a difficult situation as it relates to the proposed mining project

"the next generation remain extremely hopeful that the CHCH organization (or whatever will replace it) will emerge because they saw the changes that occurred in their community." This can be seen in the actions of Lisa Raven and others who have "were children and have continually learned and practiced skills and culture to assess, identify, and address community issues with community citizens and are working to pass this knowledge on to" the next generations (Spice, 2022, p. 7).

The Transition Phase of the CHCH Program. The CHCH program would then go through a transition phase via strong leadership and vision by the next generation of Hollow Water citizens via a framework for re-imaging the CHCH program, including re-engagement initiatives with the community.

Strengthening Community Engagement. The need for re-imaging and re-engagement had been rooted in issues around strengthening community engagement, funding issues, institutional engagement, and staff burnout, coupled with a need for a mentorship program to be created within the CHCH program. The portions of the framework as described by Spice (2022) for re-imaging the CHCH program that are potentially applicable to the SFN CSO program are focused on the creation of an empowered environment both within the CHCH program and about engagement with the community, the sharing of responsibilities, and power structures, clear trust & communication with the community, and experiential learning that engages the community. The importance of an empowered environment in relation to re-imagining CHCH was due to how an empowered climate can "create a work environment and organizational structure that promote[s] continuous learning, self-responsibility, proactive creative development, power sharing, and visionary thinking. This involves structural,

operational, and leadership changes. In particular, interpersonal and team environments must be developed" (Bellefeuille et al., 1997, p. 114).

> ***Sharing of Responsibilities and Power Structures.*** The next area of importance for re-imagining the CHCH program was the sharing of responsibilities and power structures for the CHCH program. Spice (2022) described how "organizational operations and structures, such as power structures and responsibilities, need to be shared, much like what the CHCH organization [had] accomplished with the A-team and networking with community resources in the early 1990s" (p. 385). Connecting with community organizations and social and health services helped strengthen connections with the community and furthered the development of the CHCH via the assessment team (A-Team). Regular meetings via the A-Team also raised the possibility for oversight from the community and clarity among community organizations when it came to sharing information, along with possibly clarifying organization goals with the community.

> ***Clear Trust and Communication with Community.*** The second to last area of importance was clear trust and communication with the community. Meetings with community organizations via the A-Team that had occurred until the early 2000s helped foster trust. However, the overall organizational relationship with the community had deteriorated over time, which is why an organizational relationship with the community must be built on trust and communication. Spice (2022) detailed why trust is so important since

> > if there is no trust and no consistent healthy actions are put into the daily activities of community citizens, the community will default to a dependency mentality. The dependency mentality results in blame and irresponsibility when dealing with community institutions (p. 397).

Experiential Learning that Engages the Community. The final area of importance was experiential learning that engages the community. Spice (2022) referred to the crucial importance of experiential learning about keeping culture alive and passing culture on to the next generation for Hollow Water concerning the work of the CHCH program. Moreover, "[e]xperiental learning provides opportunities for community participation and engagement that often result in stronger connections and relationships with community citizens, revitalization of one's identity, and a deeper understanding of the past" (p. 394). Community development is another area to be focused on in re-imagining the CHCH program in terms of its relationship with the community. Buller (2004) described how community development was a key component of the early CHCH program by referring to the work the early CHCH program had done in community development. The work of the early CHCH program in community development had focused on "presentations, workshops, participating in community recreational events, ceremonies and other activities" (pp. 298-299).

Strong Leadership and Vision by the Next Generation. However, it should be noted that for a transition phase to occur as detailed above, there needed to be strong leadership and vision by the next generation of Hollow Water citizens to accomplish all four elements of the framework for a re-imagining and re-engagement to occur for the CHCH program. Moreover, for the next generation to have strong leadership and vision, there first needs to be a strategic plan that includes connecting with and transitioning the CHCH program to the next generation. Spice (2022) would go on to describe why a plan was so crucial for the transition phase of the CHCH by stating that a "strategic plan [was important] to inform and include community citizens in the knowledge of CHCH

activities, and strategic plan for creating regular networked dialogue with community institutions" (p. 323). The next generation of Hollow Water citizens would identify the importance of the CHCH regarding the healing movement. Still, a few key areas of concern with the CHCH organization had become evident regarding how it had become "isolated from community resource institutions and generally from the community itself" (p. 365). In addition, there also had become a "breakdown and decline of the vibrant institutional network [which had a] tremendous impact on the effectiveness of the CHCH organization" as well as on connections and work of community members who supported the CHCH in the form of resources and expertise (p. 397).

This situation presented an opportunity for the next generation of Hollow Water citizens to learn together how the healing movement of the CHCH would be able to continue. It seems as though the next generation of Hollow Water citizens would then jointly acknowledge the significant work done by prior generations along with the need for the healing movement to continue in relation to child sexual abuse but in a different form, demonstrating key aspects of the 'learning organization' detailed earlier in this section for supporting a re-engagement with Hollow Water citizens regarding CHCH. The healing movement of the CHCH would continue to be supported by the next generation but "in the form of the Adam Hardisty Health Centre, however [in a] severely subdued form" (p. 401). Examples of two other key elements of a learning organization were also demonstrated by the organization of the healing movement in Hollow Water, which was dynamic to change to better meet the needs of Hollow Water citizens, which allowed the movement to evolve.

The Next Generation's Collective Aspirations. The healing movement would

eventually evolve with support from the next generation's collective aspirations that the

healing movement of CHCH continue as the next generation understood the importance

of healing to Hollow Water but in a different organizational form. Several key elements

needed for the transition phase of the CHCH program to occur provide the SFN CSO

program with a structure for formulating its pathway for re-engagement with SFN

citizens and possibly re-imagining the CSO program in the future that includes a strategic

plan, vision & leadership by the next generation of SFN citizens, and embodying aspects

of a 'learning organization.' It should be noted that the following generations of leaders

in Hollow Water, when it came to the evolution of the healing movement, also

emphasized certain key traits focused on supporting the healing movement and its

employees into the future. The first key trait was self-care, in that they emphasized "their

own self-care and encourage[d] community citizens to accept responsibility for their part

in the community engagement." The second key trait focused on upholding respectful

and positive relationships with the community and partner institutions. Spice (2022)

described this as "succeeding generations [had] adopted aspects of the CHCH

organization to create an empowered and supportive environment for establishing and

maintaining community and institutional" (pp. 398-399).

The example of Hollow Water's CHCH program and the importance of re-

imagining and re-engagement with the community's citizens provide SFN with a possible

pathway for re-engagement with SFN citizens via the four elements of the re-imagining

framework detailed above. It is also believed that the concept of a 'learning organization'

coupled with the four elements of the re-imagining / re-engagement framework for the

CHCH program detailed by Spice (2022) may apply to the SFN CSO program in working to achieve capacity development as detailed in the previous section. The CHCH program also demonstrates that re-engagement via community dialogue with citizens is a key process for evaluating what is working and not working to best meet the current lived realities of citizens. The following section will discuss how aspects of the re-engagement framework described above for Hollow Water could be applied to SFN for formulating a re-engagement process that supports capacity development in SFN for addressing tensions and challenges present within the CSO program articulated by knowledge offered by SFN community leaders, and knowledge holders, including CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP.

What Re-Engagement in SFN Could Look Like?

The framework detailed by Spice (2022) for re-engagement and re-imagining the CHCH program via a transition phase process conceptualized by the next generation of Hollow Water leaders may apply to the SFN CSO program for re-engagement and possibly re-imagining of the CSO program as to provide an avenue for supporting capacity development in SFN to address identified tensions and challenges. The key elements for re-engagement and re-imagining of the CHCH program included: A transition phase, an empowered environment via a learning organization dynamic both within the CHCH program and in relation to engagement with the community, the sharing of responsibilities and power structures, clear trust & communication with the community, and experiential learning that engages the community. It should be noted that the transition phase for the SFN CSO program would also need to include the following key elements: A strategic plan, vision & leadership by the next generation of SFN

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citizens as well as emphasizing self-care for employees, and the upholding of a respectful, and positive relationship with the community and partner institutions.

Re-Engagement and Possible Re-Imagining of the SFN CSO Program

Before the transition phase in SFN, a detailed understanding of what re-engagement and possibly re-imagining the SFN CSO program may entail will be examined. A re-engagement and re-imagining of the SFN CSO program would be a crucial process for engaging with SFN citizens, including elders, youth, and leaders, for reassessing the state of the SFN CSO program in relation to the lived realities of SFN citizens. Re-engagement was detailed earlier in this document as a crucial step in addressing certain tensions and challenges identified via this project. Re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens may include many different formats for SFN citizens to voice their feedback and views on the SFN CSO program in relation to identified tensions, challenges or other concerns raised by SFN citizens at in-person community gatherings, listening circles, online, or in-person drop box surveys, meetings or another format that works best for SFN citizens. Moreover, re-engagement should not be a one-time activity, but as will be discussed further below in the transition phase and strategic planning portions of this section, re-engagement with SFN citizens about the CSO program should be an element to be designed into the future post-COVID SFN CSO program. This is because a post-COVID SFN CSO program, first and foremost, should be rooted in the community about how best the CSO program will be able to transition into a post-COVID reality that addresses identified tensions and challenges. In addition, regarding the potential re-imagining of the SFN CSO program, re-imagining would result from re-engagement with SFN citizens if SFN citizens believe that a re-imagining of the SFN

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CSO program is needed. Re-imagining the SFN CSO program could include several different actions that sought to change more prominent overarching elements of the SFN CSO program, such as a complete re-write of the CSO program mission, goals, and objectives would constitute a re-imaging of the program.

Similarities Between SFN CSO Program with the CHCH Program. Now, the SFN CSO program is in a similar situation to the CHCH program in Hollow Water to a certain extent in relation to identified tensions and challenges. This presents an opportunity for SFN to embrace aspects of the 'learning organization' model detailed in the previous section as a mechanism for re-engagement and possibly re-imagining to occur via SFN citizens actively learning together when it comes to defining the post-COVID reality for the CSO program. Learning to learn together is a key process of a 'learning organization' that could provide SFN with a guiding principle for approaching and structuring re-engagement about the CSO program.

Learning to Learn Together. The reason the principle of learning to learn together is believed to be a crucial element when it comes to re-engagement in SFN is due to what can potentially be the result of learning to learn together, which is a community-driven understanding of present-day collective aspirations for SFN with the CSO program. It should be noted that collective aspirations may vary from generation to generation, but providing a mechanism to, at times, recess collective aspirations may help to support self-determination in SFN with the CSO program that reflects the lived realities of present-day SFN citizens.

Inclusivity of Viewpoints. A second key element of a 'learning organization' that could also help support SFN's learning to learn together re-engagement process would be

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the inclusivity of viewpoints, lived realities, and ideas relating to the CSO program. The element of inclusivity when it comes to learning to learn together in the SFN re-engagement process, as well as respect and care for all SFN citizens who choose to take part in a learning to learn together re-engagement process, should always be upheld. It is also believed that by incorporating the elements of a learning organization detailed above, SFN citizens may feel empowered to have their voices heard about the SFN CSO program. The empowerment of SFN citizens to have their voices heard impacts how certain aspects of the CSO program may work. I believe that if re-engagement with SFN citizens is consistent and respectful, with citizens who are communicated with and have their feedback taken into consideration, trust will form between SFN leadership and SFN citizens regarding the CSO program. This may also result in SFN citizens feeling they are sharing in the responsibilities and power structure for the SFN CSO program to a certain extent, especially if it is decided that a re-imagining is needed via feedback offered by SFN citizens.

Now that the re-engagement process, as well as a possible re-imagining of the SFN CSO program, has been discussed, the next section will offer suggestions as to how the transition phase of the SFN CSO program could be carried out in a way that further supports capacity development in SFN. The transition phase will build off the re-engagement and possible re-imagining of the CSO program detailed throughout the previous section. The main elements to be examined for a transition phase of the SFN CSO program include a strategic plan, vision, and leadership by the next generation of SFN citizens, emphasizing self-care for employees and upholding a respectful and positive relationship with the community and partner institutions.

Proposed SFN CSO Transition Phase. The transition phase for the SFN CSO

program would be built around providing a pathway for capacity development to occur

for addressing identified tensions and challenges via a strategic plan rooted in re-

engagement and a possible re-imagining of the CSO program driven by the views and

voices of SFN citizens. In my view, the transition phase of the SFN CSO program would

be a committee known as the SFN Transition Committee to be made up of SFN

leadership, including elders, CSOs, and CSO support staff, as well as health, education,

social services, and others. It is proposed that this committee would meet regularly,

perhaps bi-monthly to discuss feedback from SFN citizen re-engagement sessions for

formulating a strategic plan for the future of the SFN CSO program. Members of the

transition committee would also lend their support for overseeing SFN citizens' initial re-

engagement sessions for six months or more, depending on the level of interest.

Engage with the Next Generation. First, I would suggest that current SFN

leaders, including CSOs and CSO program support staff, as well as health, education,

social services, and others, work to engage with the next generation of leaders in SFN via

engagement sessions like those described in the prior section. The engagement sessions

with the next generations of leaders in SFN would signal to the next generation in SFN

that your opinions and views matter regarding the future of the SFN CSO program.

Depending on the number of next-generation leaders who attend these engagement

sessions, I would recommend SFN leadership, including CSOs and CSO program support

staff, as well as health, education, social services, and others, offer a permanent spot on

the transition phase committee to one or two of the next generation SFN leaders. This

would offer a clear signal to the next generation of leaders in SFN that their views,

opinions, and lived experiences matter and are important when it comes to formulating

the strategic plan for the SFN CSO program. Moreover, for any other next generation of

SFN leaders interested in the CSO program and justice services in SFN, I would

recommend forming a new internship to support the next generation of leaders in SFN for

the CSO program and justice initiatives. This newly proposed internship would allow for

experiential hands-on learning for the next generation of leaders in SFN, which would

allow the next generation in SFN to engage in the workings of the CSO program or other

justice initiatives from a younger age. This would hopefully lead to future employment

by those next-generation leaders in SFN with the CSO program or other justice

initiatives.

  SFN Citizen Survey & Strategic Plan. Secondly, I would recommend that the

SFN Transition Committee reach out to SFN citizens via an online or in-person survey to

gain a clear understanding of SFN citizens' collective aspirations for the future of the

CSO program collective aspirations would be about the goals and mission of the CSO

program, ability to reach CSOs when needed, and how CSOs have supported SFN

citizens since the program began. From the feedback offered by SFN citizens regarding

the collective aspirations survey, I would recommend that the SFN Transition Committee

then formulate a meeting schedule for writing a draft strategic plan that articulates the

committee's vision & leadership for the future of the SFN CSO program that is based on

the answers provided via the collective aspirations survey. The strategic plan would also

include a strategy for initial re-engagement with SFN citizens on the identified tensions

and challenges of the CSO program and a long-term process for continued monthly or bi-

monthly SFN citizen engagement regarding the CSO program. It is believed that the

meeting of the SFN Transition Committee to write a draft strategic plan would support

capacity development when it comes to addressing identified tensions and challenges

relating to the SFN CSO program. The focus of the draft strategic plan would be to offer

suggestions and possible options for addressing identified CSO program tensions and

challenges. I would also encourage the transition committee to emphasize self-care for

CSOs and support staff to mitigate burnout. As detailed in the previous section, the draft

strategic plan would be a flexible document designed based on a learning organization

open to differing views and mindsets.

Initial Re-engagement Sessions. Thirdly, the portion of the strategic plan detailed

above focused on initial and long-term re-engagement with SFN citizens. It should

concentrate on citizens providing their feedback and viewpoints on several items related

to the CSO program. It is proposed that the initial re-engagement sessions focus on

gaining SFN citizens' feedback on the following eight tensions and challenges: (1)

Clarifying Roles of CSOs & Pelly Crossing RCMP, (2) Clarify Mission & Goals of CSO

program, (3) the state of alcohol and drug use including bootlegging & drug dealers, (4)

How to best support those in SFN dealing with Substance Abuse, (5) How best to support

or expand supports for Residential School Survivors and family impacted by

intergenerational trauma, (6) Feedback on possible MOU with RCMP regarding proposed

new required training, education, and community oversight mechanisms for Pelly

Crossing RMCP, (7) CSO burnout & (8) CSO recruitment & training. Initial re-

engagement sessions are proposed to occur in person and last around 6 months or longer,

depending on the interest of SFN citizens. Possible methods for conducting initial re-

engagement sessions may include community gatherings, listening circles, in-person drop

box surveys, meetings or another format that works best for SFN citizens who participate in initial re-engagement sessions. One 60-minute initial re-engagement session is also proposed for the eight tensions and/or challenge items listed above. However, due to time constraints, follow-up sessions may be needed for particular items. After each initial re-engagement session, the SFN Transition Committee will also be tasked with updating their strategic plan for the SFN CSO program to incorporate knowledge offered by SFN citizens pertaining to each of the eight tensions and challenges related to the CSO program.

Long-term Re-engagement Sessions. In addition, when it comes to long-term re-engagement with SFN citizens, it is proposed that long-term sessions occur yearly or every 6 months, depending on the availability of SFN citizens and members of the SFN Transition Committee. Long-term re-engagement sessions will focus on reviewing key aspects of the strategic plan formulated via the SFN Transition Committee, coupled with knowledge offered by SFN citizens during the eight initial re-engagement sessions. Moreover, the planned long-term re-engagement sessions would provide a clear mechanism for SFN citizen feedback about the CSO program over the long term. This will also support the concept of a learning organization regarding SFN citizens' learning to learn together to ensure the CSO program better reflects the lived realities of SFN citizens' collective aspirations for the CSO program.

Re-engagement with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Lastly, I suggest the possibility of a separate re-engagement strategy to be formulated by the SFN Transition Committee that is focused on re-engagement with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The proposed re-engagement strategy with Pelly Crossing RCMP that includes regular meetings between the SFN

Transition Committee, including SFN leadership with Pelly Crossing RCMP, would be focused on addressing items raised within this project regarding the possibility of formulating an MOU of LOE about the new Pelly Crossing RCMP training, and education standards as well as SFN citizen community input into the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers. Re-engagement sessions with Pelly Crossing RCMP could be structured via a terms of reference document (TOR) between the SFN Transition Committee and Pelly Crossing RCMP in a similar manner as the initial and long-term SFN re-engagement sessions but occurring on a more regular basis. It is also believed that knowledge provided by SFN citizens at the initial and long-term re-engagement sessions may be able to inform aspects of the proposed re-engagement strategy with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Re-engagement sessions with Pelly Crossing RCMP would also help to support the decolonization of the Pelly Crossing detachment.

The following section will examine the potential for decolonizing the Pelly Crossing RCMP via the knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs, and Pelly Crossing RCMP for answering key questions 6, and opening question #2.

Potential Decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP
This section will contextualize the themes generated via knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, to analyze the potential for the decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP to have occurred since the creation of the CSO program. The following three questions will be focused upon throughout this section about the potential for the decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP, including key question #6: *Do you think that the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted RCMP members in regard to how they interact with*

and/or view SFN citizens? and opening question #2, which stated: *What was the policing environment for SFN before the formation of the CSO program?*

Decolonization of the police in relation to the Pelly Crossing RCMP will be discussed regarding the four key elements previously detailed in Chapter 4 by Dyck (2022), Monchalin (2016), and Smith (1999). Dyck (2022) offered the first key element, referencing a need to counter colonial mindsets, racialized policing, and an 'Us vs. Them' mentality. The second key element is to anchor the decolonization of the police within the importance of elevating Indigenous "views, cultures and traditions, as well as shifting to a narrative" away from Eurocentric understandings of community safety and health (Indigenous Corporate Training, 2017, as cited in Dyck, 2022, p. 89). The third key element, as detailed by Smith (1999), is to work towards "divesting [police] of colonial power" (p. 98). The fourth and final key element is that decolonization is to be understood "as both a goal and process to bring about a fundamental shift in colonial structures, ideologies and discourses" (Monchalin, 2016, p. 1). To summarize, the four key elements to be referenced for this section when discussing the decolonizing of the police include: 1) Countering colonial mindsets, 2) Shifting narratives & elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, 3) Lessening colonial power & 4) Goal & process to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses. Each of the themes generated for each of the two key questions listed above will be analyzed in relation to the themes generated for each question by articulating how each of the key elements of decolonizing the police may connect with specific themes in providing support for the decolonizing of Pelly Crossing RCMP and how some themes may connect with key elements by

indicating areas to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP to better support decolonization.

Key Question #6: Do you think the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in regards to how they interact and/or view SFN Citizens?

The themes generated from key question #6 will be analyzed within the context of the potential for the decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP to have occurred since the creation of the CSO program. Key question #6 stated: Do you think that the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted RCMP members in regards to how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens? Three themes were generated by knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, when answering key question #6 that included: 1) *Dependent on RCMP Members Due to LDP,* 2) *Yes, via Partnerships & Collaboration, &* 3) *Potential Positive Impact.*

Dependent on RCMP Members Due to LDP. The first theme, *Dependent on RCMP Members Due to LDP* highlighted some potential positive impacts have occurred about how certain Pelly Crossing RCMP members interact with and/or view SFN citizens. Although that potential for positive impact was depended on the individual RCMP officer stationed in Pelly Crossing via the LDP posting model. The potential positive impact of relying on the officer is mainly attributed to the limited duration posting (LDP) model utilized by the RCMP in the Yukon, including Pelly Crossing. As discussed in Chapter 1, the LDP model is a staffing model that the RCMP utilizes across the Far North. RCMP officers are posted to specific postings for a maximum of 2 to 3

years, if not less, depending on the staffing levels at any given time. Betty had detailed

positive interactions between Pelly Crossing RCMP officers and SFN citizens by stating,

"You know, some have been so active, and they'd stayed (inaudible) for a long time, and

people enjoyed their company kind of thing, yeah." The knowledge offered by Betty

alluded to the onus being on the individual RCMP officer to make an effort to be active

in SFN / Pelly Crossing. It is difficult to ascertain how much the SFN CSO program may

have impacted those specific positive interactions between certain Pelly Crossing RCMP

officers and SFN citizens. Still, the second theme, *Yes, via Partnerships & Collaboration,*

will provide further insights into the impacts of the SFN CSO program on positive

interactions via partnerships and collaboration between Pelly Crossing RCMP and CSOs.

Potential Connections with All Four Elements of Decolonizing the Police.

However, with that said, most of the remaining knowledge offered for the first theme,

Dependent on RCMP Members Due to LDP, connects *wi*th all four elements of

decolonizing the police as areas that need to be focused on the LDP staffing model.

Aspects of the knowledge offered by Theresa, Meg, and Betty all point to the LDP

staffing model as a significant hurdle that stands in the way of Pelly Crossing RCMP

fully embracing decolonization is largely due to the LDP staffing model.

Potential for Countering Colonial Mindsets. The knowledge offered by Theresa

highlighted significant concerns about how the LDP staffing model in Pelly Crossing

rotates RCMP officers in and out of Pelly Crossing, some that at times may have different

motivations in relation to their mindset that differs from those referenced prior by Betty

regarding the potential positive impacts of the SFN CSO program. Theresa described

how certain RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing have indicated to her that "yeah

yeah were young we don't have any kids you know we are going to spend a couple of

years here get money set aside they don't pay for housing and then were going to pay for

our house down south." Theresa would also add that

> some cops will tell you very simply there's money to be made to get posted in
> Timbuctoo you go to the RCMP and you're a rookie and you want to pay off your
> mortgage down south get posted to Pelly or Mayo or wherever.

This type of mindset can change an officer's "whole approach to [their] job [its] going to

be different." For other officers posted to Pelly Crossing, it seems to be a strict view of

administering the law, as noted by Betty: "Usually the RCMP come with their own book

of rules right [and] they report to Ottawa." It should be noted that not all newly posted

Pelly Crossing RCMP officers hold the view indicated above, viewing the Pelly Crossing

posting as mainly a financial move. However, for those officers that do view the Pelly

Crossing posting in terms of finances or strict enforcement of law and order, it may, at

times, further alienate SFN citizens and family members impacted by painful colonial

abuses that previous RCMP officers actively took part in during Residential and Day

Schools. The knowledge offered by Evelyn and Theresa in answering the second opening

question will be further discussed in the next section. Both touched on historical impacts

relating to the RCMP with SFN about Residential Schools.

> ***Minimal to No Impact.*** The decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP since the

creation of the SFN CSO program for certain RCMP officers, as detailed above, has had

minimal to no impact on their views and/or interactions with SFN citizens. This was

detailed by Theresa, who stated, "I'm not sure that it [the CSO program] has had any

impact on the RCMP in how they view their role and their um responsibility within the

community." Theresa would also add that some RCMP officers she had communicated

with previously had stated negative comments about the SFN CSO program that further magnified the need for the Pelly Crossing RCMP to better embrace decolonization. The negative comments Theresa alluded to detail that for some RCMP officers, the CSO program was a "nonsense program or to infantilize the program along with the people [and] there have been incidents where RCMP officers [have had] condescension to a group of people." Meg would also add that for the RCMP officers at the time of the interview in 2022, there had "not [been an impact on] th[at] particular group, I don't think." The LDP staffing model does not force any RCMP officer to act in any particular way. Still, the LDP model allows RCMP officers to be posted and re-posted to Pelly Crossing and other Northern Indigenous nations across the Yukon and the Far North.

Perpetuation of Harmful Colonial Mindsets and Colonial Power Dynamics. It is my view that the LDP staffing model, from the knowledge offered during the interviews, indicates that this environment for those RCMP officers who may view a posting to Pelly Crossing as mainly a financial arrangement to pay off a house or for others that work strictly by the book and other officers who view the CSO program as "nonsense" perpetuates harmful colonial mindsets and colonial power dynamics. It would seem that the current LDP staffing model relies on individual RCMP officers to take it upon themselves to embrace decolonization, including working with the SFN CSO program. This would also mean that shifting narratives and elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, along with shifting key structures, ideologies, and discourses, are left mainly to individual RCMP officers. The Yukon RCMP have done significant work to improve its relationship with Northern Indigenous nations and peoples, as detailed in

Chapter 4, but how far can that work go if the staffing model constantly rotates frontline officers in and out of the territory?

Opening Question #2: The State of the Policing Environment in SFN was like before the Formation of the SFN CSO program

When the onus is placed on the individual officer level, a concern as indicated above, is that themes generated from the second opening question that focused on the policing environment in SFN before the formation of the CSO program may reoccur to a certain extent if additional efforts are not made by the Pelly Crossing RCMP on an organizational level to better support decolonization. The themes generated from opening question #2 focused on what the state of the policing environment in SFN was like before the formation of the SFN CSO program included: 1) *Unstable*, 2) *Officer Dependent*, and 3) *Detached*.

Unstable. The knowledge offered that touched upon the policing environment in SFN prior to the formation of the SFN CSO program that supported the theme of *unstable* was rooted in a lack of trust as detailed by Evelyn, who had stated that "there was a lack of trust and communication and partnership." Evelyn would also allude to past colonial policies the RCMP had participated in as an underlying factor in the *unstable* environment by stating that "we know there was some historical impacts." Theresa would expand on the historical impacts by stating that

> When you speak to some Residential School Survivors, um they remember the yellow stripes and the yellow stripes were the ones that would come to get the children to take them from the house they call then yellow stripes because of the line on their pants in the uniform so that is intrinsically entwined with the relationship that the community has with the RCMP.

Officer Dependent. The second theme that was generated focused on the theme of *Officer Dependent*. Meg detailed the impact of the theme of *Officer Dependent* on the state of RCMP-administered policing in SFN by stating that "to be honest, there has been um, a mixed history, it depends on the uh on the um the members that we get stationed here." Meg would also add, "there are those [officers] that come, and you barely see them. Um and they're not, they're not as proactive I guess you would say. Or they would uh, come only when, when situations have escalated to the point of them needing to address it." Betty further articulated how certain Pelly Crossing RCMP officers seem as though "they [were] being forced here planted and they just want to go by the book live by the book kinda thing and so there is that and in the past 3 of 4 years." Betty also did mention how "RCMP members who are part of the community and have the respect of the community the crime level goes down."

Detached. The third theme was related to the state of the policing environment in SFN before the creation of the SFN CSO program, which focused on the theme of *Detached.* Theresa detailed how RCMP officers in Pelly Crossing have "always been considered outsiders, and so quite often when there are issues in the community, they are not the first phone call even though frankly sometimes they should be they are not because the trust just is not there." Meg would also add that "a lot of the times [the RCMP] are not there to work on prevention like they didn't have a relationship with the [SFN]."

Partnerships, Collaboration & Potential Positive Impact. Two examples of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers and the RCMP as an organization in Pelly Crossing better embracing decolonizing concepts can be seen in the final two themes that were generated

from the knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders,

including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP in answering key question #6. The two

themes generated included: *Yes, via Partnerships & Collaboration & Potential Positive

Impact.* Each of the final two themes will be analyzed via how each theme connects with

the four elements of decolonizing the police by either providing support for the

decolonizing of Pelly Crossing RCMP or by indicating areas to be focused on by Pelly

Crossing RCMP to better support decolonization.

      Collaboration & Partnerships. The second theme that was generated was *Yes,*

via Partnerships & Collaboration and connects with the following elements of

decolonizing the police by providing support for decolonizing the police pertaining to 1)

shifting narratives, 2) countering colonial mindsets, 3) lessening colonial power, and 4)

shifting structures, ideologies, and discourses. The first two areas of decolonizing the

police that the second theme connects with by supporting are: 1) shifting narratives and

2) countering colonial mindsets as each pertains to administering RCMP policing

services to SFN citizens. Partnerships and collaboration support shifting narratives of

Pelly Crossing RCMP officers by altering how certain officers view the narrative around

how Pelly Crossing RCMP interact with SFN via CSOs and the vital knowledge CSOs

have about SFN citizens. Greg highlighted the shifting of narratives about certain Pelly

Crossing RCMP officers changing their view and the narrative around how they work

with SFN CSOs by referring to how the narrative began to change once officers "got to

know the program and as [the CSOs] started meeting, talking, collaborating, uh they

realized how essential [the CSOs] are." The narrative around Pelly Crossing RCMP

officers working with CSOs then potentially also extended to officers collaborating with

CSOs at community events, which also helps to further shift the narrative around the Pelly Crossing RCMP between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP, but also the signal that collaboration sends to the community. For some Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, CSOs have also helped to improve the inclusion of officers at community events, as described by Bob when answering key question #1, whose knowledge would support the first emergent theme for key question #1, which stated: *Elevated Connections to Community & Knowledge*. Bob would describe how SFN CSOs help support Pelly Crossing RCMP to be "involved in community activities out here so they are ah actively involved in ah community efforts."

Knowledge Held by CSOs, Shifting of Narratives & Countering Colonial Mindsets. Collaboration and partnerships between CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers not only support the shifting of narratives but also help counter colonial mindsets about how the RCMP approaches their role as law enforcement officers. Historically, the RCMP have defined themselves as the sole expert authority on law and order. Still, collaboration and partnerships can provide a pathway for countering this colonial mindset via knowledge held by SFN CSOs. Greg would also describe the impact of the realization by RCMP officers of the knowledge that CSOs hold by stating that "I mean, [the CSOs] know where everybody lives, if they get called on something, you know there's time they'll connect with [the CSOs]." The impact of SFN CSO knowledge of SFN on Pelly Crossing RCMP officers had also been referenced by knowledge offered by Greg, Evelyn, Bob, and Meg when answering key question #1 for the first theme about *Elevated Connections to Community & Knowledge*. Greg highlighted how CSOs know the backgrounds of SFN citizens, such as "people that have disabilities so you, you have

to be able to adjust, accommodate with them a little different you know. And that's the

that's the advantages of [the CSOs] living in the community and being from the

community." Greg would go on to state how "the RCMP get involved, they don't know

this person from, you know there could be mental health issues, FASD right, there is all

sorts of of elements involved." Evelyn also added that CSOs can be viewed as

"knowledge keepers, I talk about culturally as well, you know the cultural and tradition of

the community of the Selkirk First Nation." Bob and Meg each had detailed examples of

CSO knowledge positively impacting Pelly Crossing RCMP with real-world incidents.

Bob described how CSOs had previously provided RCMP officers with knowledge

regarding the location of a building or home. Not all homes in SFN have clearly marked

house numbers when responding to a call, nor do they have any pertinent information

relating to the caller. Meg had also detailed how on a separate 9-11 call that required the

use of a boat, "the RCMP couldn't respond because none of them had their boat operator

license (laughing) they could operate their own boat!." Meg added that "the CSO

program rallied up some people who had their boat operators (license) and got some

boats out there, and they were the ones that were out on the river, with the RCMP." Bob

would also add that "the CSO officers community knowledge there ah understanding of

the ah you know ah environment of the area and as well as the people."

      Acknowledgment by Pelly Crossing RCMP officers of Importance of SFN

CSOs. It is my view that those Pelly Crossing RCMP officers who acknowledge and

recognize the importance of working with SFN CSOs not only begin to shift narratives

and support the countering of colonial mindsets for the administrating of policing

services in SFN but also, in a small way begins to support the lessening of colonial power

held by the Pelly Crossing RCMP. How the lessening of colonial power is starting to occur, at least on an individual level for certain Pelly Crossing officers, is by way of acknowledgement of the importance and vital knowledge that CSOs hold about SFN and SFN citizens, which allows Pelly Crossing RCMP officers to better connect with the community. This act on the part of certain Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, in my view, is a handing over of all be it a small portion of colonial power, but power nonetheless when it comes to connecting with SFN, knowledge about SFN citizens, and other vital information about the history of the nation and traditions that Pelly Crossing RCMP officers would not be able to do without SFN CSOs. Certain Pelly Crossing RCMP officers may be able to work overtime to make those connections and gain knowledge of the nation, but that all relies on the previous model where the RCMP define themselves as the experts who will make connections and gain knowledge on their own via their own training as they are the holders of colonial power. Moreover, Evelyn has also referred to how the presence of SFN CSOs offers an avenue for a check on the colonial power of Pelly Crossing RCMP by stating that

> there's now one medium in place where they're going, oh shoot, I've got somebody else [the CSOs] I'm accountable to follow up and to let them know how the investigation went, you know, so I think um if we've provided you know, the CSOs provide that accountability.

SFN CSO Program as a Bridge Between SFN & Pelly Crossing RCMP. The SFN CSO program can be viewed as a bridge between SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP for certain RCMP officers that choose to embrace the CSO program, which then has the potential to propel forward to a certain extent for each officer an altering of narratives, colonial mindsets, and colonial power dynamics around how the RCMP operates in Pelly Crossing and other regions of the Far North. Evelyn elaborated on the idea of the SFN

CSO program being a bridge when she offered knowledge in answering key question #1. Evelyn stated that CSOs "are the conduit, they are liaisons between the um the community, the citizens and all general uh justice professionals that well I'm not going to say professionals, but justice workers."

Countering Colonial Power Dynamic that RCMP 'Can Do It All'. In addition, another narrative, colonial mindset, and the colonial power dynamic that Pelly Crossing RCMP officers working with and acknowledging the importance of the SFN CSO program in Pelly Crossing is that the RCMP can do it all by themselves on their own terms when it comes to administering policing services across the Far North. This is a colonial narrative detailed in Chapter 4 that the media have emphasized for decades, dating back to Sergeant Preston and other media portrayals of RCMP officers working in the Far North. I also believe that, as detailed in Chapters 1 and 4, the RCMP operating in the Far North has reached a breaking point. The SFN CSO program offers a model for supporting the decolonizing of RCMP policing services via partnerships and collaboration. It provides an alternative to the RCMP formulating their own outsider-driven solution. Outsider-driven solutions are rooted in the RCMP as an organization defining themselves in a colonial-type power dynamic where the RCMP are defined as experts and view themselves as able to solve all problems independently. This type of organizational mindset is contextualized by the fact that the RCMP's relationship with Northern Indigenous nations is fraught with mistrust that at times continues to this day, as detailed in the knowledge offered for answering opening question #2, rooted in colonial government programs that the RCMP supported. Partnerships and collaboration with SFN CSOs provide an alternative avenue for a collaborative solution to better deal with

crime in SFN that has the potential over time to be led by SFN since the LDP staffing model disrupts any consistent Pelly Crossing RCMP outsider-led solutions.

SFN CSO program Must Be Viewed as a Permanent Collaborative Partner.
Thus, SFN, via the CSO program, must be viewed as a permanent collaborative partner with Pelly Crossing RCMP that will provide a more consistent avenue to address pressing challenges occurring in the community led by SFN. I also believe that over time, partnerships & collaboration between SFN CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP must be cemented via some form of an agreement such as a TOR, MOU, or LOE coupled with improved training to better define, and support a shift in structures, ideologies, and discourses more broadly on an organizational level about how Pelly Crossing RCMP operate. This will allow for Pelly Crossing RMCP to put into place a clear organizational goal and process for better supporting decolonization to realize the final element of decolonizing the policy, which states that decolonizing is a goal and process to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses. How Pelly Crossing RCMP may be able to formalize and implement a clear organizational process for better supporting decolonization via institutional transformation can better embrace and support decolonization, including addressing concerns with the current LDP staffing model will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

Potential Positive Impact

The third and final theme that was generated was *Potential Positive Impact.* The elements of decolonizing the police that the third theme connects with via past support for 1) Countering colonial mindsets, 2) Shifting narratives & elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, and, to a certain extent, 3) Lessening Colonial Power. The final

element of decolonizing the police regarding 4) Goal and process to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses will also be discussed as it relates to the third theme, but in terms of an area to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP as to better support decolonization in the future. The first element of decolonizing the police about countering colonial mindsets, along with shifting narratives and elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, had been previously supported by the third theme in terms of the impact that an orientation that the lead SFN CSO had conducted may have had on Pelly Crossing RCMP officers. The previously conducted orientation, as described by Meg, had been detailed previously in this chapter and focused on providing new Pelly Crossing RCMP officers "a little picture of what the community [is like], what the issues are that [CSOs] have come across." Other topics during the orientation included Settlement Lands and the impact of Residential Schools on the citizens of SFN. It is unclear how impactful the orientation may have been on Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, as detailed by Meg, who stated, "whether that makes any difference in how they interact with some community members I am not sure, but I'm hoping that the step taken by the CSO, that it does." Although it is difficult to calculate the exact impact of the CSO-led orientation, what the orientation did provide was an opportunity for the potential for countering colonial mindsets regarding the effects of Residential Schools, along with self-governance and shifting narratives rooted in elevating SFN governance traditions, including to a certain extent Northern Tutchone culture, and traditions. The third element of lessening colonial power was connected with and supported to a certain extent by Betty concerning Pelly Crossing RCMP not always having to patrol as much as before the formation of the SFN CSO program. Betty described this as "[u]mm if anything it

should be a good thing, right? I mean these guys can stay home until somebody phones them they don't patrol you know so." The lessening of colonial power is also challenging to measure regarding the Pelly Crossing RCMP. However, a lessening of the constant presence of RCMP in SFN via patrols may have the effect of minimizing the show of power to SFN citizens via patrols. A show of power on the part of the RCMP that is rooted in the RCMP being a colonial police force, which was initially designed to control and contain Indigenous nations and peoples.

The Need for Pelly Crossing RCMP to Formulate a Clear Organizational Goal & Process to Better Supports Decolonization. Although the lessening of patrols by the RCMP in Pelly Crossing does raise a possible concern regarding if Pelly Crossing RCMP end up limiting their patrols as indicated by Betty, it might raise past concerns about the relationship between Pelly Crossing RCMP with SFN as being detached. The final element of decolonizing the police connects with the third theme of *Potential Positive Impact* by highlighting an area to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP to better support decolonization in the future regarding Pelly Crossing RCMP needing to formulate a clear organizational goal and process that better supports decolonization. A clear organizational goal and process that seeks to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses about making some form of an orientation training provided by SFN CSOs mandatory coupled with a TOR, MOU or LOE that clearly defines and clarifies roles and responsibilities between CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP that includes patrol expectations. It may be beneficial for the suggested TOR, MOU, or LOE between SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP to be formulated with SFN citizens' feedback included from the proposed re-engagement sessions detailed in the previous section focused on the

strengths, tensions, and challenges of the SFN CSO program and how capacity

development would provide an avenue for addressing identified tensions and challenges.

As mentioned at the end of the previous section, the next section will focus on

how Pelly Crossing RCMP must further embrace decolonization on an organizational

level. The following section will include an overview of how Pelly Crossing RCMP can

formalize and put into place a clear organizational process for better-supporting

decolonization via institutional transformation, including a mandatory orientation training

process and a TOR, MOU or LOE or some combination of two or the three mechanisms

for cementing the formalize the agreement between SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP that

clarifies roles, responsibilities and patrol expectations between CSOs & RCMP officers.

Why Pelly Crossing RCMP Must Embrace Organizational Decolonization

The current state of decolonization for Pelly Crossing RCMP, since the creation

of the SFN CSO program, seems to have reached an individual level for certain RCMP

officers as per the above analysis of the three themes generated from the knowledge

offered in answering key question #6 and key question #1 for the first theme. The themes

that were generated for key question #6 included: 1) *Dependent on RCMP Members Due*

to LDP, 2) *Yes, via Partnerships & Collaboration &* 3) *Potential Positive Impact* and the

first theme for key question #1 stated: *Elevated Connections to Community &*

Knowledge. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 4, institutional transformation has been

put forward as an organizational model to analyze the impact of the SFN CSO program

on the day-to-day work of Pelly Crossing RCMP on an organizational level. The four

main aspects that institutional transformation seeks to do within an organization include:

"1) alters the culture of the institution by changing select underlying assumptions and

institutional behaviours, processes, and products; 2) is deep and pervasive, affecting the

whole institution; 3) is intentional; and 4) occurs over time" (Eckel et al., 1998, p. 3).

Similarly, regarding the state of decolonization within Pelly Crossing RCMP, it seems

from the knowledge offered in answering key question #6 that only aspects of

institutional transformation have occurred to varying degrees on an individual level about

aspects one and four.

For those Pelly Crossing RCMP officers who have recognized the importance of

the SFN CSO program in their day-to-day work, those officers, to a certain extent, have

been able to amplify their ability to either connect or better understand SFN due to one or

more of the following areas related to SFN CSOs as per the above analysis: Connect with

SFN citizens, understand certain aspects of knowledge that SFN CSOs understand about

SFN regarding issues occurring in the community or other aspects of vital knowledge,

and how SFN citizens are at times more comfortable with reaching out to CSOs as

opposed to Pelly Crossing RCMP. Although not all Pelly Crossing RCMP officers who

have recognized the importance of the SFN CSO program have had all four areas of their

day-to-day work in SFN amplified due to the SFN CSO program, but from the

knowledge offered, it sounds as though several officers have had differing areas of their

work positively amplified via their interactions with SFN CSOs. Pelly Crossing RCMP as

a detachment needs to put in the work to better embrace decolonization on an

organizational level and not rely on individual officers.

End Reliance on Individual Officers in Relation to Decolonization & A Need

for Consistency. The reliance on individual officers to embrace decolonization and the

SFN CSO program is quite concerning since the LDP posting model sets guidelines of 2

to 3 years maximum in Pelly Crossing for how long officers will be posted to the

detachment. With this structure, the LDP posting model can disrupt the potential for positive impacts, as detailed above. This is not to say that certain Pelly Crossing officers have failed to embrace decolonization and the SFN CSO program. This environment leaves a significant amount of gray area regarding how each Pelly Crossing RCMP officer will choose to approach their role in Pelly Crossing, including decolonization and the SFN CSO program. With that being said, the effect of Pelly Crossing RCMP better embracing decolonization on an organizational level would set clear policy and program standards led by SFN leadership for the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment that could help elevate the level of consistency in police service offered by Pelly Crossing RCMP. SFN leadership would also be able to articulate their goals, vision, and areas of emphasis to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP via some form of decolonization of the police document when it comes to Pelly Crossing RCMP better-embracing decolonization on an organizational level.

It should be noted that the four key elements referenced throughout the prior section when discussing the decolonizing of the police are general key elements for understanding what decolonizing of the police constitutes in the context of general goals, processes, and visions for approaching the decolonizing of the police. The four key elements included: 1) Countering colonial mindsets, 2) Shifting narratives and elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, 3) Lessening colonial power, and 4) Goal and processes to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses. The four key elements listed above may aid SFN leadership in articulating goals, vision, and areas to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP when it comes to Pelly Crossing RCMP better-embracing decolonization on an organizational level. SFN leadership may also want to include

language in their goals, visions, and areas of emphasis for Pelly Crossing RCMP that emphasizes the importance of Pelly Crossing RCMP improving their relationship, recognition, and respect for the SFN CSO program, including clarifying the roles of officers and CSOs. Organizational decolonization would also help to prevent a reoccurrence of the themes generated from the second opening question that painted a picture of a policing environment in SFN administered by Pelly Crossing RCMP that was unstable, officer dependent, and officers that were detached from SFN.

Proposed SFN Decolonization of the Police Document. The possible decolonization of the police document to be formulated by SFN leadership could be focused on goals, vision, and areas of emphasis to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP when it comes to Pelly Crossing RCMP embracing decolonization. It could be structured into an MOU, LOE, or a TOR-type agreement between SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP. An MOU, LOE, or TOR-type agreement is suggested as each is a possible avenue for re-emphasizing the importance of the nation-to-nation relationship between SFN and the RCMP, aka the Government of Canada. It should be noted that there is no clear definition of the nation-to-nation relationship between an Indigenous nation and the Government of Canada. Former Assembly of First Nations (AFN) Chief Perry Bellegarde offered five guiding elements for renewing the nation-to-nation relationship. The five guiding elements for "a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous Peoples [included] recognition, rights, respect, co-operation, and partnership." (Kheiriddin, 2021, para. 4). I believe that emphasizing the five guiding principles detailed above by former AFN Chief Bellegarde is crucially important for renewing the nation-to-nation relationship for SFN, due to the fact SFN is a self-

governing Northern Indigenous nation. SFN has a clearly defined constitution as per the many final agreements and implementation plans that SFN worked hard to finalize over many years that include Selkirk First Nation Final Agreement, and Selkirk First Nation Final Agreement implementation plan coupled with the Selkirk First Nation Self-Government Agreement, the Final Land Claims Agreement, and Umbrella Final Agreement & implementation plan.

Importance of MOU, LOE, or TOR Agreement. It is my view that an MOU, LOE, or TOR-type agreement, as described earlier in this chapter, would provide a mechanism for establishing educational material that uplifts and emphasizes the importance of the nation-to-nation relationship to new RCMP officers by clarifying expectations and goals for Pelly Crossing RCMP that also requires new RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing to thoroughly review educational material welcoming new RCMP officers to the nation of SFN including an overview of the SFN Self-Government Agreement and Final Land Claims Agreement. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the MOU, LOE, or TOR could also include language that revitalizes the previously discussed orientation conducted by the lead CSO.

Educational Material. The educational material could consist of aspects of the previously conducted orientation for new Pelly Crossing RCMP, such as what settlement lands are, and SFN ownership & control over specific settlement lands via the SFN final agreement, common issues in the community, including the history/impact of many colonial programs that the RCMP supported such as Residential Schools, and enforcement of the Indian Act. The educational material should also include an overview of how colonial policies have negatively impacted and continue to shape interactions

between the police with Indigenous women, girls, two-spirit, gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, and trans-sexual individuals. Other topics to possibly be included in the educational material could focus on intergenerational trauma, the impact of FASD on the community, the state of substance abuse, drug trafficking, and bootlegging alcohol into SFN. A final area to be covered could focus on how new RCMP officers to Pelly Crossing can be successful, along with hunting and fishing customs, the importance of the Northern Tutchone Clan System to traditional governance, and how to interact with SFN leadership and Elders respectfully. It is also proposed that SFN examine the possibility of CSOs revitalizing the previously conducted orientation program that could focus on key items included in the educational material. Yukon University's Northern Institute of Social Justice (NISJ) may be a good resource for SFN leadership to reach out to when developing new educational material and orientation, as Yukon RCMP had previously developed an educational training program titled *Yukon First Nations History and Cultures.* The NISJ was established in 2010 at Yukon College, now known as Yukon University, with the overall mission to support justice, health, social service, and other professionals working frontline roles, education workers, public service & non-governmental employees, board members, and interested members of the public by "brokering, coordinating, developing and delivering short training courses and awareness sessions." The NISJ training courses and awareness sessions have focused on many different important topics impacting residents across the Yukon include: "administrative justice, Fetal Alcohol Syndrome Disorder, loss and grief, mental health, regulatory enforcement, suicide intervention, trauma, vicarious trauma, Yukon First Nations history

and cultures, [and when requested] Residential School Awareness sessions" (Yukon University, 2024).

A Separate LOE or MOU for LDP Staffing. In addition, another suggested area of concern is that SFN leadership may consider formulating a separate LOE or MOU about LDP staffing that allows for consistent check-ins with Pelly Crossing RCMP, like the LOE agreement discussed earlier in this chapter formulated by KDFN relating to monthly policing reports and meetings with KDFN Chief and Council. An SFN LOE or MOU could improve the consistency of LDP staffing and the day-to-day work of RCMP officers in Pelly Crossing. An SFN LOE or MOU focused on staffing and day-to-day operations could include monthly meetings of Pelly Crossing officers, SFN leadership, and the SFN Justice Coordinator. It is also encouraged that wording be included in an SFN LOE or MOU that states that SFN CSOs are to meet with Pelly Crossing RCMP every week to clarify work schedules, welcome new Pelly Crossing Officers to SFN, and discuss items of concern.

SFN Citizen Feedback & RCMP Officer Performance. A final area to possibly be included in the SFN LOE or MOU could be SFN citizen feedback via an anonymous online survey, or some other platform that SFN leadership believes would work best for SFN citizens offering their feedback on the consistency and day-to-day work of RCMP officers posted to the Pelly Crossing detachment. Anonymous feedback from SFN citizens could be a medium for better understanding the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers by highlighting areas where officers could improve and indicating areas where officers are doing a good job. Feedback from SFN citizens could also help Pelly Crossing RCMP to better respond to SFN citizens and modify their work practices if needed. SFN

citizens would also be able to offer general feedback on the work of Pelly Crossing officers and raise possible concerns if need be. If any SFN citizen feedback raises concerns about any Pelly Crossing RCMP officer's conduct, it is strongly encouraged that RCMP disciplinary procedures be invoked, along with SFN protocols for addressing the concern. Depending on the severity of the concern, raised SFN leadership as per the agreed upon LOE or MOU may include mechanisms for addressing the concern, such as sending a letter that communicates concerns to Pelly Crossing RCMP leadership, offering to meet with the officer with SFN and Pelly Crossing leadership, a circle process with Pelly Crossing RCMP leadership, the officer involved, and SFN leadership, or SFN leadership communicates via a letter or meeting with Pelly Crossing RCMP leadership that the officer in question should be considered for removal from the Pelly Crossing detachment. It is also believed that anonymous feedback from SFN citizens on Pelly Crossing RCMP officers could be kept on a secure computer for storage purposes to be referenced by Yukon RCMP when considering staffing decisions for Pelly Crossing or if there may be concerns about RCMP officers posted in Pelly Crossing. If SFN citizen feedback raises concerns about a Pelly Crossing RCMP officer who is currently posted or being considered to be re-posted to Pelly Crossing, it is strongly encouraged that Yukon RCMP reconsider the posting or re-posting.

Heiltsuk Nation & the RCMP Listening to Concerns of Indigenous Peoples. It should be noted that the RCMP has taken into consideration the concerns of Indigenous citizens when it comes to RCMP staffing. An example of the RCMP listening to the concerns of Indigenous citizens took place in the Heiltsuk Nation in 2024 when concerns were raised about racist posts created by an RCMP officer posted to the Bella Bella

RCMP detachment (CBC News British Columbia, 2024). The feedback from SFN

citizens could also help support a portion of M Divisions Reconciliation Strategy about

hiring new detachment commanders. Thus, when the Pelly Crossing detachment may be

in consideration for a new detachment commander, feedback from SFN citizens via the

above anonymous surveys could help facilitate SFN citizen outreach regarding the

staffing of detachment commanders in Pelly Crossing.

Pelly Crossing RCMP Must Put in Significant Effort Due to the Colonial

Legacy of the RCMP. I believe that the creation of educational material, a revitalized

orientation training for new Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, and some form of a re-

worked LDP staffing process that includes SFN citizen feedback about officer

performance while posted to Pelly Crossing would help to elevate the five guiding

principles for renewing the nation-to-nation relationship and offer support for Pelly

Crossing RCMP to embrace the four key elements detailed above for decolonizing the

police. Although all the proposed suggestions on the part of SFN leadership are detailed

above, most of the work, effort, and review for decolonizing Pelly Crossing RCMP must

be done by Pelly Crossing RCMP. Why will the majority of the work to decolonize on an

organizational level need to be done by Pelly Crossing RCMP officers and leadership at

the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment is due to the colonial legacy of the RCMP in SFN

and across the Yukon, coupled with the colonial roots of the predecessor organization the

NWMP, coupled with numerous reports, surveys, proposed lawsuits, real-world incidents

of abuse, and other painful colonial policies RCMP officers had taken part in that at times

continue to impact certain SFN citizens via trauma or intergenerational trauma stemming

from acts carried out by the RCMP as a policing institution coupled with several more

recent reports, lawsuits, and abuse of power incidents highlighted in Chapters 1 & 4. The

impact of the colonial legacy of the RCMP in SFN was highlighted by knowledge offered

by Theresa during her interview in relation to the second opening question. Theresa had

described how

> some Residential School Survivors um they remember the yellow stripes and the
> yellow stripes were the ones that would come to get the children to take them
> from the house they call then yellow stripes because of the line on their pants in
> the uniform so that is intrinsically entwined with the relationship that the
> community has with the RCMP.

In addition, as detailed in Chapter 4, the RCMP also carried out and/or supported many

other colonial and discriminatory policies across the Yukon during the Klondike Gold

Rush, the buildup of military personnel in the Yukon during WWII, and the building of

the Alaska Highway. Chapter 4 also described how the RCMP had taken part in several

colonial policies and programs in other regions of the Far North, including the N.W.T.,

Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, and Nunavik. The colonial policies and programs included the

Eskimo identification disk program, the enforcement of discriminatory hunting laws, the

killing of sled dogs, and the relocation of Inuit peoples from northern areas of Quebec to

northern regions of Nunavut.

> ***Pelly Crossing RCMP Must Put in Additional Efforts Due to Previous Abuse of***
>
> ***Power Reports & Lawsuits.*** Furthermore, several reports and lawsuits have also

magnified the need for Pelly Crossing RCMP to embrace decolonization that, include: a

2010 Review of the Yukon's Police Force, which highlighted how certain SFN citizens

who have been diagnosed with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder have been treated

negatively by RCMP in the past, and a 2020-21 Yukon Police Council survey found how

48% of all Indigenous respondents in the survey indicating that the majority of

Indigenous respondents deemed that the RCMP had done a poor job of building trust and engagement with Yukoners, a $600 million proposed class action lawsuit, due to allegations of abuse targeting Indigenous peoples in the Far North, a 2017 Globe & Mail investigation that found high rates of sexual assault complaints being deemed by RCMP as unfounded in the Yukon, (Yukon Police Council, March 2021). Moreover, two real-world Yukon incidents of abuse of power that were described in Chapter 1, which resulted in death and serious injury, further magnify the importance of decolonizing for Pelly Crossing RCMP. The death of Raymond Silverfox in 2008 in a Whitehorse RCMP jail cell, as well as injuries suffered by a 17-year-old Inuk-Dene teenage girl in the summer of 2023 after an interaction with RCMP in Whitehorse left her with a "dislocated kneecap, torn ACL and torn tendons and muscles around her kneecap" (Connors, 2023, para. 8). All the past colonial incidents, and policies the RCMP took part in coupled with the numerous reports & surveys, including the proposed $600 million-dollar lawsuit and the two real-world incidents of abuse of power that had occurred in Whitehorse magnify the need for Pelly Crossing RCMP to decolonize on an organizational level. It should also be noted that as detailed in Chapter 1, there also have been several other incidents of police misconduct & surveillance, and use of force targeting Indigenous peoples and the national inquiry into the high rates of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls that provide further evidence as to why Pelly Crossing RCMP must fully embrace organizational decolonization.

Organizational Decolonization Key for Consistency & Supportive Environment for SFN CSO Program. Organizational decolonization for Pelly Crossing RCMP will also offer a more supportive and consistent environment for the SFN CSO

program to operate in without as much disruption due to the LDP staffing model. In addition, it is also believed that organizational decolonization occurring within Pelly Crossing RCMP will allow SFN leadership to have a more prominent voice in the administration of RCMP policing services in SFN and thus uplift aspects of self-determination when it comes to SFN.

Pelly Crossing RCMP will need to put in a significant amount of work to decolonize on an organizational level, as noted above, to truly transform the detachment's relationship with SFN, day-to-day operations, interactions with SFN citizens, recognition of SFN as a self-governing Northern Indigenous nation, and the SFN CSO program. The decolonization that Pelly Crossing RCMP must undertake on an organizational level should adhere to the proposed document above, formulated by SFN leadership that articulates SFN goals, vision, and areas of emphasis to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP when it comes to organizational decolonization. Pelly Crossing RCMP should also address concerns raised by the themes generated by the second opening question focused on the state of the policing environment in SFN before the formation of the SFN CSO program. The themes included: 1) *Unstable*, 2) *Officer Dependent*, and 3) *Detached*.

Institutional Transformation. As discussed in Chapter 4, institutional transformation is put forth as the tool to be used for how Pelly Crossing RCMP should go about accomplishing the goals and vision of SFN as detailed in the SFN goals, vision, and areas of emphasis to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP document when it comes to organizational decolonization along with building off positive impacts of the SFN CSO program, and expand off current ongoing efforts from the M Division Reconciliation Strategy. Pelly Crossing RCMP will need to review all the detachment's

policies and practices via the four main aspects of institutional transformation for

decolonizing at an organizational level. The four main elements of institutional

transformation included: "1) alters the culture of the institution by changing select

underlying assumptions and institutional behaviours, processes, and products; 2) is deep

and pervasive, affecting the whole institution; 3) is intentional; and 4) occurs over time"

(Eckel et al., 1998, p. 3). The four main aspects of institutional transformation should

address each of the four key elements of decolonizing the police unless SFN leadership

formulates its own definition for decolonizing the police. The four key aspects of

decolonizing the police include: 1) Countering colonial mindsets, 2) Shifting narratives &

elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions, 3) Lessening colonial power & 4)

Goal & process to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses.

Proposed Steps for Pelly Crossing RCMP to Begin Organizational

Decolonization. I would suggest that Pelly Crossing RCMP begin the organizational

decolonization process by first notifying and formalizing a partnership with SFN

leadership, possibly via an MOU, to accomplish organizational decolonization. The

notifying and MOU partnership agreement will ensure that all decisions about

organizational decolonization are rooted and driven by the SFN community. The MOU

agreement could act as an outline for agreed-upon regular meetings between SFN

leadership and Pelly Crossing RCMP, along with putting forth key areas to focus on for

accomplishing organizational decolonization. It is also suggested that an organizational

decolonization council be formed between SFN leadership and Pelly Crossing RCMP to

attend the organizational decolonization meetings stipulated above via an MOU.

Members of the organizational decolonization council could include SFN leadership,

CSOs, along with a diverse range of SFN citizens, such as women, two-spirit, gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, and trans individuals.

SFN CSO Program a Bridge to Further Support Organizational Decolonization of Pelly Crossing RCMP. Furthermore, the SFN CSO program could be a bridge for supporting organizational decolonization of Pelly Crossing RCMP by expanding on the positive impacts that were detailed in the previous section relating to certain individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers either better connecting or understanding SFN due to those individual officers' realizing the importance of partnerships with SFN CSOs. The areas where certain Pelly Crossing RCMP officers have either better connected or improved their understanding of SFN due to partnerships with SFN CSOs include: 1) Connect with SFN citizens, 2) understand certain aspects of knowledge that SFN CSOs understand about SFN regarding issues occurring in the community or other aspects of vital knowledge, and 3) How SFN citizens are at times more comfortable with reaching out to CSOs as opposed to Pelly Crossing RCMP.

Proposed Pelly Crossing RCMP Decolonization Plan. Pelly Crossing RCMP is strongly encouraged to articulate a detailed decolonization plan to be presented to SFN leadership that details a proposed plan for how and why organizational decolonization may occur for the Pelly Crossing detachment via the four aspects of institutional transformation. In my view, there are several key elements that Pelly Crossing would need to include in a plan for organizational decolonization via institutional transformation would be to first focus on altering the entire culture and shifting narratives of the Pelly Crossing detachment away from a colonial mindset in all areas of the detachment including the mission statement of the detachment, interactions with SFN elders,

leadership, citizens, and SFN CSOs, making an arrest, investigations, oversight,

interviews, processing evidence, search & rescue, issues around racial bias, patrol,

showing respect for the land, waterways, animals, birds, and fish, and community

engagements. It should be emphasized that an 'us vs. them' that may occur at times due

to the LDP staffing model type policing dynamic will not be tolerated and that Pelly

Crossing RCMP officers are expected to be out in the community similar to current

outreach initiatives that some Pelly Crossing officers have taken part in to varying

degrees. Although community engagement must be further emphasized via Pelly

Crossing, officers participating in giving back to SFN in the form of community service

via a specified number of hours each month, which is agreed upon by SFN leadership and

coordinated with SFN CSOs. I would also encourage Pelly Crossing RCMP to include

the results of the review focused on altering the entire culture of the Pelly Crossing

detachment away from a colonial mindset in the presentation to SFN leadership. The

second area to focus on by the Pelly Crossing RCMP would be to formulate an updated,

all-encompassing new policy that affects the entire detachment and all future Pelly

Crossing RCMP officers via a proposed updated policy that articulates the following.

Pelly Crossing RCMP officers are guests on Northern Tutchone territory who value

working in partnership with SFN, including SFN CSOs, respect SFN sovereignty as a

Northern Indigenous nation, traditions, customs and beliefs as well as acknowledge the

RCMP's colonial past, and the importance of working every day to support the five

guiding elements for renewing the nation-to-nation relationship offered by former AFN

Chief Bellegarde that included: "recognition, rights, respect, co-operation and

partnership." (Kheiriddin, 2021, para. 4). The updated policy should also include wording

that acknowledges and offer possible opportunities for supporting SFNs traditions, customs, and beliefs around justice matters including an official acknowledgment of the SFN CSO program. The second proposed area to focus on for Pelly Crossing RCMP must be an intentional act rooted in respect and aimed at elevating Indigenous views, cultures, and traditions. Both of the first two proposed areas to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP for their plan to be presented to SFN leadership should be understood as occurring over time and not as a check of the box type activities but are constant processes that must be understood as living dynamic processes that require work and effort to be upheld daily. The updated policy should be displayed on a poster in the detachment and via small, laminated cards to be displayed in all RCMP vehicles in Pelly Crossing to act as a reminder of the updated all-encompassing new policy that affects the entire detachment.

SFN leadership Identify Goals and Ways to Lessen Colonial Power of Pelly Crossing RCMP. The final few elements of decolonizing the police on the organizational level for Pelly Crossing RCMP must be defined by SFN leadership regarding identifying goals and ways to lessen the colonial power of Pelly Crossing RCMP. Moreover, when it comes to identifying possible processes to focus on for shifting key structures, ideologies, and discourses relating to Pelly Crossing RCMP, the three themes generated from the second opening question are suggested as processes to be focused on by Pelly Crossing RCMP for supporting organizational decolonization. The three themes identified by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders were as follows: 1) *Unstable*, 2) *Officer Dependent*, and 3) *Detached*. Pelly Crossing RCMP are encouraged to support and offer feedback on the three items described above to be undertaken by SFN leadership. This

may help address the three themes for shifting key structures, ideologies, and discourses. The three suggested items to be undertaken by SFN leadership included: 1) Creation of educational material, 2) Revitalized orientation training for new Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, and 3) Some form of a re-worked LDP staffing process cemented via an LOE or MOU agreement with Pelly Crossing RCMP that includes SFN citizen feedback about officer performance. Another possible avenue for helping to shift key structures, ideologies, and discourses relating to specific issues occurring in SFN and the surrounding region that Pelly Crossing RCMP could support would be the possible formation of the Northern Tutchone Tribal Council nation's public health model of policing group. As discussed in this chapter, this proposed group could meet regularly to discuss ways to deal with crime and substance abuse occurring in the region. This group could include Pelly Crossing RCMP as well as other RCMP detachments in the region to elevate the voices of Northern Tutchone leadership into the conversations with the RCMP, along with social services, health, youth, unhoused, substance abuse, and other key agencies of each of the Northern Tutchone nations to formulate collaborative solutions that are led by the three Northern Tutchone nations.

Organizational Decolonization for Pelly Crossing RCMP Supports M Division Reconciliation Strategy, MMIWGs Calls for Justice, and Aspects of the TRC's Reconciliation Calls to Action. The suggested plan for supporting the organizational decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment will expand off several recommendations put forth in the current M Division Reconciliation Strategy first formulated in 2010 after a Review of Yukon's Police Force had been completed. A final report was produced titled: *Sharing Common Ground – Final report on implementation*

of the review of Yukon's police force. The recommendations from the M Division

Reconciliation Strategy that the suggested Pelly Crossing RCMP organizational

decolonization plan will expand and/or support include: 1) The establishment of the

Yukon Police Council, "which has the mandate to ensure community needs and values

are reflected in Territorial Policing policies and practices," 2) Yukon First Nations

History and Cultures program, which was created to "help police and other service

providers better understand the communities in which they live and work," community

engagement efforts, such as letter of expectation initiative, consultation on staffing of

detachment commanders, the hanging of the 'We Are All Treaty People' banner in

support of reconciliation, and supporting both priorities 1 and 3 of the Yukon Policing

Priority reconciliation plan (RCMP, 2021a). Moreover, the proposed organizational

decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment will also support two MMIWGs

Calls for Justice about Calls for Police Services, which include 9.1 & 9.1. Both Calls for

the Police are detailed further below from the KAIROS Canada (2023) website about the

MMIWGs 231 Calls for Justice:

> 9.1 We call upon all police services and justice system actors to acknowledge that
> the historical and current relationship between Indigenous women, girls, and
> 2SLGBTQQIA people and the justice system has been largely defined by
> colonialism, racism, bias, discrimination, and fundamental cultural and societal
> differences. We further call upon all police services and justice system actors to
> acknowledge that, going forward, this relationship must be based on respect and
> understanding, and must be led by, and in partnerships with, Indigenous women,
> girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people.

> 9.2 We call upon all actors in the justice system, including police services, to
> build respectful working relationships with Indigenous peoples by knowing,
> understanding, and respecting the people they are serving. Initiatives and actions
> should include, but are not limited to, the following measures:

- Review and revise all policies, practices, and procedures to ensure service delivery that is culturally appropriate and reflects no bias or racism toward Indigenous Peoples, including victims and survivors of violence.
- Establish engagement and partnerships with Indigenous Peoples, communities, and leadership, including women, Elders, youth, and 2SLGBTQQIA people from the respective territories and who are residents within a police service's jurisdiction.
- Ensure appropriate Indigenous representation, including Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people, on police services boards and oversight authorities (para. 115-116).

A Call to Action from the TRC's Reconciliation Calls to Action will also be supported via organizational decolonization regarding Reconciliation Call to Action 57, which is focused on educating public servants on the history of Indigenous peoples. Lastly, the proposed organizational decolonization of the Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment plan would help to provide a stable, supportive environment for the SFN CSO program going into the future that acknowledges and elevates SFN voices, governance practices, and culture.

The following section will examine if the SFN CSO program has impacted the state of reconciliation in SFN about Pelly Crossing RCMP, Yukon or Federal Government justice, health, or social service programs. Discussions of reconciliation will also include an analysis of perceptions of SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including Pelly Crossing RCMP. Key questions #8, and #5 will be examined in the next section about reconciliation in Pelly Crossing. The closing question will also be discussed at the end of this section about the impact that the CSO program model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to improve community safety within RCMP policing may have on reconciliation across the Far North.

Reconciliation

      Reconciliation is a broad term that can have multiple meanings and definitions, depending on the context in which it is considered, the individual pursuing reconciliation, and the factors that have led to the need for reconciliation. Reconciliation within this section will be a term that reflects the definitions offered at the beginning of this document in the 'Glossary of Key Terms.' The two definitions of reconciliation include how "the Truth Reconciliation Commission [TRC] described reconciliation as a process establishing and maintaining respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples" (First Peoples Law, n.d.). The second definition of reconciliation offered by Rigby (2001) expands on the TRC's definition by stating that reconciliation "requires the active participation of those who were divided by enmity. At the core of any reconciliation process is the preparedness of people to anticipate a shared future. For this to occur, they are required not to forget but to forgive the past, and thus be in a position to move forward together" (Rigby, 2001, p. 12). The two definitions of reconciliation detailed above will be discussed within this section regarding key questions #8, and #5. The themes generated by each key question will be addressed about whether reconciliation in Pelly Crossing has improved since the creation of the SFN CSO program. Improving reconciliation in Pelly Crossing as per the two definitions above will be discussed with a focus on improving relationships between SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP, along with other justice, health, or social service programs overseen by the Yukon or Federal Government. The relationships between SFN citizens with Pelly Crossing RCMP and justice services since the creation of the SFN CSO program will also be discussed, as well as possible impacts on SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing.

Key Question #8: Has the SFN CSO Program Impacted Reconciliation in Pelly

Crossing

The themes generated from the knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, will be key question #8. Key question #8 stated: Has the SFN CSO program impacted reconciliation in Pelly Crossing regarding improving the relationship with the RCMP or other justice, health, or social service programs overseen by the Yukon or Federal Government? (If yes, how is reconciliation being supported and if not, why?).

Reconciliation Occurs at Times, But More Work Needed. The knowledge offered in answering key question #8 highlights that reconciliation does seem to occur at times when it comes to Pelly Crossing RCMP via the SFN CSO program. However, more work will be needed to sustain reconciliation efforts into the future with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The most significant issue raised by knowledge offered was the continued painful impacts on SFN citizens stemming from the RCMP's role in Residential and Day Schools, along with present-day actions of arresting Survivors of Residential and Day Schools.

Reconciliation Starts in Community. At this time, a reconciliation process must occur within SFN amongst SFN citizens as per the knowledge offered. This viewpoint was articulated within the first formulated theme, *Reconciliation Starts in Community*. The reasoning behind the need for reconciliation to take place amongst SFN citizens first was put forth by Evelyn and Meg, who both touched on issues around dysfunction, trauma, and impacts of colonial programs, such as Residential Schools and the 60s Scoop, along with the need for the community to come together. Evelyn would describe

the need for reconciling amongst SFN citizens as a community due to dysfunction and trauma: "we have to reconcile with ourselves, you know, because there's so much dysfunction, there's so much turmoil, there's so much trauma, that we haven't even had a chance to look at that, and you know, on the ground in our communities." Evelyn would also add that "many historical impacts of colonization, Indian act policies, Residential Schools, the 60's Scoop, there's just so much of that that we haven't even had a chance to say, Whoa, what's going on here like what do we need to do first right." The knowledge offered by Evelyn highlights several painful topics within SFN that are present at times regarding dysfunction, trauma, and the impacts of colonization. How an SFN reconciliation process might occur was then touched upon by Meg, who stated that "the whole community needs to get onside, you know, with the whole healing aspect of um Residential Schools Survivors what they've been through. So, I think reconciliation is not just a upon, its upon everybody. Everybody has a part to play."

Limited Opportunities to Discuss Traumas, Dysfunction & Impacts of Colonial Programs. The knowledge offered by Meg and Evelyn highlights the need for discussions and meetings to occur within SFN that include SFN leadership relating to reconciliation due to the issues mentioned above. It would seem as though those SFN citizens impacted by certain colonial programs such as Residential Schools and the '60s Scoop have only had limited opportunities to discuss the traumas, dysfunction, and impacts resulting from either or both programs. This can be seen in that when the TRC held northern hearings in 2011, only four communities in the Yukon were included in the northern hearing schedule, and Pelly Crossing was not included. The four Yukon communities where the TRC held truth-sharing events included Whitehorse, Dawson

City, Carcross, and Watson Lake (CBC News North, 2011b). The closest of the four

Yukon communities to Pelly Crossing would have been Dawson City, around a 3-hour

drive each way. In addition, the Sixties Scoop Survivor Healing Foundation also held ten

engagement sessions from 2019 to 2020 across Canada, but none were held in the Yukon.

The closest community to the Yukon and Pelly Crossing, where an engagement session

was held, was Yellowknife. In addition to the ten-engagement session, there also was an

online engagement survey that provided SFN citizens a possible avenue to participate and

to "provide their thoughts and opinions on the Foundation." (The National Sixties Scoop

Healing Foundation of Canada, 2023, para. 12). This is not to say that the TRC truth

sharing events and the 60s Scoop engagement sessions detailed above were the only

opportunity for SFN citizens to share their own experiences from either or both colonial

programs, but from the knowledge offered above it would seem again that alternatives

may have been limited. It should also be noted that when answering the closing question,

Betty had offered knowledge that indicated problems with how the funding for the

Aboriginal Healing Foundation "lasted about 5-years and then they quit doing it and then

after the Aboriginal Healing Foundation [AHF] they kind of left everyone adrift." The

AHF funded many impactful First Nation, Inuit, and Métis healing projects, but the

program would end in 2014. The ending of the AHF program further limited possible

opportunities for SFN Residential School or Day School Survivors to access healing

programs or initiatives in SFN or the region, including to discuss the traumas,

dysfunction, and impacts resulting from either or both programs. Further magnifying the

above limitations relating to SFN-focused reconciliation initiatives, Greg pointed out that

reconciliation was still new to the community when he stated, "that's kind of a, it's been around, but it's kind of still a new thing in the community."

Additional Financial Supports Needed. The Federal Government and the Government of Yukon are strongly encouraged to provide financial support for SFN and similar Northern Indigenous nations and communities for formulating their own reconciliation processes that provide avenues for those impacted by colonial programs and policies, including family members, to begin the healing journey. Several other possible avenues for funding to support a potential SFN reconciliation process include the United Church of Canada's Healing Fund, the TELUS –Indigenous Communities Fund, the Yukon First Nations Land-Based Healing Fund offered by the Council for Yukon First Nations, and the Na-mi-quai-ni-mak Community Support Fund offered by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. It appears, to a certain extent, smaller Northern Indigenous nations such as SFN have not been provided with enough support relating to community-led reconciliation initiatives focused on supporting Survivors of Residential and Day schools and the '60s Scoop. As stated above, the Federal and Territorial governments must work to provide adequate support for Northern Indigenous nations and communities that want to formulate their own reconciliation processes.

CSO Program is Too New & RCMP Legacy. The third theme generated from the knowledge offered stated that the *CSO Program is Too New & RCMP Legacy.* The second portion of this theme relating to *the legacy of the RCMP* highlights how the actions of the RCMP that supported or at times carried out painful colonial and assimilation programs is an impediment acting as a barrier for reconciliation to occur with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The focus on the impact of the legacy of the RCMP

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magnifies aspects of the first theme detailed above about *Reconciliation Starts in Community*. The elements of the first theme that are magnified are the painful legacy of the RCMP's actions during Residential and Day Schools along with the '60s Scoop that evokes a deep distrust of the RCMP today by certain SFN citizens. This sentiment of distrust of the RCMP by certain SFN citizens was described by Meg as "the RCMP will always be seen as the bad guys for certain people in the community, right?"

Present-Day Actions of the RCMP May at Times Factor into Distrust. It should also be noted that present-day actions of the RCMP may at times also factor into a distrust, as indicated in the second theme for key question #8 that highlighted concerns around arrests of Residential School Survivors. Distrust was also alluded to in the themes generated for the second opening question: 1) *Unstable*, 2) *Officer Dependent*, and 3) *Detached*. This theme regarding the legacy of the RCMP further highlights the importance of Pelly Crossing RCMP fully embracing organizational decolonization as stipulated at the end of the previous section. In addition to the impact of the legacy of the RCMP acting as a barrier for reconciliation to occur with Pelly Crossing RCMP, another barrier raised within the third theme was that the *CSO Program Too New will impact* Pelly Crossing RCMP. Theresa had described this as "the CSO program is still quite frankly uh in its novice stage here because although it's been on for about four years." Greg would also describe how the CSO program has really "just [been] starting, [and CSOs do] talk with [RCMP] a little bit and kind of getting involved and interactions but in terms of reconciliation [the CSOs] really haven't had a whole lot to do with it." The point raised by Theresa and Greg would also be further magnified by the impact that COVID had on the possible impact of the SFN CSO program on reconciliation with Pelly

Crossing RCMP. Theresa described the impact of COVID-19 on the SFN CSO program

by detailing how the program has "been on for about four years and a bit; like I said,

three of those years don't count because of COVID years, you know what I mean; like,

there's that bubble."

Possible Impact of SFN CSO Program on Reconciliation with Pelly Crossing

RCMP. Both themes discussed up to this point regarding the possible impact of the

creation of the SFN CSO program on reconciliation in Pelly Crossing with the RCMP or

other justice, health, or social service programs overseen by the Yukon or Federal

Government highlight the need for additional efforts to be made by Pelly Crossing

RCMP relating to organizational decolonization and potentially an SFN reconciliation

process.

Work To Be Done. The fourth theme generated for key question #8 offers further

evidence that efforts need to be undertaken regarding reconciliation by stating that there

is *Work To Be Done.* Two themes arose from the knowledge provided about the work to

be done relating to the possibility of reconciliation occurring that included: 1) recognition

by Pelly Crossing RCMP of SFN as a self-governing nation and 2) improved

communication between the SFN CSO program with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The first

theme relating to the work to be done focused on the recognition by Pelly Crossing

RCMP of SFN as a self-governing nation, another example of a barrier to reconciliation.

This first theme also offers further support as to why Pelly Crossing RCMP should be

embracing organizational decolonization. The barrier of recognition by Pelly Crossing

RCMP of SFN as a self-governing nation was described by Meg as that "recognition of

SFN as a as a government and authority in the area, um just and the relationship is I guess, that's more about reconciliation." Theresa would also add that

> I think that a big chunk of it has to do with the way that the communities are viewed and the lack of real recognition about the fact that yes, you're not walking into just a rural community you're walking into the Selkirk First Nation.

Theresa would also add that when it comes to the RCMP, there needs to be a clear recognition that they are entering "traditional territory, um, and you're a guest, you're a guest yeah, so I don't think that has your right that's not been hasn't quite penetrated the consciousness." The second theme relating to the work to be done focused on improving communication between the SFN CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Improving communication was highlighted as a barrier to reconciliation about a need for respectful bidirectional communication between Pelly Crossing RCMP and the SFN CSO program, clarifying roles, and clarifying the relationship between the CSOs with the RCMP and other community programs such as the Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods (CAN) program. The state of bidirectional communication between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN CSOs seems to be shaky at best, as described by Theresa who stated: "I don't think that there's a bidirectional natural flow of communication and information sharing and more importantly um recognition of this is our role this is your role we occupy a space." Theresa would also further describe how this current lack of a bidirectional flow of communication occurs at times by that the Pelly Crossing does sound to do a good job of communicating with CSOs from time to time, when need be, "but if SFN goes to the RCMP and asks them for something it there's not that bidirectional communication system."

Undergo Growth & Conduct a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs. The need for improved bidirectional communication provides further support for addressing the fifth challenge theme that focused on a need for the SFN CSO program to *Undergo Growth & Conduct a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs*. The proposed avenue for addressing the fifth challenge theme, as detailed previously in this chapter, was to formulate a TOR, as suggested by Meg or an MOU or LOE to clarify roles, communication, and day/times for scheduled meetings between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. The proposed MOU, LOE, or TOR may also provide a method for addressing and clarifying the second portion of the need for improving communication between the SFN CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP about how each communicates with community programs such as the Safer Communities and Neighbourhoods (SCAN) program. Bob had described how SFN citizens sometimes reach out to the SCAN program or the CSOs, which he explained may negatively impact citizens' relationship with the RCMP due to an unclear policy around communication between the SFN CSO program and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Bob would state how SFN citizens at times may be encouraged to "contact the CSO program or ah safe community program SCAN um to report ah an incident so that the ah complainant can remain anonymous [, which may] impact [the potential for] trust" with the police pertaining to the possibility of reconciliation." The suggested TOR, MOU or LOE could offer a mechanism for clarifying roles, communication, and investigation protocols, as detailed earlier, SFN citizens are more comfortable reaching out to CSOs or the SCAN program, but Pelly Crossing RCMP may be investigating something or someone and if information or portions of information are not shared this could result in incomplete investigations.

Investigative information and the veil for SFN citizens to remain anonymous when raising concerns to CSOs or the SCAN program is another key area to be discussed in a possible TOR document, MOU or LOE. This could include levels of when information may be shared or if SFN leadership would agree to any information possibly being shared if SFN citizens reach out to CSOs or the SCAN program. If the work described above is put in to improve recognition by Pelly Crossing RCMP of SFN as a self-governing nation, along with communication between the SFN CSO program with Pelly Crossing RCMP coupled with Pelly Crossing RCMP fully embracing organizational decolonization and potentially an SFN reconciliation process taking place there would be increased support for the second theme, which was the only theme to indicate a positive impact of the SFN CSO program on Pelly Crossing RCMP about reconciliation. The second theme that highlighted a positive impact was the *CSO Program, an Avenue for Reconciliation.*

     CSO Program an Avenue for Reconciliation. The Second theme generated from the knowledge provided for key question #8 stated: *CSO Program an Avenue for Reconciliation.* The second theme highlights two mechanisms by which the SFN CSO program acts as an avenue for reconciliation with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The first avenue that the SFN CSO program serves as a mechanism for reconciliation is how SFN CSOs can serve as reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP of Residential School Survivors in SFN. Meg described SFN CSOs as being able to offer reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP of the presence of Residential School Survivors in SFN when making arrests via SFN CSOs' intimate knowledge of the community. Meg had detailed how "there are you know Residential School um Survivors here they've been through a lot, just reminding them of

that all the time." The importance of CSOs offering reminders of the presence of Residential School Survivors in SFN is due to the pain and trauma that past RCMP officers had overseen during the time frame of Residential Schools, but also coupled with how additional portions of knowledge offered by Meg had indicated how Residential School Survivors in SFN have been dealt with by Pelly Crossing RCMP by viewing Survivors as a nuisance, being hard on Survivors, and "there has been a history where they [RCMP] will just nab them, put them in jail, over and over and over." Meg also alluded to the potential for SFN CSOs to provide an avenue for alternative justice processes to be supported in SFN for Residential School Survivors as well as other types of nuisance activity by stating that "we keep this person out of the you know courts, there's a lot of nuisance happening [that] shouldn't go to the courts but it will because they're just you know they're repeating their behaviour."

Pelly Crossing RCMP Officers Working in Partnership with CSOs. The second avenue is that the SFN CSO program can serve as a mechanism for reconciliation in SFN with Pelly Crossing RCMP by officers working in partnership with CSOs and helping to increase the involvement of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in the community. Bob would describe how Pelly Crossing RCMP officers have worked with CSOs in SFN as "like even just having that partnership and that visibility of [the RCMP] working [together] hand-in-hand with [CSOs]." Through the partnership described by Bob, the potential for increased interactions may occur with SFN citizens and involvement with the community, which, as per Meg, are both key elements for reconciliation to occur with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Meg described the importance of Pelly Crossing RCMP involvement and interactions in SFN about reconciliation: "[u]m I think reconciliation for

what the RCMP comes with their involvement and interaction with people in the community, being out in the community, part of the community." The involvement and interactions of Pelly Crossing RCMP in the community via partnerships with SFN CSOs seems to also at times potentially have a positive impact on respect for those RCMP officers that actively choose to engage with Pelly Crossing RCMP respectfully. Bob highlighted the potential for elevated levels of respect to occur for both Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN CSOs as

> if the CSO program itself is respected by the public and they're saying that they are working with the RCMP as a partner and they have respect for that program and that organization um I think that can't hurt and helps the reconciliation [process]

Moreover, increased partnerships between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP coupled with respectful involvement and interactions with SFN by Pelly Crossing RCMP may also help to improve the recognition of the importance of the healing journey for SFN by Pelly Crossing RCMP. I would add that each of the two areas for work to be done detailed above may also aid in uplifting the importance of the healing journey for SFN, but also for Pelly Crossing RCMP to re-examine how they as a detachment may support that healing journey via organizational decolonization. The importance of recognizing the healing journey for both SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP would be described by Evelyn as "not just the healing journey itself within the community but when you start bringing in your peripheral partners other justice professionals, they, they also get it and they also understand it."

To further examine the potential impact of the SFN CSO program on reconciliation in SFN, the fifth key question will be discussed in the next portion of this section that focuses on SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of Pelly Crossing RCMP,

along with other justice services. The fifth key question stated: Has the CSO program

impacted SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing,

including the RCMP? (If yes, in what ways have interactions improved or if not, why

not?).

Key Question #5: Has the CSO Program Impacted SFN Citizens Interactions and/or

Views of Justice Services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP

The knowledge offered by SFN community leaders and knowledge holders,

including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, in answering key question #5 generated the

following two themes that expand, and support specific themes discussed above in

relation to reconciliation. The two themes included: *Yes - CSOs Improved Relationship*

with RCMP & SFN, and 2) No - Impact less than what was expected, Concerns with

Response Times & Work with RCMP. The first theme focused on how the SFN CSO

program has positively impacted SFN citizens' views and/or interactions with justice

services, including Pelly Crossing RCMP, from the viewpoint of SFN citizens.

Improved Relationships Between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN have

Positively Impacted Certain SFN Citizens' Interactions and/or Views of Justice

Services in Pelly Crossing. The first theme focused on how improved relationships

between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN have positively impacted certain SFN citizens'

interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing. Greg would detail how

SFN citizens' views and/or interactions with justice services had improved due to

"interactions with RCMP in the community have improved because [the CSOs] are

working with them now." Greg would add that SFN citizens have a "feeling that you

know, they know that [the CSOs are] always there standing in the shadows, um, you

know, to support them." Evelyn would also add that the SFN citizens' views and/or interactions with justice services in SFN, including Pelly Crossing RCMP, have improved since CSOs have "bridged the uh gap between the RCMP and the citizens, is that there's a there's a trust holder in place, that allows citizens to connect to, [and] to report." An example of the bridging of the gap between RCMP and SFN citizens can be seen in how "the CSO did explore and did support the First Nation (inaudible) trying to address the bootlegger." The partnership between Pelly Crossing RCMP and CSOs has also created a sense of accountability for the RCMP from the SFN citizens' point of view. Evelyn detailed how the presence of CSOs working with Pelly Crossing RCMP has created a sense of accountability by that "there's going to be accountability that the um, you know, and both sides were the victim or will follow through with the complaint and go through the court systems, instead of sort of being left alone." The knowledge offered by Greg and Evelyn expanded on the second theme discussed above pertaining to key question #8 regarding how partnerships between Pelly Crossing RCMP and CSOs can serve as a mechanism for reconciliation via increased involvement of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in the community. Moreover, the trust, accountability, and presence of CSOs in SFN, as detailed above, have also elevated the level of comfort in SFN citizens reporting concerns or incidents to CSOs. This indicates that CSOs have impacted SFN citizens' interactions and views of the justice system by providing SFN citizens with an outlet for reporting in the form of CSOs. Bob described how CSOs are an outlet for SFN citizens reporting incidents by stating, "yeah, certainly sometimes citizens are diverting their concerns to the CSO program which in that way it would have an impact."

CSO program has had a limited impact on SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP. As detailed above, the second theme generated from the knowledge offered for key question #5 supports the need for work to be done for reconciliation to occur. The second theme highlighted how the CSO program has had a limited impact on SFN citizens' interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP. The limited effect of the SFN CSO program was due to concerns with the CSO program, including response times and CSOs working with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Theresa described concerns with the state of the CSO program that have limited the impact of the CSOs on reconciliation in SFN. Theresa explained the limited impact of the CSO program due to issues around the presence of CSOs in SFN by saying that "there's not, the presence that we thought we were going to have, I thought I would just be able to call and now it always goes to voicemail, I never know, that since has not materialized." Meg would also add to the limited impact of the CSO program by stating, "I don't think so. I really don't know." Bob would also provide further support that the CSO program had had a limited impact on SFN citizens' views and/or interactions with justice services in SFN, including RCMP, when he stated that "I wouldn't say necessarily [the CSO program] has impacted how ah citizens are interacting with [the RCMP] or how [the RCMP is] interacting with citizens." Lastly, Theresa would highlight an area to focus on that echoed one of the specific areas for work to occur regarding reconciliation in SFN, which was communication between SFN CSOs with Pelly Crossing RMCP. Theresa described the need for communication to be improved: "I'm not sure that there's a really good direct communication between the CSOs and the RCMP."

This section has detailed that reconciliation is still in its early stages in SFN as the knowledge offered indicated that reconciliation in SFN is still a new concept, and for reconciliation to occur, it must first begin in the community. Regarding the potential impact on reconciliation in SFN by the SFN CSO program with Pelly Crossing RCMP, the impact has been limited to an individual level, similar to the state of decolonization about Pelly Crossing RCMP. The SFN CSO program has positively impacted reconciliation in SFN via CSOs acting as reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP of Residential School Survivors in SFN and via partnerships between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN CSOs. Partnerships, as indicated above, have helped to increase the involvement of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in the SFN community. The SFN CSO program has also helped to increase trust for some SFN citizens in a justice service via the presence and accountability that CSOs offer in relation to Pelly Crossing RCMP in the view of certain SFN citizens. Although with that said, for there to be a longer-term process of reconciliation to occur in SFN, it is suggested that some form of an SFN-led reconciliation process take place amongst SFN citizens as detailed above that is formulated and led by SFN citizens, due to the continued longer-term impacts of Residential, and Day Schools in SFN. In addition, Pelly Crossing RCMP must also put in a considerable amount of further work to support reconciliation in SFN. The work that Pelly Crossing RCMP must put in includes recognition by Pelly Crossing RCMP of SFN as a self-governing nation, improved bidirectional communication with CSOs and community programs via a potential MOU, LOE, or TOR document and embracing of organizational decolonization. The last question to be discussed within this section will

focus on the possible impacts of the CSO program for Northern Indigenous nations that choose to formulate their own CSO program on reconciliation with the RCMP.

Closing Question: How could the CSO program be a model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to improve community safety within RCMP policing models?

The final question to be examined in relation to the potential impact of the CSO program model on reconciliation within the Far North will be the closing question, which states the following: How could the CSO program be a model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to improve community safety within RCMP policing models? Although the themes generated for the closing question focused on the CSO program's impact on improving community safety, I believe the four themes detailed below touch upon impact areas where the CSO program offers potential areas for reconciliation to occur or be supported across the Far North with the RCMP. The four themes to be examined that were generated from the knowledge that was offered in answering the closing question included: 1) *Working Together*, 2) *RCMP Recognition,* 3) *Alternatives Possible,* and 4) *Reorienting Community Safety Funding in the Far North to Better Support Northern Indigenous Self-Determination.*

Working Together. The first theme focused on working together between CSOs and the RCMP regarding how the CSO model could help improve community safety within an RCMP-administered policing area across the Far. Within the first theme are a few potential areas where the CSO program model could elevate reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North for those Northern Indigenous nations that choose to formulate their own CSO programs. The potential areas where the first theme, *working together,*

offers opportunities to elevate reconciliation between RCMP and Northern Indigenous
nations include partnerships, CSOs serving as bridges to the community, and CSOs
impacting the day-to-day work of RCMP.

Partnerships. The impact of partnerships between CSOs and the RCMP in the Far
North offers an opportunity to elevate reconciliation, as described by Bob about
supporting new RCMP officers when posted to a new community, such as Pelly
Crossing. Bob described how partnerships with CSOs in Pelly Crossing supported new
RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing by highlighting how "having those guys [CSOs]
around to work with is hugely beneficial." Bob would go on to also add that the RCMP
having partnerships with CSOs provides a

> very easy [connection] to make a phone call and make those introductions [and]
> having that core base of the CSO program in place and that strong relationship
> um I would imagine [is] hugely benefitable to the [RCMP who follow [in the]
> footsteps" of the current RCMP posted to Pelly Crossing.

The impact of partnerships described by Bob about the RCMP in the Far North offers a
vital avenue for potentially elevating reconciliation between Northern Indigenous nations
with the RCMP via the CSO model for those Northern Indigenous nations that aspire to
form their own CSO programs. The CSO model would provide a consistent presence via
CSOs for RCMP officers to connect with and make connections to the specific nation or
community in which the new RCMP officer is serving. I believe that through partnerships
like the one described by Bob, the relationship between RCMP officers in the Far North
and Northern Indigenous nations and/or communities would be improved to a certain
extent. Consistent Northern Indigenous -run and led CSOs would also mitigate the
negative consequences of the LDP staffing model detailed in Chapter 1 of this
dissertation.

CSOs Serving as Bridges to the Community. The second potential area relating to the first theme where the CSO program model could elevate reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North is CSOs serving as bridges to the community. Meg detailed how the CSOs can serve as bridges to community for the RCMP by stating that "the CSO program, the officer can come in and say well this why this individual is like this, this happened way back when, and this individual you know, it's just too much and it's a lot of trauma." Meg would also add that "if [CSOs] work collaboratively with the RCMP members can explain the you know, so the RCMP will see the docket, the list of individual[s], public drinking, this and that, just causing disturbances all the time." Meg detailed how CSOs can serve as bridges to the community for the RCMP through information relating to citizens, possible underlying issues or traumas certain citizens may be dealing with, and other potentially pressing issues occurring in the community. The information CSOs provide to RCMP officers when responding to a call or hearing about an ongoing issue in the community acts as a bridge into the context and lived realities for those specific Northern Indigenous nations that choose to formulate their own CSO programs. The CSOs providing RCMP officers with information allows the RCMP to view certain issues or individuals within the context of possible underlying issues or traumas. It should be noted that without that information from CSOs, certain RCMP officers may never know, or it may take those RCMP officers' months or even years to understand the depth of certain underlying issues thoroughly, and that is if those specific RCMP officers want to put in the work to fully understand certain underlying issues occurring in community or with a citizen of a specific Northern Indigenous nation. It is my view that the work of CSOs detailed by Meg to share information with RCMP

officers forces those RCMP officers to possibly re-evaluate how they may approach a particular situation, or it may alter how certain RCMP officers understand certain issues in the Far North. I believe that the act of CSOs sharing information with the RCMP elevates the possibility of reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North via RCMP officers understanding the depth of specific underlying issues that may be occurring in the community or for certain citizens.

   CSOs Impacting the Day-to-Day Work of RCMP. The third potential area relating to the first theme where the CSO program model could elevate reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North is about CSOs impacting the day-to-day work of the RCMP. The third potential area of impacting the day-to-day work of RCMP builds off the first two potential areas detailed above about CSOs working in partnerships with RCMP and CSOs serving as bridges to the community via information sharing. Both first potential areas highlight the importance of CSOs working in partnerships with the RCMP, and it is through those partnerships and, at times, information sharing that CSOs may impact the day-to-day work of the RCMP. Theresa described the potential impact on the day-to-day work of the RCMP by stating that their "perspective [would change] if [the RCMP] were to truly engage with the CSO program they would see a difference in the way that they have to then deliver their duties perform their duties and deliver their services" Theresa would go on to highlight the potential ramifications for reconciliation when it comes to the work of the RCMP in the Far North by detailing how citizens of certain Northern Indigenous nations that choose to formulate their own CSO program may alter their interactions with the RCMP if the RCMP were to "truly engage" with the CSO program model. Theresa described how the RCMP would need to entirely re-

evaluate how they deliver and perform their duties in the Far North, but this would also include "an actual flow of information uh where people can begin to feel more at ease if they can actually bring forward some of the information that they have so that the police can do their policing job." I would note that what Theresa has described above echoes and supports aspects of my proposed organizational decolonization plan for Pelly Crossing RCMP.

RCMP Recognition. The second theme where the CSO program model could elevate reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North is through clear recognition of Northern Indigenous CSO programs. The second theme focused on *RCMP Recognition* of Northern Indigenous CSO programs. The second theme of *RCMP Recognition* of Northern Indigenous CSO programs highlights one potential area where reconciliation could be elevated. Theresa discussed the recognition and respect that the RCMP has for Northern Indigenous nations as nations in the regions where RCMP officers are posted. Theresa described this as a "responsibility of the RCMP and the institution as a whole to view these nations as nations." Theresa and Bob would also touch on an additional potential area where reconciliation could be elevated via respect and further recognition by RCMP officers working with Northern Indigenous CSO programs about the knowledge of community by CSOs. Theresa described the need for the RCMP "to recognize the value of the CSO program to their duties like if the RCMP could see if we work with these guys we could really get some stuff done because we need their knowledge of the community." Bob would also add how knowledge held by CSOs of the community coupled with CSO programs in the Far North that have clearly specified mission, goals, and mandates are "valued by organizations such as the RCMP certainly

there is certainly value there and if [CSO programs] develop that and work on that that's something [the RCMP] definitely [is] interested in working with." I believe that improved recognition, respect, and understanding of the true value of Northern Indigenous CSO programs by the RCMP offers clear areas for elevating the possibility of reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North.

    Alternatives Possible. The third theme of *Alternatives Possible* in relation to alternative forms of justice being possible across the Far North offers an additional potential area where reconciliation could be elevated within RCMP policing models in the Far North. Meg would detail how the formation of Northern Indigenous CSO programs may also help to support the formation of alternative justice programs or initiatives. CSOs, as indicated above, have important knowledge and connections with the community and may also help connect RCMP officers with alternative justice programs or initiatives. As mentioned previously, CSOs serve as bridges to the community. This theme of *Alternatives Possible seemed to focus mainly on* the important of alternative forms of justice being possible across the Far North. Meg would offer knowledge about the third theme focused on alternative justice programs or initiatives: "I think that the CSO program, the government here and the RCMP and whatever [other] justice programs may be should all be working together to, with the community." I believe that the knowledge and connections of Northern Indigenous CSO programs with the community can help to support the inclusion of the RCMP and the possible success of alternative justice programs or initiatives, offering an opportunity for elevating the potential for reconciliation with the RCMP in the Far North. Including alternative justice

programs or initiatives in the Far North via CSOs may help change RCMP officers'

perspectives on justice and even increase their support for alternative justice programs.

Reorienting Community Safety Funding in the Far North to Better Support

Northern Indigenous Self-Determination. The fourth and final theme, which offers an

additional potential area where reconciliation could be supported within RCMP policing

models in the Far North stated: *Reorienting Community Safety Funding in the Far North*

to Better Support Northern Indigenous Self-Determination. The CSO program model

provides an opportunity to re-examine how Northern Indigenous justice programs are

funded and administered. Betty offered knowledge that described this theme as "we need

the First Nation needs funds to keep this going um its ah important, I think, for the

community at this stage because we're looking at history of with um Indigenous peoples

in Canada." The history Betty alluded to in her answer was about the impacts of

Residential Schools in the Far North and how the Government failed Northern

Indigenous peoples for generations as "for years nobody listened to anybody and get over

it, and you all quit drinking and do this." Betty would also make an important point about

how funding has occurred in the past for Indigenous programs focused on healing or

community safety, such as the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF). Betty described

how "that lasted about 5 years and then they quit doing it and then after the Aboriginal

Healing Foundation they kind of left everyone adrift." Although the fourth theme does

not directly impact the RCMP regarding reconciliation, equitable funding for Northern

Indigenous CSO programs is crucial for CSO programs to live up to their potential,

including the many areas of potential impacts on reconciliation with the RCMP. In

addition, I would also point out that this final theme can be viewed via a macro lens

regarding reconciliation with the Federal Government as it relates to equitable and respectful funding levels. Often, funding only lasts briefly and must be agreed upon via nation-to-nation dialogue between a specific Northern Indigenous nation and the Federal Government.

The following section will examine the SFN CSO program's impact on self-determination in SFN regarding community safety or justice policy via key question #9. Self-determination in SFN will also be discussed in terms of self-governance. This section will also examine the Umbrella Final Agreement and two areas of importance raised by Slowey (2021) that point to a possible need for a re-evaluation via re-engagement with citizens to occur from time to time of self-government agreements such as SFNs, including the SFN CSO program.

Potential Impact of the SFN CSO Program on Current or Future Self-Determination & Self-Governance

The potential impact of the SFN CSO program on current or future self-determination within SFN and if self-governance in SFN has been elevated due to the state of self-determination. Both self-determination and self-governance will be discussed within this section as per the U.N. definitions offered within the glossary of key terms at the beginning of this document. Definitions for both Self-Determination, and Self-Governance were included into the glossary of key terms at the beginning of this document via Articles, 3 & 4 of UNDRIP published and authored by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007. The first question to be examined within this section will be key question #9, which focuses on the potential impact of the SFN CSO program on self-determination in SFN. Key question #9 stated the following: The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms the rights of Indigenous peoples

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to self-determination. Do you think the SFN CSO program has had any impact on SFN's self-determination or future self-determination in regard to community safety or justice policy? The knowledge offered in answering key question #9 generated three emergent themes: 1) *Yes via the Realization of the CSO Program,* 2) *Potential, and 3) Beyond the RCMP.* Each of the three themes will be discussed regarding supporting self-determination and the potential for self-determination to elevate self-governance in SFN.

  Yes, via the Realization of the CSO Program. The first theme generated from the knowledge offered highlights how, through the realization of the establishment of the CSO program, self-determination in SFN has been supported, and self-governance has been elevated in relation to justice programs offered in SFN. Meg detailed how self-determination has been supported via the creation of the SFN CSO program by SFN charting the nation's own path when it comes to justice programs instead of a government agency or program telling SFN what to do. Meg described how the CSO program had provided an avenue for SFN to chart their own path to support the expansion of self-determination in SFN since "the department of justice not telling us to doing this, or designing how to do this, RCMP are not telling us what to do with this program um it's us determining what it is we want this program to do." It would also seem that the expansion of self-determination in SFN has also elevated self-governance as Meg had stated that, "we are SFN as a self-governing government, implementing a program that's going to do things um how we want to, you know." Furthermore, Greg also indicated that future self-determination in SFN in relation to community safety or justice policy will be expanded in the years to come, as he noted, "I think [SFN is] moving in that direction." Moreover, from the knowledge offered, there seems to be an interconnectedness between

support and expansion of self-determination within SFN and the elevation of self-governance, as SFN is a self-governing Northern Indigenous nation. Meg noted above that SFN is "a self-governing government," and thus, the expansion of self-determination within SFN is viewed as being rooted in SFN self-governance. This is not to say that SFN could not expand self-determination without self-governance. However, self-governance is a key vessel for the expansion of self-determination via the CSO program in SFN and possibly additional community safety or justice programs to be formulated in the future.

Capacity & Burnout. It is important to note that Greg also raised a few possible barriers about capacity and burnout as standing in the way of expanding self-determination in the future for community safety or justice programs in SFN. Greg had stated that SFN is "pretty limited with capacity so uh [the CSOs can] get burned out pretty quick, its just a matter of taking on what you can do and pass the wealth." The issue of capacity regarding staffing offers further evidence as to why capacity development was focused on in the early portions of this chapter as an avenue for addressing tensions and challenges raised by knowledge offered about the SFN CSO program. It is hypothesized that once SFN can address the tensions and challenges of the CSO program via capacity development, barriers raised by Greg may be better addressed by forming strategies to transform and change how CSOs are supported to limit the impacts of burnout. Ingram (2021) noted the importance of building capacity as a possible mechanism for stemming burnout and lessening the need for certain community members to take on multiple roles or positions of leadership. Ingram (2021) described key elements for building capacity that included "longer-term planning for skills development, leadership [development] and succession planning" (p. 42). I would also

reiterate the previous suggestions in this chapter, which centred on the first challenge theme, which focused on the challenge of *CSO Retention & Support* for addressing the barriers raised by Greg. The areas of capacity development that had been put forth to address the challenge of *CSO Retention & Support* included enabling the environment and resource development as well as institutional development, and jurisdiction & authority. Re-engagement sessions with SFN citizens have also been proposed to hear from SFN citizens about how to alleviate a stigma held by some SFN citizens who view SFN CSOs as NARCS. It is proposed that re-engagement sessions may also provide feedback from SFN citizens, including CSOs and SFN leadership, on how to better support and formulate a plan for recruiting new CSOs in the future.

   Improved Capacity Development. Improved capacity development would provide SFN with a clear plan and process for addressing all aspects of the barriers raised by Greg includes clarifying jurisdiction & authority, identifying resources for CSOs, such as equipment, benefits, pay, clarifying the working relationship between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP, and improving the state of an enabling environment for CSOs. Supporting capacity development in SFN via the suggested blueprint detailed above, coupled with the ideas offered by Ingram (2021) about long-term planning for skills and leadership development in SFN for current and future CSOs, would elevate the possibility for further calculated expansion of self-determination via self-governance relating to community safety and justice programs or policies in the future. Calculated capacity development in SFN relating to the CSO program would allow SFN voices and views to guide capacity development that is structured within a clear plan rooted in the institutional development of the SFN CSO program. In addition, as detailed by Ingram

(2021), SFN citizen voices can offer feedback on a possible long-term plan for skills and leadership development of the next generation of CSOs and justice leaders in SFN. Long-term planning could include a scholarship or apprenticeship program for youth to shadow CSOs or work with Elders to help youth improve their knowledge and skills around traditional justice practices in SFN. Moreover, as will be discussed further later in this section, long-term skills and leadership programs or initiatives in SFN may also want to include education on the SFN Constitution, Final Agreement, the Final Agreement Implementation Plan, as well as the SFN Self-Government Agreement Implementation Plan, and possibly the SFN Community Safety Plan.

     Potential for Further Impacts on Self-Determination. The second theme that was generated from the knowledge that was offered expands on aspects of the first theme by highlighting how the SFN CSO program provides potential for further impacts on self-determination regarding the program's potential future expansion and how the program can act as a reminder to SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP that SFN is self-governing along with what can be possible via self-determination The first potential future impact on self-determination is that the SFN CSO program provides an avenue for the expansion of self-determination rooted in self-governance in SFN about CSOs. Future potential expansion may take several different forms. However, CSOs can be viewed as vessels for future expansion of self-determination regarding CSOs possibly taking on more powers like a bylaw officer or CSOs potentially becoming full-fledged partners of Pelly Crossing RCMP with unique powers and abilities. Theresa and Bob both offered knowledge that pointed to the potential of the SFN CSO program to expand via self-determination rooted in self-governance into some form of a bylaw officer. Theresa

stated, "I can see where it could grow to um to have [additional powers such as] bylaws program or bylaws put in place." Bob offered additional knowledge relating to the potential for the SFN CSO program to expand into a bylaw officer type program potentially further by stating that the CSO program could grow into "something similar to a bylaw enforcement program um or at least I don't want to put that label on it enforcing the Chief and Council um agreed to rules or regulations." Bob would also highlight the importance of self-determination in SFN, rooted in self-governance, as a key to the future expansion of the CSO program. Bob stated that due to SFN having their "own self-determination to put [certain] rules into place and [they] want [their] safety officer program to enforce those rules, I could see something like that being done official and ah building that self-determination." This final point offered by Bob demonstrates the key importance of self-determination for any future expansion of the SFN CSO program. It should be noted that future expansion of self-determination in SFN via the CSO program would be aided if the barriers raised by Greg, along with the other challenges and tensions discussed earlier in this section, specifically *CSO Retention & Support* to be addressed via the proposed blueprint of capacity development and long-term planning. This would provide a stable, structured, and grounded environment rooted in SFN citizens' views and lived experiences.

   CSOs Serving as Reminders that SFN is a Self-Determined, Self-Governing Northern Indigenous Nation. The second area of potential future impacts on self-determination in SFN is focused on how the CSO program can remind SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP that SFN is a self-determined, self-governing Northern Indigenous nation. CSOs can embody SFN's autonomy of self-determination and self-governance

rooted in the SFN constitution. Theresa would elaborate on how the SFN CSO program

can act as a reminder that "the potential that [the CSO program] has for the for the people

to see what is possible with respect to self-policing because they are self-determined they

are self-governing." Theresa would also add that the work of CSOs can remind SFN

citizens that "they are self-determining they have a constitution they have a government."

Evelyn would detail how SFN CSO partnerships with Pelly Crossing RCMP are "talking

about the true TRC, the true reconciliation, you know." It is through the constant

reminder to Pelly Crossing RCMP via partnerships and/or work with SFN CSOs that

SFN is a self-governing Northern Indigenous nation. I would also add that for

reconciliation with Pelly Crossing RCMP to occur as per the previous section,

reconciliation should first begin in SFN. Reconciliation with Pelly Crossing RCMP will

also require a significant amount of work to be done by Pelly Crossing RCMP regarding

organization decolonization as per the previous sections in this chapter. Although if Pelly

Crossing RCMP makes significant strides along with SFN about reconciliation, Evelyn

did allude to the potential for possible growth in the partnership by stating that "I would

love to see where this partnership can grow, and the RCMP would look at [the CSO

program] as a, as a benefit and partnership where we can both work together."

A Possible Future Beyond the RCMP. The third and final theme focused on

how the SFN CSO program has allowed SFN citizens to think about a possible future

beyond the RCMP concerning policing in SFN. This final theme builds on the knowledge

offered for the first two themes for key question #9 in that this third theme seems to

embrace the idea that the SFN CSO program can be a vessel for the expansion of self-

determination and self-governance in SFN while also tapping into what the future

potential for the CSO program may look like beyond the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Betty

and Evelyn would offer knowledge that alluded to a possible future in SFN beyond the

RCMP in Pelly Crossing. Betty would mention that since the creation of the SFN CSO

program, the policing environment in SFN "it would get better things would get better to

a point when you would not need to have 3 or 4 RCMP officers stationed here or law

enforcement." It is interesting to note that in the knowledge offered by Betty, she makes

note of a "point" when things in SFN may get better about the administration of policing

services as she would end her answer by highlighting how from that point in SFN is when

SFN citizens would "not need to have 3 or 4 RCMP officers stationed here" and it is that

point that I believe is crucial to focus in on. At this point, Betty refers to when the

administration of policing services in SFN could evolve further into a space where SFN

could fully administer their own policing program. I want to point out that for this

project, an SFN self-administered policing program was not included in any of the

questions, as this project focused mainly on the SFN CSO program. However, with that

said, what the SFN CSO program has seemingly done is open the door to the potential for

what can occur when it comes to the expansion of self-determination rooted in self-

governance for justice programs in SFN. In my view, the key element for that door to be

open is that SFN is a self-governing Northern Indigenous nation determined to be self-

determining in all aspects of life for SFN citizens. It should be noted that not all self-

governing Northern Indigenous nations may choose to establish a self-administered

policing program based on the lived realities of that specific nation, citizens' needs, and

available resources. Partnerships with Federal, Territorial, or municipal agencies or

organizations may also be an element of this process. However, in the end, it is the

decision of that specific Northern Indigenous nation as to how or if a door to self-determination is opened. Therefore, all strategies and ramifications of this project are offered as suggestions to SFN. However, the Umbrella Final Agreement sets SFN and the 10 other self-governing Northern Indigenous nations apart in the Yukon.

      Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement. The Umbrella Final Agreement in the Yukon as per the definition offered at the beginning of this document in the Selkirk First Nation (SFN) section of Chapter 1, is a modern treaty that is "a non-binding framework designed to guide final agreements with individual First Nations, that was signed by [Yukon First Nations as well as the Governments of Canada and the Yukon] in 1993." In total, the Umbrella Final Agreement is made up of 28 chapters and was signed by the Council for Yukon Indians (aka Yukon First Nations in the final agreement document), the Government of the Yukon, and the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (aka 'Canada' in the document). Today, 11 of the 14 First Nations in the Yukon have negotiated individual self-governance agreements, and the three remaining First Nations are in negotiations. The Umbrella Final Agreement also provides an opportunity for "co-governance of wildlife and natural resources between [the] Yukon and First Nations" (Gignac, 2021, para.17). Moreover, the Umbrella Final Agreement has also been "enshrined in Canada's Constitution. It defines the rights of [Yukon] First Nations to govern lands, resources, justice, education, heritage, and culture" (Indigenous Yukon, 2023, para. 16). Each of the 11 Northern Indigenous nations in the Yukon that has signed a self-government implementation plan, along with a final agreement implementation plan, along with a final agreement, and written their own constitution has essentially fully re-set their relationship with the Federal and Territorial governments about all aspects of

a present-day society. This included varying levels depending on the negotiations agreed upon by each specific Yukon Northern Indigenous nation: health, justice, corrections, policing, courts, and education services, the ability to levy taxes, land use planning and development, water, forest, fish, and wildlife management, economic development, and/or fees for land use, create corporations, make laws, and regulations on settlement lands, sign other agreements with other governments, borrow money, and several different areas (Government of Canada, 2016). Beaumont and Edwards (n.d.) expanded on this point of re-setting the relationship by stating that "Yukon First Nation that has signed a final agreement has also signed a self-government agreement meaning that the federal and territorial governments have agreed with the First Nation on a division of powers." (p. 142). It is in the self-government agreement negotiations that Evelyn would point to as a possible mechanism for SFN to possibly look beyond the RCMP in the future. Evelyn would state that "[c]hapter 13 under the self-government agreements which has to do with your administration, your justice agreements and under Chapter 13 each first nation has the ability to negotiate with Canada and the Yukon their own courts, corrections, and policing."

Slowey (2021) described the goal of self-government agreements in the Yukon as "to protect Yukon First Nations and their culture, but also to take back control over decision-making." The empowerment of Yukon First Nations about taking back control over decision-making was articulated by an elder in the Yukon who stated, "[w]e don't ask anymore." (Slowey, 2021, p. 12). The realization of self-governance in SFN via the Umbrella Agreement is a monumental achievement that must be respected and honoured. However, as time passes, this type of continuous agreement may need to be re-evaluated,

possibly via a re-engagement process with citizens from time to time to clarify that the

agreement and programs formulated via the agreement are meeting the needs of the lived

realities of SFN Citizens now and into the future. Belanger and Newhouse (2004) would

expand on the need for self-government agreements from time to time to be re-evaluated

by quoting the Indian Chiefs of Alberta, who had referred to the Federal Government's

view and understanding of treaties by stating that "[t]reaties that run forever must have

room for the changes and conditions of life" (7-8) (p. 138). The statement put forth by the

Indian Chiefs of Alberta brings to light a forever conversation between the Federal and

Territorial Governments with SFN concerning what self-government means and how that

meaning may differ from one generation to the next. Understanding how the next

generation may interpret self-governance is also important for services, programs, and

partnerships negotiated within a self-government agreement. A re-evaluation via a re-

engagement process focused on the state of self-government agreements such as SFNs

from time to time is also important since as detailed by Nadasdy (2017), self-governing

Northern Indigenous nations in the Yukon are still "emerging First Nation states in the

Yukon are especially illustrative in this regard, precisely because they are so obviously

still works in progress" (p. 313). In addition, another possible reason or factor in a re-

evaluation of self-government agreements is that the "policies of Canadian settler

governments have led to [some] gaps in Indigenous nation-building" (Ayisi, 2022, para.

9). The points raised in the section above highlight two areas of importance raised by

Slowey (2021) regarding the possible need for re-evaluation to occur via re-engagement

processes focused on self-government agreements such as SFNs including the SFN CSO

program. The two areas of importance include: 1) educating youth on self-government

agreement, and 2) federal and territorial governments educating themselves on self-government agreements. Re-evaluation via re-engagement processes is suggested as a key element for any future growth of the CSO program, as detailed above in this section and within the tensions and challenges section of this chapter.

Educating Youth on Self-Government Agreements. The first area of importance regarding education is focused on educating youth on self-government agreements was detailed by Grand Chief of the Council of Yukon First Nations Peter Johnston, who had alluded to a gap in knowledge for youth about Yukon self-government agreements. Grand Chief Johnston stated that "these youngsters, many already in their 20s and 30s, aren't necessarily familiar with the struggles that their parents, aunts and uncles, and grandparents endured, and that set the stage for the push toward self-government" (Slowey, 2021, p. 13). Slowey (2021) also described a 2019 youth simulation exercise held in Whitehorse. The simulation exercise would include "24 youths who took part came from each of the self-governing Yukon First Nations, as well as from a First Nation in northern British Columbia" (p. 14). The simulation would task the youth with "negotiating and implementing [C]hapter 10 of the Umbrella Final Agreement, which deals with special management areas" (Slowey, 2021, p. 13). The simulation exercise aimed to provide youth from across all self-governing First Nations in the Yukon, along with the B.C. First Nation a hands-on learning experience to provide youth an in-depth understanding of the importance of the Umbrella Agreement as well as their First Nations own self-government agreements. Responses from attendees and youth about the impact of the simulation exercise included the following:

> "For young First Nation people, it's important to understand the agreements their First Nation is in and how they work."

"We all have a role in our community and as a whole. It was really cool to understand how everything is the way it is because of self-government" (Slowey, 2021, p. 15).

Educating SFN youth or expanding current SFN youth programs focused on the topics detailed above about self-governance may be helpful for the future growth of the CSO program in SFN, along with potential re-evaluation processes of the SFN self-government agreement. Therefore, an education element as detailed above focused on the SFN Constitution, Final Agreement, the Final Agreement Implementation Plan, and the SFN Self-Government Agreement Implementation Plan are suggested to be included in the proposed long-term planning for skills and leadership development of the next generation of CSOs and justice leaders in SFN.

Federal & Territorial Governments Educating Themselves on Self-Government Agreements. The second area of importance in relation to education is in regard to the federal and territorial governments educating themselves on self-government agreements. This second area offers additional evidence regarding the organizational decolonization of Pelly Crossing RCMP, as detailed in a previous section of this chapter. I would also encourage all federal and territorial agencies and/or elected officials to fully educate themselves on the Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement and all 11 current Yukon First Nation self-government agreements. Educating federal and territorial governments and agencies on Yukon First Nation self-government agreements is a crucial step that must be taken when government or government-run agencies interact with any of the 11 self-governing First Nations. The work carried out by federal and territorial governments and government-run agencies such as the RCMP will go a long way to upholding respect, care, and honouring each self-governing nation, but this will also elevate the nation-to-

nation relationship. Slowey (2021) detailed what First Nation leaders from the Yukon

who traveled to Ottawa told her that they have

> frustration with the widespread ignorance surrounding their landmark agreements.
> Many point out that, every time they come to Ottawa, they need to remind
> officials and even ministers how things have changed — that their communities
> are no longer subject to the Indian Act, but rather are in fact self-governing (p.
> 16).

The following section will examine the three main principles of Indigenous

Criminology (IC) and how each is supported or expanded via the SFN CSO program, via

the main research question, key questions #4, #5, #6, and #8, and opening question #2.

IC will also be examined in relation to how or if the SFN CSO program has countered

colonialism's long-term and ongoing impacts on the RCMP in SFN. Moreover, the SFN

CSO program will also be discussed regarding IC, including whether it has impacted

Northern Indigenous agencies regarding policing in the Yukon.

Indigenous Criminology

Indigenous Criminology (IC) will be examined throughout this section to

determine how the SFN CSO program supports or expands each of the three main

principles of IC, which include sovereignty, self-determination, and Indigenous Rights.

IC as defined via the definition offered in Chapter 2, stated that the theory of Indigenous

Criminology "provide[s] the basis for a new explanatory model for understanding

Indigenous peoples' contact with the criminal justice systems: one that is firmly based in

the historical and contemporary conditions of colonialism and settler colonialism." In

addition, the elevating of the importance of colonialism and settler colonialism via IC

about the justice system allows for a more nuanced "understanding [of] the contemporary

position of Indigenous peoples within settler colonial societies" (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016,

pp. 10-11). For this dissertation, the more nuanced understanding is related to the

RCMP's relationship with Indigenous peoples in Canada, emphasizing the Yukon and

SFN. Moreover, the reasoning behind choosing IC as a theoretical basis for this study had

also been offered earlier in this document within Chapter 2 about how the three main

guiding principles of IC are sovereignty, self-determination, and Indigenous Rights, all of

which factored into the formation of the SFN CSO program. Each of the three main

principles are defined below and will be examined further detail relation to the SFN CSO

program throughout this section. The definitions of the three main principles will be

followed by an analysis of the potential for the SFN CSO program to support or expand

each of the three main principles of IC. The final portion of this section will focus on the

potential impact the SFN CSO program has had on countering the long-term and ongoing

impacts of colonialism relating to the RCMP in SFN.

Sovereignty

Sovereignty in relation to Indigenous nations can mean many different things to

each specific Indigenous nation across Turtle Island. Sovereignty for this document is

defined as being rooted in the expression and uplifting of traditional knowledge for each

specific First Nation, Inuit, and Métis nation and/or community in Canada. Building off

the first portion of the definition for Indigenous sovereignty focuses on how it

> consists of spiritual ways, culture, language, social and legal systems, political
> structures, and inherent relationships with lands, waters and all upon them.
> Indigenous sovereignty exists regardless of what the nation-state does or does not
> do. It continues as long as the People that are a part of it continue (Indigenous
> Environmental Network, n.d.).

The final portion of the definition for Indigenous sovereignty highlights the importance

of honouring and respecting "the residual and unextinguished rights to self-government

and autonomy," including the political claim of a right to self-determination [, which]

implies the right and ability to exercise some level of sovereign power – even if within

the boundaries the boundaries of existing nation-states" (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016, p. 17).

Self-Determination

The second main principle, self-determination, is defined via the definition

offered in the glossary of key terms for this document via Article 3 of the United Nations

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples authored by the UN General Assembly

(2007).

Indigenous Rights

The third and final main principle, as detailed by Cunneen and Tauri (2016), was

Indigenous Rights. Indigenous Rights in Canada are a very complex and difficult term to

define in 2024, as there has been much debate as to how to implement and uphold section

35 of the Constitution Act of 1982 and, more recently, implement a 2023 action plan that

includes 131 measures relating to UNDRIP (Taylor, 2023). There has also been debate

amongst Indigenous scholars as to how well Section 35 defines Indigenous Rights, and

others question the legitimacy of Section 35 as a settler colonial legal document

(Borrows, 1997; Bruce, 2003; Christie, 2003; Jargo, 2019; Ladner, 2006; Maracle, 2022,

Nahwegahbow, Richmond, 2007; Walkem & Bruce, 2003). With that said, the term

Indigenous Rights are inherent rights. However, in the Canadian context, Indigenous

Rights can be understood regarding the general broad nation-to-nation relationship

between Indigenous nations with the Federal Government of Canada as of 2024.

Inherent Indigenous Rights are unique to each specific Indigenous nation across

Canada that the Federal Government does not bestow. Inherent Indigenous Rights can be

understood as "rights [that are] bestowed upon them by the Creator who placed them on

Turtle Island and provided them with instruction on how to live" (Indigenous Corporate Training Inc., 205, para. 1). Inherent Indigenous Rights can include an array of different types of ceremonies, practices, and traditions for each specific Indigenous nation, such as hunting, fishing, self-government, connections to traditional territory, along with an array of traditions, customs, and beliefs. Examples of inherent Indigenous Rights about SFN were detailed in Chapter 1 with regard to Traditional Law of SFN known as Dän Ki or the "First Nation Way," the Clan System, and connections to SFN traditional lands (including present-day settlement lands) via hunting, fishing, trapping, berry picking, and other subsistence activities, coupled with connections with animals, fish, birds, and other living beings of the region along with portions of Chapter 4 focused on Traditional Concepts of Justice & Trade highlights key traditions, customs, and beliefs that continue the practice of SFN law that was practiced before settler contact and continues to this day with the guidance of SFN leadership. Thus, the definition offered below for Indigenous Rights in Canada in 2024 is not meant to ignore the inherent rights of SFN or any other Indigenous nation across Canada but to hopefully serve as a mechanism to elevate and amplify the importance of inherent Indigenous Rights into Canadian law via section 35.

Secondly, regarding the general broad nation-to-nation relationship between Indigenous nations and the Federal Government of Canada as of 2024, the key piece of Federal Law to be discussed is the Constitution of Canada section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act coupled with several crucial Supreme Court decisions that have interpreted what constitutes Indigenous Rights in Canada. Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act states, "Aboriginal rights (commonly referred to as Indigenous Rights) are collective rights of distinctive Indigenous societies flowing from their status as the

original peoples of Canada. These rights are recognized and affirmed by Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982" (Government of Canada, 2021). Section 35 recognizes and affirms "existing [A]boriginal and treaty rights of the [A]boriginal peoples of Canada [, but] Section 35 of The Constitution Act, 1982 recognizes and affirms existing Aboriginal rights, but does not define them" (UBC, 2009, para. 4 & 9). Although Aboriginal Rights as per Section 35 of The Constitution Act of 1982 were not explicitly defined by the Federal Government as to what 'existing' meant which has triggered numerus Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) decisions that have helped to clarify and shape what is meant by 'existing Aboriginal Rights' that "include a range of cultural, social, political, and economic rights including the right to land, as well as to fish, to hunt, to practice one's own culture, and to establish treaties" (para. 9). Some of the more noteworthy SCC cases that have significantly impacted aspects of Indigenous Rights in Canada include: *R v. Sparrow, 1990* (fishing rights), *R v. Badger, 1996* (hunting rights on treaty lands), *R v. Van der Peet, 1996* (Defined Indigenous Customs & Traditions as those crucial for distinctive culture of Indigenous nation that are pre-settler contact), *R v. Adams, 1996* (land claims a key factor of Indigenous Rights), *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, 1997* (Aboriginal Title is recognized as a right that is protected by Section 35), *R v. Marshall, 1999* (Hunting & Fishing Rights), and *Tsilhqot'in Nation v. British Columbia, 2014* (Articulates that the Government of Canada, Territory or Provincial Governments have a Duty to Consult with Aboriginal title holders). The definition detailed above can be understood as a general guideline for what Indigenous Rights in Canada refer to in 2024 regarding the relationship between Indigenous nations and the Government of Canada. This is because each specific Indigenous nation has their own unique legal relationship

with the Federal Government via treaty, land claims, self-government or reconciliation

agreement, and/or another form of a modern-day treaty agreement, and with the future

potential for the SCC to offer additional opinions on certain topics listed above relating to

Indigenous Rights may alter the landscape of what is known as 'Indigenous Rights' in

Canada. Although there has been much debate as to how well the Federal, Territorial, and

Provincial Governments have upheld all aspects of section 35 today, including the duty to

consult and to honour Indigenous nations right to self-determination (Bankes, 2020;

Borrows, 1997; Deer, 2024; Jargo, 2019; Lavoie, 2019; Lothamer, 2021; Macnab, 2019;

McNeil, 2007; McIvor, 2023).

Impact of the SFN CSO program on Sovereignty. The first IC main principle

to be examined concerning the impact of the SFN CSO program will be sovereignty

regarding whether the program has supported or expanded sovereignty in SFN. As per the

definition offered above, the first portion focused on expressing and uplifting traditional

knowledge for each First Nation, Inuit, and Métis nation and/or community in Canada.

Knowledge offered in answering key question #1 by Evelyn, Greg, and Bob about

Elevated Connections to Community & Knowledge demonstrated to a certain extent how

CSOs have supported the expression and uplifting of traditional knowledge in SFN. The

knowledge offered by Evelyn touched on how SFN CSOs may help to support the

expression and uplifting of traditional knowledge in SFN by CSOs acting as "knowledge

keepers, I talk about culturally as well, you know the cultural and tradition of the

community of the Selkirk First Nation." Greg would also detail how CSOs may have a

deeper connection with SFN, including aspects of traditional knowledge relating to

family units, the roles of SFN citizens, and the locations of homes. Greg had stated that

CSOs "being in the community, knowing the community, living in this community, um, you know that's definitely knowing everybody, who everybody is, the family units, where everybody lives." Bob also alluded to additional aspects of traditional knowledge uplifted by CSOs in the form of community knowledge and the overall environment of SFN. Bob described this as "the CSO officers community knowledge there ah understanding of the ah you know ah environment of the area and as well as the people." The second portion of the definition of sovereignty heightened the importance of honouring and respecting "the residual and unextinguished rights to self-government and autonomy" (Cunneen & Tauri, 2016, p. 17). Since the SFN CSO program was established in 2019, it has supported and expanded sovereignty regarding self-government and autonomy in SFN regarding community safety and justice. Although with that said, for sovereignty regarding self-government and autonomy in SFN concerning the CSO program to be further supported and possibly expanded in the future, it is suggested that capacity development and long-term planning offer pathways for supporting and expanding sovereignty in SFN in the SFN CSO program. Long-term planning is about skills and leadership development in SFN for current and future CSOs. Long-term planning regarding skills and leadership development in SFN for the CSO program may also help to increase the possibility for the expansion of sovereignty in SFN in relation to self-government and autonomy to be supported and expanded via clear plans for the CSO program and future leaders within the CSO program.

Impact of the SFN CSO Program on Self-Determination. The second IC main principle to be examined with the impact of the SFN CSO program will be self-determination. The SFN CSO program's implications for self-determination were

discussed in detail in the previous section titled Self-Determination & Self-Governance regarding the knowledge offered in answering key question #9. The knowledge in answering key question #9 generated three emergent themes highlighting areas where the SFN CSO program has supported or expanded self-determination. The three emergent themes included: 1) *Yes via the Realization of the CSO Program,* 2) *Potential, and 3) Beyond the RCMP.*

The first theme that stated *Yes via the Realization of the CSO Program* demonstrates how self-determination has been supported and expanded in several ways by establishing the CSO program in SFN. Meg had offered knowledge that detailed how the establishment of the SFN CSO program has provided SFN the ability to support the expansion of self-determination and not have to be told what to do by the Department of Justice or the RCMP when it comes to the CSO program. Meg would also further state how the support and expansion of self-determination in SFN has also had a positive impact on the importance of self-governance in SFN by describing how "we are SFN as a self-governing government, implementing a program that's going to do things um how we want to, you know." Greg would also offer knowledge that since the creation of the CSO program, SFN was "moving in that direction" concerning the expansion of self-determination. The following two remaining emergent themes (*Potential & Beyond the RCMP*) generated by knowledge offered in answering key question #9 each indicate that the SFN CSO program has future potential for additional support and expansion of self-determination in SFN. As detailed in the previous section, there are also two areas for further support and expansion of self-determination in SFN. The first additional potential is that CSOs can be viewed as vessels for future expansion of self-determination, possibly

taking on more powers like a bylaw officer or CSOs potentially becoming full-fledged

partners of Pelly Crossing RCMP with unique powers and abilities. Theresa described the

possible future support and expansion of self-determination in SFN via the CSO program

by explaining: "I can see where it could grow to have [additional powers such as] bylaws

program or bylaws put in place."

     CSO program Serves as Reminder to SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP

that SFN is a Self-Determined & Self-Governing Northern Indigenous Nation. The

second potential area is focused on how the CSO program can remind SFN citizens and

Pelly Crossing RCMP that SFN is a self-determined, self-governing Northern Indigenous

nation. Each SFN CSO officer can be conceptualized as an embodiment of SFN's

autonomy of self-determination and self-governance rooted in the SFN constitution.

Theresa described how the SFN CSO program could remind SFN citizens that "they are

self-determining they have a constitution they have a government." SFN CSOs would

also be able to serve as daily reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP via partnerships and/or

work with SFN CSOs that SFN is a self-governing Northern Indigenous nation. This may

be improved via Pelly Crossing RCMP embracing organizational decolonization and if

SFN leadership chooses to formulate a suggested LOA or LOE agreement that further

elevates the importance of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers acknowledging SFN as a

Northern Indigenous nation that is self-governing. The final theme that emerged about

the potential impact of the SFN CSO program supporting or expanding self-

determination in SFN was the theme titled *Beyond the RCMP.* This final theme looks to

the possible future potential of the SFN CSO program to grow or evolve into a program

that could take on more roles and recordabilities that the Pelly Crossing RCMP currently

oversees via the SFN Self-Governing Agreement. The knowledge offered by Evelyn highlighted how SFN may, at some point, possibly choose to expand the CSO program to look beyond Pelly Crossing RCMP via "[c]hapter 13 under the self-government agreements which has to do with your administration, your justice agreements and under Chapter 13 each first nation has the ability to negotiate with Canada and the Yukon their own courts, corrections, and policing."

Impact of the SFN CSO Program on Indigenous Rights. The third IC main principle to be examined in relation to the potential impact of the SFN CSO program will be Indigenous Rights. The impact of the SFN CSO program on expanding or supporting Indigenous Rights will be discussed in this section in terms of the impact that the CSO program has had on inherent rights in SFN and the broad nation-to-nation relationship as it pertains to supporting or expanding Indigenous Rights as per the definition offered above via section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act. First, when it comes to the impact the SFN CSO program has had either on supporting or expanding inherent rights in SFN from the knowledge offered, CSOs seem to provide an avenue to varying degrees for supporting connections with traditional knowledge in SFN as detailed in the first IC main principle section focused on sovereignty as indicated by Evelyn when answering key question #1 who described CSOs as "knowledge keepers [that included] culturally as well, you know the cultural and tradition of the community of the Selkirk First Nation." Greg and Bob had also offered additional knowledge that was referenced prior about the first IC main principle section focused on sovereignty, which highlighted how CSOs have connections to traditional and community knowledge relating to family units, the roles of SFN citizens, locations of homes, the history of colonization, and the importance of

Elders. The knowledge offered by Evelyn, Greg, and Bob supports connections between the CSO program and four SFN traditional law concepts that include caring, sharing, respect, and teaching, known as Dän Ki and Doòli (SFN, 2022d). I would also echo the point detailed in the prior section for inherent rights in SFN in that the realization and establishment of the CSO program has helped to elevate connections to self-governance, aspects of traditional and community knowledge within SFN that may not have been able to occur previously with only the stand-alone RCMP policing.

The Broader Nation-to-Nation Relationship Between SFN & Pelly Crossing RCMP. Secondly, when it comes to the impact the SFN CSO program has had on either supporting or expanding the knowledge of Indigenous Rights into the broader nation-to-nation relationship between SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP as per the definition offered above via section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act, it seems the CSO program it appears that CSO programs impact has been limited thus far. Although with that said, it is believed that the CSO program on Pelly Crossing RCMP follows a similar path as the state of decolonization for Pelly Crossing RCMP in supporting or expanding the knowledge of Indigenous Rights has at times reached an individual level for certain RCMP officers, but not across the entire Pelly Crossing detachment. It should be noted that there was not a direct question included in the RCMP individual SSI Protocol Guide that focused on the potential impact of the SFN CSO program on supporting or expanding the knowledge of Indigenous Rights within the context of the nation-to-nation relationship between SFN with the Federal Government and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Other questions included in the RCMP SSI Protocol Guide offered different opportunities for Pelly Crossing RCMP to make note of any improved recognition and/or understanding of

Indigenous Rights in SFN via working with SFN CSOs. The questions included in the RCMP SSI Protocol Guide that offered additional opportunities for Pelly Crossing RCMP to make a note of improved knowledge, including recognition and/or understanding of Indigenous Rights in SFN, included key questions #1, #6, #8, #9, and the closing question.

Three themes, two tensions and one challenge theme raised by knowledge offered when answering key questions #2, and #3 offered possible reasons as to why the impact of the SFN CSO program has been limited thus far regarding supporting or expanding the knowledge of Indigenous Rights within the context of the nation-to-nation relationship between SFN with the Federal Government aka Pelly Crossing RCMP. Supporting the increasing knowledge of Indigenous Rights within the context of the nation-to-nation relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP via the SFN CSO program is in reference to RCMP officers in Pelly Crossing who have worked closely with SFN CSOs having more of a clear recognition and improved understanding that SFN is a self-governing Northern Tutchone nation. This recognition and improved understanding might have included Pelly Crossing RCMP officers becoming more aware that SFN has a constitution, a traditional clan system: Wolf & Crow, Chief, and a government that is made up of six departments that focus on topics that include Health and Social, Lands & Resources, Recreation, Capital, Government Services, and Citizen Development (Selkirk First Nation (2022b).

Tensions Limiting CSO Program's Impact on Knowledge of Indigenous Rights.
The themes generated via knowledge offered in answering key question #2 highlighted three tensions that seem to have impacted the CSO program's ability to expand the

knowledge of Indigenous Rights via recognition and/or an improved understanding within the context of the nation-to-nation relationship between SFN with the Federal Government aka Pelly Crossing RCMP that included: 1) *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty*, 2) *RCMP Confusion & Concerns,* 3) *Clarification of Roles Needed.* The first tension theme, *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty is* rooted in the LDP staffing model utilized by the RCMP across the Far North, including in the Yukon. It appears that the LDP model of staffing in Pelly Crossing may have contributed to a limited ability for the SFN CSO program to support or expand the knowledge of Indigenous Rights in SFN when working with CSOs, due to the short time period during which Pelly Crossing RCMP officers are posted to the Pelly Crossing detachment. The LDP staffing model may have also contributed to some Pelly Crossing RCMP officers not gaining a full appreciation for the work of the SFN CSOs and thus not being able to gain a deeper recognition and/or improved understanding that SFN is a self-governing nation. Greg and Theresa described the LDP staffing model in Pelly Crossing when answering key question #2. Greg had stated that "every 2 years they change the RCMP, and new members go and come in", and Theresa would also add that "within the last 5 years we've had a complete shift change of officers at least three times where the two officers like completely new faces come and go." Issues around the LDP staffing model were also detailed in Chapter 1. The following two tension themes of 2) *RCMP Confusion & Concerns* and 3) *Clarification of Roles Needed* each also shine a light on additional barriers that may have limited the SFN CSO program's potential impact on Pelly Crossing RCMP officers regarding their knowledge of Indigenous Rights in SFN, including recognition and/or improved understanding. The second theme of *RCMP Confusion & Concerns* may have further limited the impact of

the SFN CSO program for certain Pelly Crossing RCMP, who at times were intimidated by the presence of the SFN CSO program and even confused regarding how Pelly Crossing RCMP officers would be able to work with CSOs. Evelyn detailed how, for some Pelly Crossing RCMP, there may have been intimidation by stating that they were "almost being intimidated by the knowledge of the CSO, [and] they almost feel like they're being replaced." Meg would expand on the confusion that occurred for other Pelly Crossing RCMP officers during the early stages of the SFN CSO program by that "it was confusing for the RCMP at the beginning, they didn't understand what their roles were." This final point raised by Meg also may be amplified by the LDP staffing model since once new officers are posted to Pelly Crossing, they may at times deal with similar confusions around the SFN CSO program as new officers may not have full knowledge of what the SFN CSO program is, along with the programs mission, purpose, and relationship with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The amplification of certain *confusions and concerns* raised by knowledge offered by Meg and Evelyn may also be attributable to certain aspects of the third tension theme of *Clarification of Roles Needed* in relation to roles and working relationships between CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The third tension theme of *Clarification of Roles Needed* may also highlight another barrier, further limiting interactions and thus limiting the ability of the SFN CSO program to support or expand the knowledge of Indigenous Rights in SFN via recognition and/or improved understanding. Issues raised by knowledge point to certain areas relating to a need to clarify roles that may hamper the expansion of interactions between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN CSOs. Betty described how CSOs at the time had "completely backed off on anything remotely close to law enforcement" due to the lack of clear definitions of

the role of Pelly Crossing RCMP and CSOs when it comes to certain calls like domestic disputes. Bob would also add a concern about the evidence regarding SFN CSOs processing calls or scenes "potentially [resulting in] a loss of evidence there um if information is handed off through an intermediate party." The situation described by Bob may also further limit, at times, interactions between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN CSOs, and this could be amplified if the RCMP officer in Pelly Crossing has just recently been posted to Pelly Crossing via LDP staffing.

   Challenge of *RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect.* The themes generated via knowledge offered in answering key question #3 highlighted several unique challenges facing the SFN CSO program. However, one specific challenge may have had a direct impact on the CSO program's ability to support or expand the knowledge of Indigenous Rights within the context of the nation-to-nation relationship between SFN and the Federal Government, aka Pelly Crossing RCMP, stated the following: *RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect.* The challenge theme of *RCMP Awareness, Recognition, & Respect* further magnifies the abovementioned issues via the three tension themes. This specific challenge theme magnifies the issues around educating the new Pelly Crossing RCMP on the SFN CSO program. Due to the LDP staffing model, this situation seems to place a significant workload on SFN officials to educate Pelly Crossing RCMP on the presence and work of SFN CSOs. This situation was described by Evelyn, who had stated that "by the time [the new RCMP officers] get on board and adopt, want to adopt the [SFN CSO] program and move forward with it - now they're gone." Placing the majority of the work to educate new Pelly Crossing RCMP on the SFN CSO program may overextend certain SFN officials, while also Pelly Crossing

RCMP is not taking on any role in educating their officers on the SFN CSO program, along with the importance of Indigenous Rights in the broader nation-to-nation relationship with SFN. It was suggested earlier in this chapter that Pelly Crossing RCMP must work to implement organizational decolonization principles and initiatives to review the detachment policies and programs that work with SFN, including the SFN CSO program, as detailed in the prior section in this chapter titled: *Why Pelly Crossing RCMP Must Embrace Organizational Decolonization.* It was also encouraged that an MOU or LOE in combination with a TOR led by SFN leadership may also provide a mechanism for clarifying expectations and goals for Pelly Crossing RCMP that also requires new RCMP officers posted to Pelly Crossing to thoroughly review educational material welcoming new RCMP officers to the nation of SFN including an overview of the SFN Self-Government Agreement and Final Land Claims Agreement, the importance of clans to Northern Tutchone peoples, governance structures, and traditional on the land activities. The suggested MOU or LOE, combined with a TOR document, could also include language that revitalizes the previously discussed orientation conducted by the lead CSO, discussed earlier in this chapter within the *Potential Positive Impact* section.

Countering Colonialism

The final portion of this section will focus on the potential impact the SFN CSO program has had on countering the long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism relating to the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Long-term impacts of colonialism in SFN relating to the RCMP are in reference to intergenerational trauma that is present in SFN that can be traced back to the actions of previous RCMP officers who actively supported certain colonial programs, such as Residential or Day Schools, the creation of Band Councils, and the administration of Eurocentric law & order. Ongoing impacts of colonialism

relating to the RCMP in SFN is about the continued presence of the RCMP in Pelly

Crossing that continues government-administered policing rooted in colonial policing

dynamics that can lead to abuse of power incidents and a policing environment that is

described as unstable, officer dependent, and detached as per the knowledge offered in

answering opening question #2.

Pathways for SFN to Counter Long-Term & Ongoing Impacts of Colonialism

From the knowledge provided in answering key questions #1, #8, and #9, four

pathways emerged to how the SFN CSO program has begun to counter long-term and

ongoing impacts of colonialism relating to the RCMP in SFN. The four pathways

include: (1) CSOs Serving as Reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP of the Presence of

Residential School Survivors in SFN, (2) Partnerships Between CSOs with Pelly

Crossing RCMP, (3) Improved Community Connections & Knowledge, and (4)

Expansion of Self-Determination in SFN regarding safety. The first pathway the SFN

CSO program has begun to counter long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism

relating to the RCMP in SFN is regarding CSOs serving as reminders to Pelly Crossing

RCMP of the Presence of Residential School Survivors in SFN. The knowledge offered

by Meg in answering key question #8 detailed how CSOs can serve as reminders to Pelly

Crossing RCMP of the presence of Residential School Survivors in SFN. This first

pathway counters both long-term and ongoing colonialism by CSOs, reminding Pelly

Crossing RCMP of what Residential School Survivors went through and how some

Survivors have been arrested numerous times by Pelly Crossing RCMP, potentially

causing further trauma to Survivors. Meg had described how CSOs can serve as

reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP by stating that "there are, you know, Residential

School um Survivors here they've been through a lot, just reminding them of that all the time." Meg would also add further detail about how past Pelly Crossing RCMP have been hard on Survivors by stating that "there has been a history where they [RCMP] will just nab them, put them in jail, over and over and over."

   Partnerships with Pelly Crossing RCMP. The second pathway for how the SFN CSO program has begun to counter colonialism's long-term and ongoing impacts is through partnerships with Pelly Crossing RCMP. Partnerships between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP have provided CSOs with opportunities to remind the RCMP of the presence of Residential School Survivors in SFN, along with the support each specific Survivor may need and the needs of SFN. Evelyn described the importance of SFN CSOs working with Pelly Crossing RCMP as a mechanism for educating Pelly Crossing RCMP officers about key topics relating to SFN regarding the importance of healing when she offered knowledge in answering key question #8. Evelyn stated that the importance of Pelly Crossing RCMP understanding the needs and healing that needs to occur in SFN about ongoing impacts of colonization is important because the needs and healing will "not just [be] the healing journey itself within the community but when you start bringing in your peripheral partners other justice professionals, they, they also get it and they also understand it." Through partnerships between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, ongoing colonialism in SFN via Pelly Crossing RCMP may be countered, especially when it comes to Pelly Crossing RCMP's interactions with Residential School Survivors. In answering key question #8 regarding the potential positive impact of partnerships on alerting possible ongoing colonialism in SFN, Bob had stated that "like even just having that partnership and that visibility of [the RCMP] working [together]

hand-in-hand with [CSOs]." CSOs have also helped bridge the gap via partnerships to counter the past ongoing colonialism of an 'us vs. them' detached type mindset between Pelly Crossing RCMP and SFN regarding increasing the involvement of RCMP officers in SFN community events and activities. When answering key question #1, Bob would also add that CSOs have helped to get Pelly Crossing RCMP "ah involved in community activities out here so they are ah actively involved in ah community efforts." Partnerships may also serve as a mechanism for accountability of the RCMP, as described by Evelyn when answering key question #6. Evelyn explained the potential for partnerships between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP to provide an opportunity for accountability of the RCMP by saying that "there's now one medium in place where they're going, oh shoot, I've got somebody else [the CSOs] I'm accountable to follow up and to let them know how the investigation went, you know, so I think um if we've provided you know, the CSOs provide that accountability."

Improved Community Connections and Knowledge. The third pathway that emerged for how the SFN CSO program has begun to counter colonialism's long-term and ongoing impacts is through improved community connections and knowledge via partnerships between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Improved connections, including knowledge of the SFN community via CSOs, have helped to better connect Pelly Crossing RCMP officers with SFN for those officers that have partnered with CSOs via knowledge of SFN shared by CSOs. The knowledge that has been shared at times with Pelly Crossing RCMP has allowed those officers to have more of an in-depth understanding of SFN and certain citizens to possibly alter how those RCMP officers may choose to respond to certain situations or if they may want to defer to the CSOs, due

to their knowledge of SFN. The acknowledgment by certain Pelly Crossing RCMP that CSOs may be more suited for responding or knowing how to respond to specific incidents in SFN demonstrates a lessening of colonial power to a certain extent on the part of the RCMP in Pelly Crossing. This is dually important as CSOs have been described as 'knowledge keepers' of SFN, indicating their importance in SFN. Thus, acknowledging the importance of knowledge held by CSOs by certain Pelly Crossing RCMP officers also recognizes the importance of specific knowledge to SFN as a nation. When answering key question #1, Evelyn described CSOs as "knowledge keepers, [including] culturally as well, you know the cultural and tradition of the community of the Selkirk First Nation." Greg would also expand on Evelyn's description of CSOs as 'knowledge keepers' by highlighting how CSOs also hold unique knowledge about SFN relating to certain SFN citizens with disabilities or mental health. Greg would describe this when answering key question #1: "There are people that have disabilities, so you, you have to be able to adjust, accommodate with them a little different, you know. And that's the advantages of [the CSOs] living in the community." Greg also added that the knowledge of SFN shared by CSOs with Pelly Crossing RCMP helped to alter how "the RCMP [responded when they] get involved, they don't know this person from, you know there could be mental health issues, FASD right, there are all sorts of elements involved with that [but the CSOs] have that knowledge." Bob would also add further detail about the depth of CSOs knowledge of SFN and lands in and around the nation when answering key question #1 as "the CSO officers community knowledge there ah understanding of the ah you know ah environment of the area and as well as the people." Two examples of how Pelly Crossing RCMP have, at times, chosen to alter how they respond to an

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incident in SFN were described by Meg and Bob. When answering key question #1, Meg detailed an emergency incident on the river where Pelly Crossing RCMP could not respond due to the responding RCMP officers not having a boat license to operate a boat on the river. Meg would highlight how "the CSO program rallied up some people who had their boat operators (license) and got some boats out there, and they were the ones that were out on the river, with the RCMP." The second example offered by Bob when answering key question #1 further highlighted the impact of the CSOs' knowledge of SFN on the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP. Bob first described how, without the knowledge of CSOs, the responding RCMP would not be "totally aware of where [they] might be going or where the issue may be resulting from." Bob then went on to describe the importance of Pelly Crossing RCMP consulting with CSOs by detailing how RCMP "consulting with [the CSOs] just to get an idea of where [they] were going ah what [they] were getting into [was] helpful to have that local experience and history."

Expansion of Self-Determination in SFN. The fourth and final pathway for how the SFN CSO program has begun to counter the long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism is through an expansion of self-determination in SFN about safety via the formation of the SFN CSO program. The establishment of the SFN CSO program has, to a certain extent, disrupted the RCMP monopoly on community safety in the Far North and, to a lesser extent, law enforcement, as CSOs do not have a specific law enforcement role but can respond to calls for service when requested. The formation of the SFN CSO program has provided an avenue for countering the long-term impacts of colonialism by showing the RCMP that there is an SFN-led community safety presence, which as detailed above, offers some accountability to Pelly Crossing RCMP, along with CSOs

being able to serve as reminders to Pelly Crossing RCMP of the impacts of colonial

programs and actions of previous RCMP in SFN that have targeted Residential School

Survivors via arrest. Moreover, the formation of the SFN CSO program has also

reinforced and shown to Pelly Crossing RCMP that SFN is a self-determining nation and

that there are alternatives to the RCMP. Theresa highlighted this point of SFN as a self-

determining nation along with the importance of other options being possible when

answering key question #1 by stating that "I would say that's the biggest asset is that the

beginnings of their realization that theirs an alternative to the standard of RCMP or

nothing." When answering key question #9, Theresa would also expand on what the

impact in the future could be on SFN citizens when it comes to SFN realizing alternatives

that offer an SFN-led justice program in the CSO program. Theresa would state that "the

CSO program has potential for impact on the way that the people see themselves within

their own self-determination SFN has self-determination." Bob and Meg, when

answering key question #9, each also touched on the importance of self-determination in

SFN, charting their own path regarding community safety and/or justice policy now and

in the future. Bob first offered his perspective on how the CSO program may be able to

expand in the future via further expansion of self-determination in SFN when answering

key question #9. Bob stated that SFN would be able to formulate their own "rules into

place and [also how they] want [their] safety officer program to enforce those rules I

could see something like that being done official and ah building that self-determination."

Meg, when answering key question #9, provided further knowledge related to the

importance of self-determination in SFN charting their own course had stated that "the

department of justice not telling us to doing this, or designing how to do this, RCMP are

not telling us what to do with this program um it's us determining what it is we want this program to do. Yeah." Meg also provided further detail about why self-determination and self-government are important in SFN when she alluded to pushing back against the previous outsider driven RCMP approaches. Meg stated, "we are SFN as a self-governing government, implementing a program that's going to do things, um how we want to, you know."

Throughout this chapter, the findings of this project have been examined, including policy implications about the proposed avenues for addressing tensions and challenges via capacity development, the concept known as a learning organization as was discussed in relation to the CHCH program in Hollow Water, and organizational decolonization regarding Pelly Crossing RCMP. This chapter also provided an overview of the impacts of the SFN CSO program on the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP, including reconciliation, decolonization, and Indigenous Criminology. The final portion of this chapter will cover limitations and areas to focus on for future research.

Limitations & Future Research

The first main limitation present for this project was the overall number of interviews that were conducted was six total SSI distance Zoom interviews, while the proposed number of potential interviews that were agreed upon with SFN Chief and Council was 10-12 out of the 19 identified interview candidates that included SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, SFN CSOs, and 2-Pelly Crossing RCMP officers from the Pelly Crossing detachment. Five of the 19 individuals that were contacted declined to participate, and Pelly Crossing RCMP detachment officers all spoke together about the answers the one Pelly Crossing officer had given during the interview he had participated in. Zoom may have also been a limitation regarding internet

connections between Peterborough and each interview participant in the Yukon. However, lingering concerns from COVID-19 were still present within SFN and when it came to Trent University, allowing researchers to travel when conducting research. Interview recruitment was done via email and may have limited the number of participants, but again, email recruitment was viewed as the best option due to the lingering impacts of COVID-19. Other possible limitations may have included not including questions within the interview guide for SFN community leaders and knowledge holders or for Pelly Crossing RCMP that directly touched on decolonization, the three key main principles of IC, and countering long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism in SFN relating to the RCMP. Questions about certain topics may have also been better tailored to Pelly Crossing RCMP. Still, it was decided that keeping similar questions posed to SFN interviewees would be more conducive to making comparisons when formulating emergent themes.

Future research focused on the SFN CSO program, if agreed to by the SFN Chief and Council, may want to expand on certain findings, such as the CSO program's impacts on feelings of safety by SFN citizens or on the work of Pelly Crossing RCMP officers or more prominent topics such as reconciliation or self-determination via an in-person research method, such as a listening circle or an increased number of in-person interviews. Additional areas of future research about the SFN CSO program may also want to focus on the specific work of CSOs in the community, how CSOs respond to incidents in the community, how CSOs engage with SFN citizens, or the working relationship between CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Future research could also directly focus on decolonization, the three main principles of IC, or the CSO program's

potential for countering long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism in SFN relating to the RCMP. Other areas for possible future research could include a follow-up project that mirrors the focus of this study to ascertain the impact of the SFN CSO program over a more extended period, along with the potential impact of any updated SFN policies, roles of CSOs or program structure that may occur from the findings of this project. Additional areas of future research could further examine the impacts of the SFN CSO program on self-determination and how well CSOs respond to the criminal element in the future, as the state of the criminal element and substance abuse were raised by knowledge offered in this project as a challenge.

Lastly, audio recordings were sometimes not as clear as I would have liked, and they may have limited specific points that interview participants made. However, I made every attempt possible to re-listen to any portion of the audio recording multiple times when transcribing to clarify any technical glitches when the audio recording was made. I also allowed each interview participant to review their transcript once the transcription had been completed. If any concerns or issues were raised, I made sure to address them as soon as possible by editing their interview transcript to better reflect the answers they had provided or deleting any potential identifying information or statements.

Throughout this chapter, it was suggested that capacity development would be an avenue for SFN to address the themes of tensions and challenges discussed earlier while building off identified strengths of the SFN CSO program as the program grows in the future. This chapter also examined the impacts of the SFN CSO program on decolonization, reconciliation, Self-Determination & Self-Governance, and on the three key IC main principles that included: Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and Indigenous

Rights as well as the SFN CSO program's potential to counter long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism relating to the RCMP in SFN.

The next chapter will provide an overview of the main takeaways from this dissertation, along with areas of limitations and potential future research to expand on the findings raised by this project. The importance and the need for self-governance and self-determination to be supported across the Far North will also be discussed, as well as policing programs, such as the SFN CSO program, and key challenges to be mindful of. Where the SFN CSO program might go from here will also be explored, as well as how Pelly Crossing RCMP might consider implementing organizational decolonization for the Pelly Crossing detachment. Lastly, the final portion of the conclusion chapter will highlight the importance of this project for the future of the RCMP in the Far North, SFN, and Northern Indigenous nations and peoples.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This project provided SFN and Pelly Crossing RCMP with valuable feedback and recommendations on the state of the SFN CSO program by gaining a better understanding of its strengths, tensions, and challenges from the standpoint of SFN community leaders and knowledge holders, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Table 12 below highlights the key findings from this project regarding the strengths, tensions, and challenges of the SFN CSO program.

Table 12

Key Findings: Strengths, Tensions & Challenges

Strengths	• *Elevated Connections to Community & Knowledge* • *Community Confidence* • *Charting Own Path for Safety*
Tensions	• *RCMP Staffing Uncertainty* • *RCMP Confusion & Concerns* • *Clarification of Roles Needed* • *Community Confusion & Frustration* • *Future Stability*
Challenges	• *CSO Retention & Support* • *Community Support* • *RCMP Awareness, Recognition & Respect* • *State of Criminal Element & Substance Abuse* • *Growth, & Undergo a Review that Includes Examining the Role of Current CSOs.*

Additional areas focused on in this project included the potential impact of the SFN CSO program on the day-to-day operations of RCMP officers posted to the Pelly Crossing detachment, as well as reconciliation, self-governance, and decolonization. The SFN CSO program also offered a unique opportunity to examine the three main principles of Indigenous Criminology, including Sovereignty, self-determination, and Indigenous Rights, through a real-world program in the CSO context, and to determine whether the

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program has been able to counter the long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism related to the Pelly Crossing RCMP in SFN. Feedback and recommendations from this project will also help supplement the current literature on Northern Indigenous -led justice programs operating in the Far North's rural areas. This was done by elevating the lived experiences of SFN citizens, including CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP, in answering the interview questions for this project. A better understanding of the SFN CSO program may also provide important feedback to Northern Indigenous nations and communities that currently have a CSO program or are interested in establishing their own program.

This project also highlighted the importance and need for self-governance and self-determination to be supported across the Far North, particularly in relation to policing programs, such as the SFN CSO program. Several reasons were detailed throughout this document that pointed to significant concerns by Northern Indigenous individuals with the state of RCMP in the Far North, including the RCMP staffing models in the Far North that rely on the LDP staffing model as well as a painful legacy of the RCMP in the Far North that included working to support the Residential and Day School programs, along with other colonial policies or programs that negatively impacted Northern Indigenous peoples. A painful legacy that at times continues to impact Northern Indigenous peoples via present-day interactions with the RCMP, coupled with the potential presence of intergenerational trauma. Moreover, this project has also provided evidence as to why decolonization within the RCMP in Pelly Crossing and across the Far North is crucial for the future of RCMP-administered policing in the Far North. Although self-governance, self-determination, and decolonization are all crucial elements that must

be supported for the future of policing across the Far North, each faces significant challenges going forward in relation to the long-term viability of these initiatives in the context of policing and justice policy in the Far North.

Several the key challenges for all three were detailed in this project, including connection and support by community, especially with the next generation, along with RCMP awareness, recognition & respect, the RCMP LDP staffing model, retention of CSOs, and other Northern Indigenous governance, and justice professionals, growth of justice programs, and funding to deal with issues around crime. Self-governance may also present unique challenges, such as formulating long-term strategies for connecting with the community and the next generation to sustain momentum for programs like the SFN CSO program. The challenges highlighted concerning self-governance, self-determination, and decolonization of the RCMP underscore the need for re-engagement among Northern Indigenous nations, as discussed regarding SFN and the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Hollow Water was offered in the previous chapter as an example of the importance of re-engagement when sustaining self-governance and self-determination for a program or initiative formulated to support healing over a significant period.

Key findings from this project highlighted several positive impacts that the SFN CSO program has had, including strengths and areas for growth in the future for the CSO program, as well as tensions and challenges raised by the knowledge offered during interviews. Additional insights from this project focused on the impact that the SFN CSO program has had on SFN citizens, self-determination, and self-government in SFN, as well as its implications for the day-to-day work of the Pelly Crossing RCMP. Feedback and analysis had also been compiled regarding the SFN CSO program's potential impact

on reconciliation, decolonization, and the three main principles of IC, as well as countering the long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism in SFN relating to Pelly Crossing RCMP.

From the knowledge offered during interviews, it was found that the SFN CSO program has had several significant positive impacts on SFN, along with SFN citizens, and to varying degrees on individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers. Some SFN citizens' feelings of safety have improved since the establishment of the SFN CSO program vs. the previous Pelly Crossing stand-alone policing model, as indicated by two of the themes generated by key question #4. The two themes that supported a portion of SFN citizens' feelings of safety improvement were as follows: *1) Citizens Trust CSOs & 2) Early Elevated Levels of Safety.* Another positive impact of the SFN CSO program has been to elevate the importance of self-determination, highlighting the potential for future growth within the current CSO program, and possibly other SFN justice programs or services. Additional positive impacts on SFN included, to varying degrees, increased confidence among some SFN citizens in CSOs when responding to calls or issues in SFN rather than Pelly Crossing RCMP, as well as improved interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP. Three additional strengths of the SFN CSO program focus on the state of policing services in SFN since the CSO program's formation in 2019, compared to the RCMP's stand-alone policing model. Identified strengths of the CSO program vs. the RCMP stand-alone policing model included: Elevated Connections to SFN Community & Knowledge, 2) Increased Community Confidence & 3) SFN Charting Own Path for Safety. Moreover, the confidence of SFN citizens in the CSO program was uneasy at times, but when compared with the previous

RCMP stand-alone policing model in operation in Pelly Crossing, CSOs have made a positive difference. The identified strengths of the SFN CSO program highlight the importance of Northern Indigenous nations and communities charting their own path via self-determination regarding community safety. It would seem, then, that the elevated connections with SFN have also increased confidence in CSOs among SFN citizens when it comes to speaking with or reaching out to CSOs instead of the RCMP, as several SFN citizens have indicated a distrust or unease with the RCMP.

The SFN CSO program has also positively impacted individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in several ways, including CSOs serving as bridges to the community, thereby improving RCMP inclusion in SFN community events. CSOs' knowledge of SFN was also indicated as helpful regarding how specific Pelly Crossing RCMP approached their jobs. CSOs supported SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP when incidents occurred in SFN. Regarding CSOs' knowledge and connections with the community helping to bridge the divide with Pelly Crossing RCMP, it was also highlighted that CSOs have at times served as reminders to RCMP officers regarding the presence of certain SFN citizens that may require additional support or alternative measures other than arrest that includes Residential School Survivors, SFN citizens diagnosed with FASD, mental health or other substance abuse concerns. For those Pelly Crossing RCMP officers who actively partnered with SFN CSOs, based on the knowledge provided, it appears that the knowledge and connections with the community were viewed as quite helpful to the work of the Pelly Crossing RCMP. That knowledge included being able to locate specific houses in SFN, as house numbers in the Far North may not always be posted or visible, as well as identifying which SFN citizens are

qualified to operate a boat to support an emergency response operation on the river. All the knowledge and connections to SFN via CSOs for those individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers who chose to actively work with CSOs have, to a certain extent, helped to improve the work of those individual RCMP officers in Pelly Crossing. This was also alluded to via two of the themes that were generated by knowledge offered in answering key question #6, which had asked interview participants to answer the following question: *Do you think that the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted RCMP members in regards to how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens?* Two of the generated themes provided additional evidence that the SFN CSO program has had a positive impact on the Pelly Crossing RCMP. The following two themes were: *Yes, via Partnerships and Collaboration* and a *Potential Positive Impact.*

This project also helped identify important areas for growth within the current SFN CSO program, as highlighted via knowledge about tensions and challenges present within the current makeup of the SFN CSO program. The identified tensions included clarifying roles between SFN CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP, as well as addressing SFN citizens' confusion, frustration, and concerns about the future stability of the CSO program in SFN. Challenges identified included: CSO retention & support, community support for the CSO program, the state of the criminal element & substance abuse in SFN, and the need for the CSO program to be able to grow in the future & a need for the program to undergo a review that would also include examining the role of current CSOs. It was also found that the global COVID-19 pandemic further magnified several of the tensions and challenges identified above about the SFN CSO program. Capacity

development, a proposed MOU or LOE, and a TOR document were put forth as possible avenues for SFN to address identified tensions and challenges, as detailed in Chapter 5.

Tensions and challenges were also identified with the current state of Pelly Crossing RCMP-administered policing services and how Pelly Crossing RCMP interacts and works with SFN CSOs. When it came to the state of RCMP-administered policing in SFN before the formation of the SFN CSO program (opening question #2), the following three themes were generated that can be viewed as tensions and/or challenges of RCMP-administered policing in SFN: A policing environment that was unstable, officer dependent, and detached from the community. Aspects of the tensions and/or challenges of the RCMP-administered policing environment were also raised as tensions and/or challenges present when it came to Pelly Crossing RCMP's work with the SFN CSO program. Tensions identified included RCMP staffing uncertainty due to the LDP staffing model, RCMP confusion, concerns about the presence of SFN CSOs, and the need for clarification of roles between SFN CSOs and Pelly Crossing RCMP. Challenges identified that touched upon Pelly Crossing RCMP included a need for improved RCMP awareness, recognition, and respect of the SFN CSO program. It was emphasized that the Pelly Crossing RCMP must adopt organizational decolonization as a pathway forward for addressing the identified tensions and challenges outlined above. As noted earlier in Chapter 5, organizational decolonization would also help support and expand the number of recommendations in the current M Division Reconciliation Strategy, first formulated in 2010. Separate MOUs or LOEs led by SFN leadership were also proposed to address LDP staffing issues and clarify the roles and expectations of Pelly Crossing RCMP when working with SFN CSOs.

In addition to identifying strengths, tensions, and challenges present with the SFN CSO program and the Pelly Crossing RCMP, this project also offered insights into the impact of the SFN CSO program on reconciliation, decolonization, the three main principles of IC, and on countering long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism in SFN relating to the RCMP. It was found that the SFN CSO program has impacted an individual level to varying degrees when it comes to decolonization and countering long-term and ongoing impacts of colonialism in SFN relating to the Pelly Crossing RCMP. For those individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, the SFN CSO program had made an impact on those officers, indicating an understanding of the importance of the CSO program in helping to connect those officers with SFN and to better understand SFN about key pieces of information focused on impacts of colonization, traditions, and customs of SFN, and SFN citizens who may need additional supports, along with the state of the criminal element in SFN. It appears from the knowledge offered that the individual Pelly Crossing RCMP officers, at least to a certain extent, who worked with SFN CSOs and benefited from the CSO program, improved support for those officers by helping to connect them to SFN through the work of CSOs.

Furthermore, when answering key question #8 relating to reconciliation, it was found that reconciliation with the RCMP and/or other Federal or Territorial governments seems to be more of a new process that first must start with an SFN community-led reconciliation process that is focused on healing SFN citizens impacted by colonial programs, and policies. The following is also reiterated from Chapter 5, which highlighted that the Federal and Yukon Governments are strongly encouraged to provide financial support for SFN and similar Northern Indigenous nations and communities for

formulating their own reconciliation processes that provide avenues for those impacted by colonial programs and policies, including family members, to further support their healing journey. Several other avenues for funding to support a potential SFN reconciliation process were also detailed in Chapter 5. To a certain extent, the knowledge offered in answering key question #8 alluded to how smaller Northern Indigenous nations such as SFN have not been provided enough support relating to community-led reconciliation initiatives focused on supporting Survivors of Residential and Day Schools, along with the '60s Scoop. Several other themes were also generated from the knowledge in answering key question #8, which found that the CSO Program can be an avenue for reconciliation with Pelly Crossing RCMP and that there still is work to be done in SFN regarding reconciliation. Moreover, the final theme that was generated regarding the potential impact of the SFN CSO program on reconciliation in SFN found that the CSO Program was still too new to make a significant impact on reconciliation in SFN and that the legacy of the RCMP continues to negatively impact the state of the relationship between SFN citizens and Pelly Crossing RCMP officers.

This project has also helped elevate Northern Indigenous voices and knowledge about the state of the SFN CSO program, as well as the work of the RCMP in the Far North. This includes identifying areas for potential growth of the SFN CSO program to support the CSO program in the future, as well as areas of strength where the program can build upon to drive future growth. A better understanding of the SFN CSO program's impact also helps measure the importance of Northern Indigenous CSOs as pathways to the community and improved citizens' feelings of safety as alternatives to the stand-alone RCMP model of policing that was administered in Pelly Crossing prior to the formulation

of the CSO program. The SFN CSO program also magnifies the importance of CSOs as crucial knowledge holders for SFN. Gaining a better understanding of the SFN CSO program, as detailed above via the key findings, is a vital development for SFN regarding the stability of the CSO program and the potential future expansion of self-determination and self-government regarding the CSO program. This project has also helped to identify key areas where the Federal and Territorial governments need to re-examine their support for specific programs offered to Northern Indigenous nations, such as SFN in relation to healing when it comes to reconciliation, financial support for community-led justice programs, and the need for the RCMP to re-evaluate the LDP staffing model in the Far North. It is hoped that findings from this project, coupled with suggestions offered about organization decolonization, will lead to improvements in the state of RCMP-administered policing services across the Far North. This is because the administration of policing services provided to the majority of Northern Indigenous nations, communities, and peoples across the Far North is provided by the RCMP. This police service has been plagued by issues when it comes to reform due to the RCMP carrying out or supporting many painful colonial programs or policies that continue to negatively impact Northern Indigenous peoples to this day. This is coupled with the issues around Indigenization, oversight, abuse of power, treatment of Northern Indigenous peoples and Indigenous women, surveillance, and a toxic work environment for some officers that had been detailed in Chapters 1 and 4. The discussion that was included in Chapters 1& 4 contextualized the current state of the relationship between Northern Indigenous peoples and the RCMP that focused on how Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald established the RCMP in the early 1870s as a colonial police force that sadly continues to carry out

abuses across the Far North to this day as detailed in the death of Raymond Silverfox, to the 17-year-old Inuk-Dene teenage girl who was left with a dislocated kneecap after her interaction with the RCMP in Whitehorse, along with the continued epidemic of MMIWGs, and serious concerns around RCMP oversight in the Far North.

Lastly, there is not one specific approach to decolonizing RCMP-administered policing services across the Far North, but through the knowledge offered in the findings of this project, a roadmap for Northern Indigenous nations and communities who may be interested in formulating their own CSO program and writing up their own plans for asserting self-determination within RCMP administered policing areas of the Far North. A roadmap that includes prioritizing one's own community perspectives and knowledge concerning justice and the criminal element, emphasizing elevating RCMP recognition for the CSO program and working together as partners with the local RCMP. The findings of this project also provide evidence that alternatives to the RCMP's stand-alone model in the Far North are feasible. However, there must be a reorienting of community safety funding in the Far North that better supports Northern Indigenous self-determination regarding justice programs. It is also believed that the findings of this project can provide SFN with a roadmap for improving the CSO program, ensuring that CSOs are supported and that roles are clarified between CSOs and the Pelly Crossing RCMP for dealing with current and future criminal activity in Pelly Crossing. The findings of this project also point to a potential for further positive impact that the SFN CSO program can have on the Pelly Crossing RCMP, self-determination, safety in Pelly Crossing, and decolonization. This project provides evidence of the importance of the SFN CSO program in improving feelings of safety and connections to the community, as

well as aspects of traditional knowledge held by CSOs that have begun to counter the colonial dominance of the RCMP's power within the Far North to some extent. Northern Indigenous self-determination has also been elevated via the work of the SFN CSO program, which highlights a pathway forward for reorienting the state of policing services away from the dominance of a colonial police service across the Far North to a path anchored in the community.

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Appendix A
Yukon Map of Traditional Territories
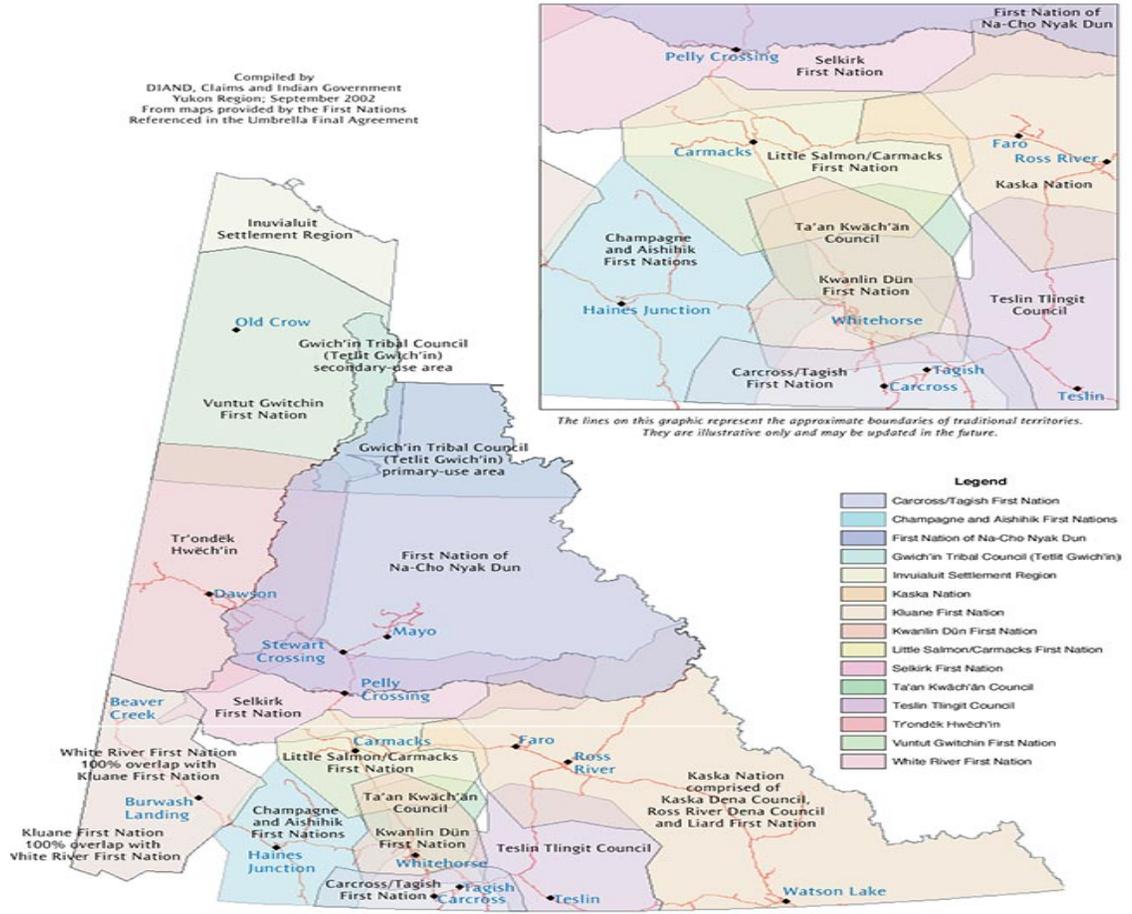
Map Source: Government of Canada - Archived - Yukon Land Claims and Self-Government Agreements - Tri-annual Report 2004-2007, 2010

Appendix B
SFN Traditional Territory Map

Map Source: Selkirk First Nation, 2022c

Appendix C
Map of Early NWMP Yukon Posts
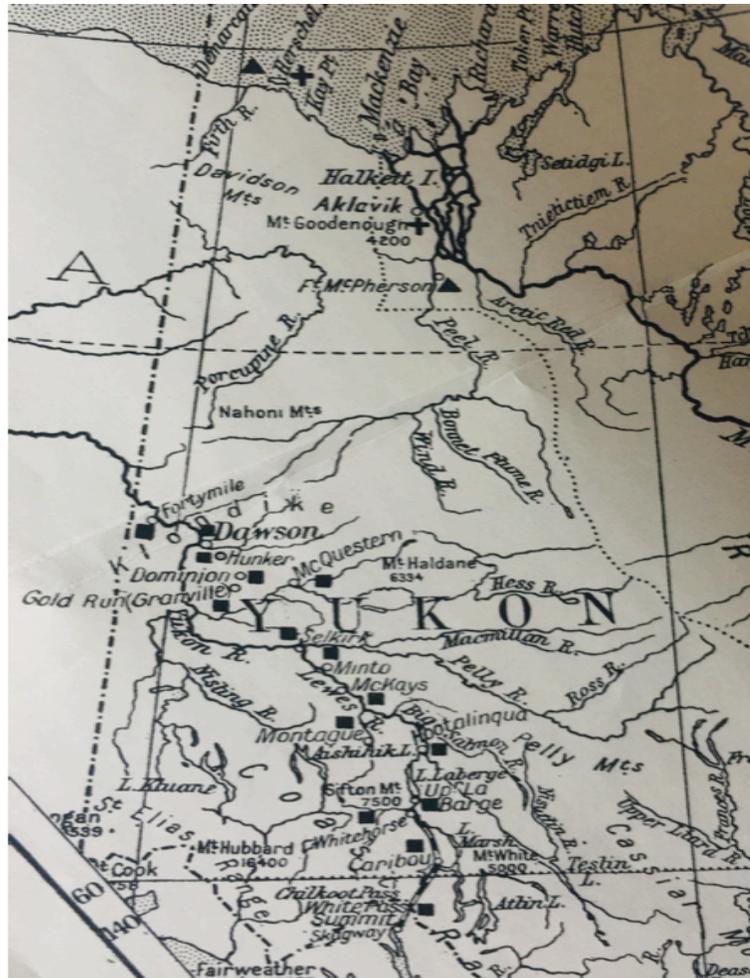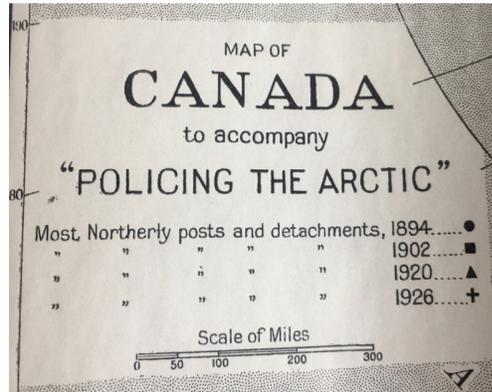
Source for both photos: Steele, 1936, p. 39

Appendix D
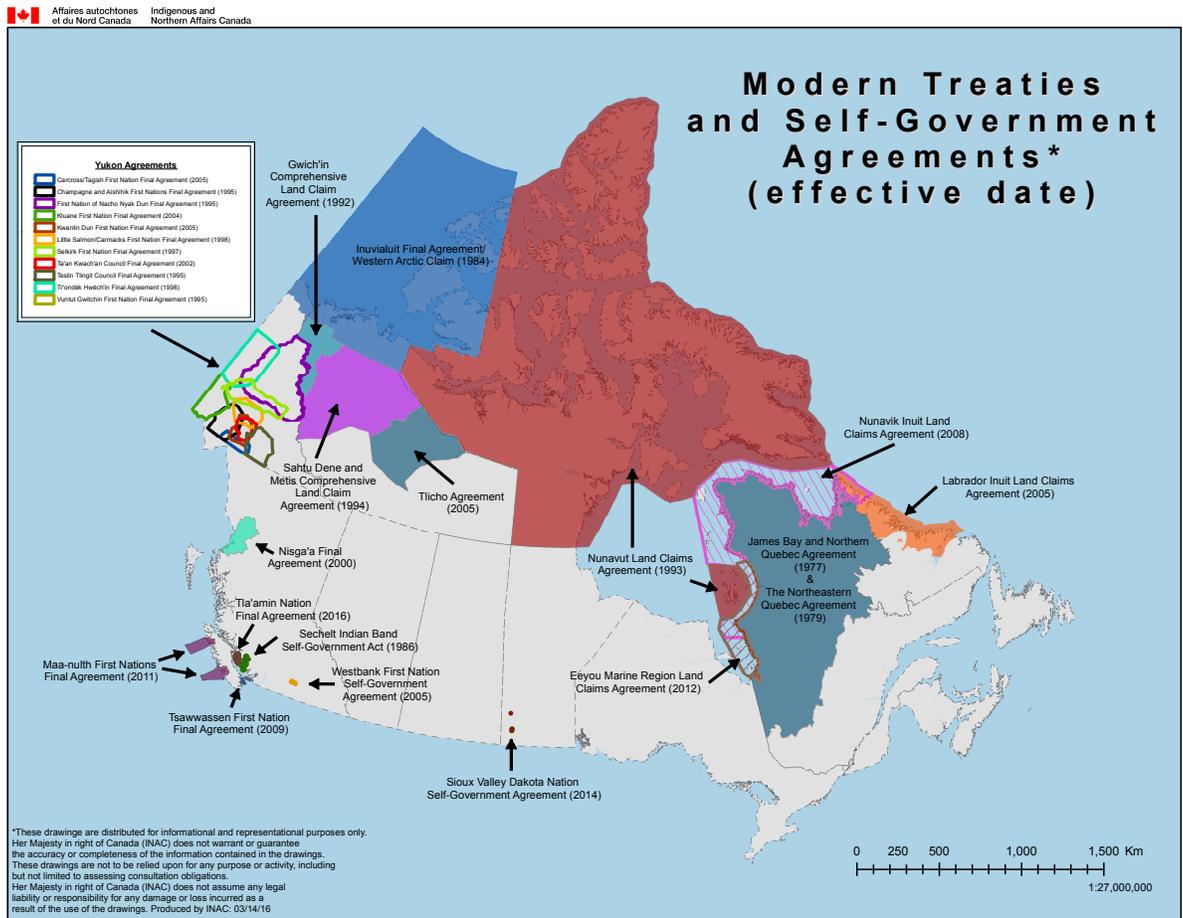## Modern Treaties and Self-Governing First Nations

Image Source: Government of Canada, 2019a

Appendix E
SFN Individual Semi-structured Interview Protocol Guide

SFN Community Leader/Knowledge Holder Individual Semi-Structured Interview Protocol Guide

(Confirm that the recording device is working effectively prior to continuing)

1. Complete introductory remarks

   - Introductions & Inform participant when audio recording will begin

   - Explain the purpose of the interview and the project

   - Discuss the length of the interview

2. Read out Oral Informed Consent Script

3. Obtain oral Informed Consent

4. <u>OPENING Questions</u>

   1. **Please tell me a bit about yourself and your work background and your connection to the SFN CSO program.**

   2. **What was the policing environment for SFN prior to the formation of the CSO program?**

5. <u>Key Questions</u>

   1. **What do you think are the largest strengths of the SFN CSO program?**

   2. **Do you think there are any tensions present in the current makeup or service delivery of the SFN CSO program, including interactions with the RCMP or other justice or health services?**

   3. **Do you think there are challenges that will need to be addressed for the SFN CSO program going forward?**

   4. **In your opinion has the SFN CSO program impacted SFN citizens feelings of safety compared to the RCMP only model?**
   - if yes in what ways have you observed SFN citizens increased feelings of safety?
   - If no, why not?

5. **Has the CSO program impacted SFN citizens interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP?** (If yes, in what ways have interactions improved or if not, why not?)

6. **Do you think that the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted RCMP members in regards to how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens?**

7. **What are the key elements needed for establishing a Northern Indigenous CSO program similar to the SFN CSO program?**

8. **Has the SFN CSO program impacted reconciliation in Pelly Crossing in regard to improving the relationship with the RCMP or other justice, health, or social service programs overseen by the Yukon or Federal Government? (If yes, how is reconciliation being supported and if not, why?)**

9. **The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms the rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination. Do you think the SFN CSO program has had any impact on self-determination or future self-determination for SFN in regard to community safety or justice policy?**

6. <u>Closing Questions</u>

1. **How could the CSO program be a model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to improve community safety within RCMP policing models?**

<u>Do you have any questions for me or is there anything else you want to add at this time?</u>

1. **Thank the participant for taking part in the interview.**

2. **Inform the participant of counseling, mental health, and wellness services available for participants that may incur negative impacts or emotional distress, due to the interview as stipulated by the counseling, mental health, and wellness services contact information document.**

3. **Remind the participant that they are welcome to have access to the transcripts of the interview.**

4. **Ask participant for a mailing address to send gift of smoked salmon.**

5. **Say goodbye and end audio recording.**

Dear Potential Interview Participant,

My name is Jason Fenno, a sixth-year Ph.D. Candidate in the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies. I was born and raised in interior Alaska as a settler on the unceded traditional territory of the Tanana Athabaskan peoples near the city of Fairbanks. The reason I am reaching out to you is due to your role and/or knowledge of the Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer (CSO) Program, which is the focus on my PhD dissertation research project titled: *Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer Program.* You have been identified as important community leader, and/or knowledge holder in regard to your work with the SFN CSO program as a potential participant in my PhD dissertation research project via a distance interview to take place over zoom or a secure phone call.

The focus of this project is on understanding from the standpoint of SFN community leaders, and knowledge holders including CSOs and RCMP officers posted to the Pelly Crossing detachment perceptions of the tensions, challenges, and strengths of the Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer program. This project will also examine the potential for the CSO model to be a blueprint for expanding Northern Indigenous self-determination within RCMP administered policing services across the Far North, including strengths, challenges, and the key elements for formulating a Northern Indigenous CSO program.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer a series of 10-questions about your own beliefs, and views on the tensions, challenges, and strengths of the SFN Community Safety Officer Program. Interviews will be conducted via a distance format that will utilize Zoom or a secure phone call that will be approximately 30-minutes long. Your participation within this research study is completely voluntary. There is no minimum or maximum amount of participation required for each interview. Therefore, you are welcome to answer each question with as much or as little detail as you prefer. As the focus of each interview will be focused on policing and community safety it is acknowledged that these topics may be emotionally charged and you will also be provided with the contact information for counseling, mental health, and wellness services available in SFN, Pelly Crossing, Carmacks via Telehealth and Yukon-wide services in a separate document.

Each interview will be recorded in support of thematic data analysis to be conducted at a later date. At the end of the interview you will be asked to provide a mailing address to allow for a compensation gift of appreciation to be sent. Your mailing address will be kept confidential and will only be used for mailing the gift of appreciation and will be destroyed immediately after your compensation gift of appreciation has been delivered. Additionally, pseudonyms will be used to replace your name when it comes to analysis purposes to ensure confidentiality. However, anonymity cannot be fully assured as your opinions or beliefs may appear as identifiable information within the interviews. To address this risk, pseudonyms will be provided, and all identifiable demographic information will be fully removed. If you decide to stop participating at

any time, this will in no way affect your relationship with the researchers, the SFN CSO program, or SFN, or Trent University. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all of your data collected will be destroyed immediately, and you will be contacted to arrange for the delivery of your compensation gift of appreciation, which will be a large portion of smoked salmon as well as a thank you card.

Mussi Cho and thank you for your time and consideration in participating in this project as a potential interview participant. If you are interested in completing an interview, please feel free to contact the primary investigator PhD Candidate Jason Fenno to discuss the project further and schedule an interview.

Sincerely,

Jason Fenno, PhD Candidate
Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies
Trent University
Phone: 1.907.378.3398
Email: jasonfenno@trentu.ca

This research study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at Trent University. For any inquiries regarding this process, please contact Jamie Muckle, Compliance Officer for the Research Ethics Board at Trent University at 705-748-1011 ext. 7896 or jmuckle@trentu.ca.

Appendix G
Participant Oral Informed Consent Form

PARTICIPANT ORAL INFORMED CONSENT FORM

To be read by the Interviewer:
Study Title: Selkirk First Nation Community Safety Officer Program
Principal Investigator: Jason Fenno
PhD Supervisor: Prof. David Newhouse, Chair of Indigenous Studies
Research Committee Members:
Retired York Regional Police Chief, Armand La Barge
Former President of First Nations University, Mark Dockstator

<u>Purpose of the Research:</u>
The purpose of this study is to explore the tensions, challenges, and strengths of the Selkirk First Nation (SFN) Community Safety Officer program in the Yukon from the standpoint of SFN community leaders and knowledge holders relevant to the SFN CSO program. The main research question that will guide this study will be: What are the challenges, tensions, and strengths of the SFN CSO program in the Yukon? Additional research questions will focus on Northern Indigenous self-determination, self-governance, impacts on the day-to-day operations of the RCMP in Pelly Crossing, and the potential for replicating the SFN CSO program in Northern Indigenous communities that are pursuing the creation of a community led public safety option.

<u>What you will be asked to do in the research:</u> You will be asked a series of 10-questions about your own beliefs, and views on the tensions, challenges, and strengths of the SFN Community Safety Officer Program. This interview will be approximately 30-minutes long. Each interview will be recorded in support of thematic data analysis to be conducted at a later date after all interviews have been completed. At the end of the interview you will be asked to provide a mailing address for sending a gift of appreciation for your time and knowledge. Your mailing address will be kept confidential and will only be used for mailing the gift for this study, which is a large portion of smoked salmon. Your mailing address will be destroyed after the gift of appreciation has been delivered.

<u>Benefits and Risks:</u> The benefits of taking part in this research study include: contributing to a goal of understanding the current tensions, challenges, and strengths of the Selkirk First Nation community safety officer program in the Yukon. The questions posed during the data collection are not designed to cause distress for you in any way. However, it is possible that you may find discussing the SFN CSO program or the RCMP in the Yukon stressful. To mitigate all of these risks, you are not required to answer any questions you do not wish to and are welcome to leave the study at any time with no implications. Moreover, you will be provided with the contact information for counseling, mental health, and wellness services available in SFN, Pelly Crossing, Carmacks via Telehealth and Yukon-wide services in a separate document. Pseudonyms will be used to replace your name when it comes to analysis purposes to ensure

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confidentiality. Although, if your views are known to others in the community, it may be possible for report readers to identify you even with the pseudonym I assign. Therefore, while I will take steps to protect your anonymity, I cannot guarantee anonymity.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation within this research study is completely voluntary. There is no minimum or maximum amount of participation required for each interview. Therefore, you are welcome to answer each question with as much or as little detail as you prefer. If you decide to stop participating, this will in no way affect your relationship with the researchers, the SFN CSO program, SFN, Trent University or RCMP. If you choose to withdrawal from the study, all of your data collected will be destroyed immediately, and you will be contacted at a later date for providing you with your gift of appreciation.

Data Storage and Dissemination: Data collected will be digitized and stored on an encrypted and secure database (Secure H: Drive) at Trent University. Hard copies will be destroyed after scanning, names will be removed and will be coded with pseudonyms in their place. Data will be stored for 7 years within the secure database, then will be destroyed. The anonymized data will only be accessible to the principal investigator and supervisor, along with committee members noted above. Upon completion the primary investigator PhD Candidate Jason Fenno will include coded data from all interviews within his PhD dissertation in accordance with the Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies PhD program requirements. SFN and RCMP Yukon will be provided with a detailed report, as well as an offer for a presentation to an audience of SFN's choosing.

1. Do you consent to be a participant in this study where you fully understand what you will be asked to do for this project?
   Please state 'Yes' if you consent to be a participant.
2. Do you agree to allow the principal researcher to audio record your individual interview?
   Please state 'Yes' if you consent to your interview being audio-recorded?
3. As previously stated, your involvement within this study is voluntary, you are free to withdraw at any time and your responses will remain confidential.
   With this knowledge, *Please say 'yes, I agree to participate,' if you are consenting to take part in this study.*

If you have any further questions or concerns, please contact the primary investigator PhD Candidate Jason Fenno at any time.

Jason Fenno, PhD Candidate   Prof. David Newhouse
Primary Investigator   PhD Supervisor & Chair of Indigenous Studies
Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies   Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies
Trent University   Trent University
Email: jasonfenno@trentu.ca   Email: dnewhouse@trentu.ca

This research study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at Trent University. For any inquiries regarding this process, please contact Jamie Muckle, Compliance Officer for the Research Ethics Board at Trent University at 705-748-1011 ext. 7896 or jmuckle@trentu.ca

Appendix H
Contact Information Document for Counselling, Mental Health, and Wellness Services

Contact Information Document for Counseling, Mental Health, and Wellness Services

Selkirk First Nation (SFN)

SFN Wellness - Health and Social Programs
Assistant Wellness Coordinator, Carmen Baker
Email: bakerc@selkirkfn.com
Phone: (867)537-3331 Ext. 407

Pelly Crossing:

Pelly Crossing Health Centre
Mail: Box 20, Pelly Crossing, YT Y0B 1P0
Location: Kilometre 464 North Klondike Highway (street behind the RCMP building)
Phone: 867-537-4444
Fax: 867-537-3611

Carmacks Health Centre
Mail: Box 230, Carmacks, YT Y0B 1C0
Location: 106 River Drive
Phone: 867-863-4444
Fax: 867-863-6612
*Telehealth connection appointments can be made with the Mental Health/Counselling worker at the health centre in Carmacks.

Yukon-Wide Services:

Whitehorse Health Centre
Location: 9010 Quartz Road, 1st Floor (between Earl's restaurant and the Feed Store)
Phone: 867-667-8864
Fax: 867-393-6407

Mental Wellness and Substance Use Services
Phone: 867-456-3838
Email: www.hss.gov.yk.ca

Yukon Mental Health Services
Phone: 867-667-8346

Canadian Mental Health Association-Yukon Territory Reach Out Support Line
Phone: 1-844-533-3030

Yukon Health Line
Phone: 811

The Yukon Distress & Support Line
Phone: 1-844-533-3030
Email: ydsl@manyrivers.yk.ca

If you have any issues or concerns at any time, please feel free to contact the primary investigator PhD Candidate Jason Fenno at any time for further support.

Mussi Cho for your participation in this project.

Sincerely,
Jason Fenno, PhD Candidate
Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies
Trent University
Phone: 1.907.378.3398
Email: jasonfenno@trentu.ca

Appendix I
Pelly Crossing RCMP Semi-Structured Interview Protocol Guide

Pelly Crossing RCMP Individual Semi-structured Interview Protocol Guide

(Confirm that the recording device is working effectively prior to continuing)

1. Complete introductory remarks

    - Introductions

    - Explain the purpose of the interview and the project

    - Discuss the length of the interview

2. Read out Oral Informed Consent Script

3. Obtain oral Informed Consent

4. <u>OPENING Questions</u>

    1. **Please tell me a bit about yourself and your work background and your connection to Pelly Crossing RCMP.**

    2. **What was the policing environment for the RCMP in SFN prior to the formation of the CSO program?**

5. <u>Key Questions</u>

    1. **What do you think are the largest strengths of the SFN CSO program?**

    2. **Do you think there are any tensions present in the current makeup or service delivery of the SFN CSO program, including interactions with the RCMP or other justice or health services?**

    3. **Do you think there are challenges that will need to be addressed for the SFN CSO program going forward?**

    4. **In your opinion has the SFN CSO program impacted SFN citizens feelings of safety compared to the RCMP only model? if yes in what ways have you observed SFN citizens increased feelings of safety? If no, why not?**
        - if yes in what ways have you observed SFN community members increased feelings of safety?
        - If no, why not?

5. **Has the CSO program impacted SFN citizens interactions and/or views of justice services in Pelly Crossing, including the RCMP?** (If yes, in what ways have interactions improved or if not, why not?)

6. **Do you think the establishment of the SFN CSO program has impacted Pelly Crossing RCMP officers in regards to how they interact with and/or view SFN citizens?**

7. **What are the key elements needed for establishing a Northern Indigenous CSO program similar to the SFN CSO program?**

8. **Has the SFN CSO program impacted reconciliation in Pelly Crossing in regard to interactions with RCMP or other government social service or health services (If yes, how is reconciliation being supported and if not, why?)**

9. **The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms the rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination. Do you think the SFN CSO program has had any impact on self-determination or future self-determination for SFN in regard to community safety or justice policy?**

6. Closing Questions

   1. **How could the CSO program be a model for Northern Indigenous communities across the Far North of Canada to improve community safety within RCMP policing models?**

   2. <u>Do you have any questions for me or is there anything else you want to add at this time?</u>

   1. **Thank the participant for taking part within the interview.**

   2. **Inform the participant of counseling, mental health, and wellness services available for participants that may incur negative impacts or emotional distress, due to the interview as stipulated by the counseling, mental health, and wellness services contact information document.**

   3. **Remind the participant that the primary investigator PhD Candidate Jason Fenno will provide them access to the transcripts of the interview once transcription has been completed.**

   4. **Ask the participant for a good mailing address to send the gift of appreciation (large portion of smoked salmon and a thank you card). The mailing address will be stored on a secure computer at Trent University and will be destroyed after the mailing of the gift of appreciation.**

   5. **Say goodbye and end audio recording.**

Appendix J
SFN Cultural Orientation and Protocols Toolkit (8-10.7)

8.0 Traditional Laws

There were many traditional laws that were strictly followed for many generations. These laws were modeled by the people and passed down through stories and legends. The laws covered family structure and behaviour, food harvesting and how to show respect to other members of the clan and community.

The Clan System of Wolf and Crow is a Northern Tutchone traditional law. Within this system, the women play an important role as the children follow the matriarchal line. As well, it means that marriages cannot occur between people of the same clan. Wolf clan members marry into the Crow clan and vice versa. This is a traditional way of keeping the family lines clear.

9.0 Traditional Health and Healing

Seasonal activities such as food gathering are critical to community members and are key to family wellness. Fishing, hunting and berry harvesting times are of high importance and the First Nation supports people's ability to get out and do these traditional activities.

Most people naturally feel the connection to the land and find health and healing while they are out there. Returning to town where they face negative situations can be a real challenge for some people.

During fishing season, family bonding comes naturally. This is time when the Northern Tutchone live their true traditional ways. Where love, kindness, respect, sharing and natural teaching skills come alive. Some community members attend church in Pelly Crossing, and many live their spirituality when they are out on the land. This is where they give thanks and appreciation for all the land provides for them and their nation. They are proud of who they are and are connected to what the land has to offer. This is the place where resource people can see the people at their best. The staff of Health & Social invite resource people to experience this and to ask questions and have discussions.

The people take pride in their language, like all parts of their culture. It is mainly Elders that speak it fluently. Northern Tutchone is a language shared with the First Nation of Na-Cho Nyak Dun in Mayo, with Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation and a small population in Beaver Creek.

10.0 Protocols

10.1 Approaching Elders for advice or teachings

When an Elder speaks, it is respectful to be patient and listen carefully. Elders take time when they speak and there are often pauses as they convey their thoughts. Wait until the

speaker shows they have made their point before speaking. It is recommended to talk with the Director of Health and Social in advance of meeting with Elders.

10.2 Accessing and sharing traditional knowledge

First Nations use the term traditional knowledge to describe information passed from generation to generation. This information may be rooted in: storytelling, ceremonies, traditions, ideologies, medicines, dances, arts and crafts or a combination of all these.

First Nations culture has developed over many generations - through traditional knowledge of the land, natural resources and environment. Traditional knowledge is known to communities as the foundation or base of all key information from the past and is blended into all departments within the First Nation. Elders are getting older and their knowledge has been documented to pass on to the community.

There are policies to protect this knowledge as it must be treated with the highest respect as this wisdom is sacred. The Heritage department has put in place an application process. Anyone looking to access any traditional knowledge must complete this application. For more information, contact the Heritage department.

10.3 Home visiting & invitations

Home visits are normally done with a SFN staff member and/or a family member(s) included. Most people feel comfortable, if a person of the opposite gender enters the home when someone else is along. Contact the appropriate staff in the Health & Social department prior to arranging home visits. A family or community member may be needed to act as translator in some cases.

Each person reacts differently to people that they do not see on a daily basis. To show respect, especially to the male gender, it is important to explain your plan and process so they are clear of what will happen.

10.4 Speaking/meeting with individuals of the other gender

When meeting with individuals of the other gender have a staff member from the H & S department attend with you. This is protocol when dealing with children as well.

It is disrespectful to touch anything that belongs to the men of the community unless they give you permission.

10.5 Meetings

The community has regular public meetings on a variety of subjects. Posters are usually put up around the community. When it is posted publicly, anyone can attend, unless it is noted that it is open to the First Nation only.

10.6 Dealing with conflict and confrontations

To prevent conflict and confrontation with a community member, it is wise to check in with the Director of H & S before meeting on issues or concerns that are contentious or could be misunderstood.

When a conflict or a confrontation occurs with a member of the community, it is most important to contact and involve the Director or Manager of the H & S department. Allow them to assist in further discussions with the person(s) until a resolution plan is arranged and agreed upon. Inviting an Elder to assist with finding resolution is an option.

When a conflict or confrontation occurs between two First Nation government employees, an attempt should be made to resolve the situation between the two staff members. If that doesn't work, than the supervisors should be brought in. Having effective communication amongst the staff is critical for the First Nation to be able to effectively serve the community. Inviting an Elder to assist with finding resolution is an option.

10.7 Expected Behaviour

The staff of the Health & Social department is very aware of community issues and concerns and would ask that resource people make a concerted effort to understand and respect the issues. The staff expects resource workers to follow these four principles: respect, care, share and teach. Staff would like to see resource workers not only sharing their skills and experience but being open to experience and learn from the Tutchone people. This will enrich ones overall experience in the community.

The staff invites resource people to visit their offices, ask questions and get a better understanding of the issues they are working with at the outset of their work in the community. Begin by meeting with the appropriate staff and learning how best to interact and blend into the community in a positive way.

Community members are encouraged to attend public events. This is a way to build positive relationships with staff and community members.

Source: Council of Yukon First Nations, n.d.

Appendix K
Budget for Possible Trip to Yukon for Presenting Results & Expenses

Proposed Yukon Trip Expenses	Estimated Cost
Air Travel: Seattle to Alaska (Estimated 1-Trip)	$450.00 (Estimate based on the cost of average roundtrip ticket on Alaska Air)
Air Travel: Toronto to Seattle (Estimated 1-Trip)	$600.00 (Estimate based on the cost of average roundtrip ticket on Air Canada)
Gas / vehicle maintenance / winter survival gear (Estimated 1- road trip)	$200.00 (unleaded gasoline cost per a 2016 Subaru outback) $24.00 (Windshield washer fluid) $15.00 (heet, hand/feet warmers)
Food	$300.00
Lodging	$1,200.00 (based on average price of a one-bedroom hotel room in Whitehorse)
Total Cost of Expenses for proposed trip to Yukon for Presenting Results	**$2,789.00**

Other Project Expenses	Cost
Gift of Canned Smoked Salmon & Thank You Cards	$343.00
Boxes	$60.00
Shipping Cost	$160.00
Total	**$563.00**