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# Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples: Sharing Knowledge, Insights and Action

**Prepared by Laura Capobianco, ICPC**

**In collaboration with Margaret Shaw and Valerie Sagant, ICPC**

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ICPC

International Centre for the Prevention of Crime
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Introduction

The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime [1] works to strengthen the international knowledge base on crime prevention and community safety this includes policies, practices and tools which reduce risk factors associated with crime, violence and insecurity, and enhance safety.

The Centre has continuously worked to engage both indigenous and non indigenous researchers, policy makers and practitioners focused on community safety partnerships with indigenous grassroots and organizations, to exchange knowledge and expertise. ICPC developed a *virtual network* of experts in countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, and in 2004, launched a tri-annual *International Bulletin on Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples* in 2006. It has produced several comparative reports and compendia [2] covering various themes: violence against indigenous women, youth at risk, police-community partnerships, and women's safety planning (2002-2008), and continues to conduct training and information exchange sessions.

Indigenous peoples [3] are more likely than other groups to be the victims of violent crime, and receive a custodial award for their offending. In some countries, they are often "singled out" and subject to police intervention in public spaces for public order offences [4] and subject to under-policing, particularly in the case of violence against indigenous women. Many indigenous peoples have experienced victimization prior to offending. The overrepresentation of indigenous peoples as offenders, victims and the incarcerated is associated with a number of factors such as colonization, militarism, racism, and social exclusion. Historic inequities have left many indigenous children, youth and families without support and service. Issues of overrepresentation should also be seen within a human rights framework, in which many indigenous peoples continue to suffer infringements on their cultural rights, freedom from fear and violence, access to justice, and protection of property.

Indigenous women, in particular remain at risk of violence, in both public and private spheres, within and outside indigenous communities. In the states of Chiapas and Guerrero, Mexico, various human rights abuses against indigenous women have come to national and international attention since 1994 [5].

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[1] ICPC was created in 1994 as an international forum of governments, international organisations, NGOs to promote safety and facilitate exchange of knowledge and good practice in crime prevention.

[2] ICPC (2008). International Report on Crime Prevention and Community Safety: Trends and Perspectives. Montreal: ICPC.

[3] For the purposes of this paper we adopt the working definition of indigenous peoples, as an official definition of "indigenous" has not been adopted by any UN-system body. It includes: self - identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member, historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies, strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources, distinct social, economic or political systems, distinct language, culture and beliefs , form non-dominant groups of society, resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (UN Permanent Forum Fact Sheet 2008). However, in reference to specific countries we use the names of indigenous groups of those respective countries throughout this report.

[4] See Brodeur, J.P (1991) Justice for the Cree: Policing and Alternative Dispute Resolution. Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec. Luke, G. and Cunneen, C. (1995) Aboriginal Over-Representation and Discretionary Decisions in the NSW Juvenile Justice System, Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW, Sydney.

[5] See report by Amnesty International (2004). www.amnesty.ca/amnestynews/upload/amr4103304.pdf

In Canada, more than 500 Aboriginal women and girls have gone missing or been murdered over the last 30 years[6]. In Australia, 12% of Indigenous women reported sexual violence in the preceding 12 months, compared to 4% of non-Indigenous women[7].

A focus on indigenous peoples in the area of community safety is **not about separation or developing a silo approach**, it is about examining the social conditions which are correlated with crime and the victimisation of indigenous peoples, and the factors which contribute to community well-being. Increasingly, both indigenous and non indigenous stakeholders **across different sectors**, **across different country contexts** such as Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Chile, and countries in the Pacific, and **across different language and linguistic groups,** are coming together to focus on community safety[8]. They wish to draw on strengths, critically assess current practice, and share lessons from initiatives that aim to enhance the safety of indigenous populations.

**ICPC aims to expand its networks and partnerships with indigenous and non indigenous specialists from diverse country contexts**, to better inform the current state of knowledge on indigenous well being and community safety. It has organized two international workshops on *Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples*, with support from the Department of Public Safety, Canada at the upcoming Aboriginal Policy & Research Conference. The conference will take place on March 9th-12th, 2009, in Ottawa, Canada. Both workshops will aim to share knowledge, gather insights and discuss action developed in different regions in community safety, with indigenous grassroots and organizations.

Working Definition: Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples

As argued elsewhere[9], the term community safety appears to be a more suited term than crime prevention, in examining safety and prevention initiatives in relation to indigenous peoples. Community safety refers to those strategies, initiatives, practices, and tools developed by and with indigenous peoples to improve the well-being of communities.

This broader community safety frame recognises:

- **the complexity of the issues related to colonisation, dispossession, and assimilation**, and the present realities facing many indigenous peoples across the world, including discrimination, systemic racism, inequity, and marginalisation.
- **the need to value, and respect different types of knowledge** (eg. traditional, experiential, interdisciplinary, etc), to inform partnerships, based on trust, recognition, and equality.

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[6] www.nwac-hq.org/en/documents/nwac-vaaw.pdf
[7] Mouzos, J. & Makkai, T. (2004). Women's Experiences of Male Violence
Findings from the Australian Component of the International Violence Against Women Survey
(IVAWS) Australian component of IVAWS, p.30. Telephone interviews were conducted between 2002-2003.
[8] Some recent meetings include: The 3rd International Conference on Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder
Integrating Research, Policy and Promising Practice Around the World: A Catalyst for Change Victoria,
Canada (March 11-14, 2009), the Regional Conference of the Alliance of Indigenous Women from Central
America and Mexico (February 3-6th, 2009), ICPC's Eighth Annual Colloquium on Crime Prevention,
Queretaro, Mexico (November 12-14, 2008), and Young people, crime and community safety: engagement
and early intervention, Melbourne, Australia (February 25-26, 2008).
[9] Capobianco & Shaw (2003)

- **the importance of community contributions in the co-production of safety** (Elders, youth, children, women and men, families, etc.), including the contributions of many different and interrelated community sectors (cultural, social, environment, economic, political).
- that the **safety of indigenous peoples and the communities in which they live** (eg. multicultural, urban, rural, isolated or remote) **includes measures aimed beyond reductions in the rates of crime and victimisation**. The reduction of crime is one of the many possible positive indicators of safety, alongside those such as increased school retention rates, literacy, employment and meaningful employment opportunities, strong parental abilities, vocational skills, and protection of livelihoods, etc.

In addition to other at-risk groups such as women, youth, and ethno-cultural communities affected by various socio-economic conditions, indigenous peoples are a "community of interest", in search of improved outcomes in areas such as health, housing, justice, political representation, and employment.

<u>Workshop Objectives and Expected Outcomes</u>

**Workshop One**
**Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples: Main Trends, Developments and Issues**

**Objectives**

1) To provide information on some critical, and/or emerging safety issues facing indigenous peoples in relation to main trends and developments, recognizing the current absence of data in the field.

2) To facilitate exchange of national and international research and tools to advance international learning on community safety partnerships with indigenous peoples.

**Workshop Two**
**Building on Achievements: Implementing and Sustaining Community Safety Partnerships**

**Objectives**

1) To identify promising models and practices that work to strengthen and improve different protective factors among indigenous populations (youth, women), and discuss the conditions contributing to positive and negative outcomes.

2) To disseminate strategies and approaches adopted by indigenous community organizations or grassroots and stakeholders (schools, police, donors, etc.) that have helped to build local crime prevention or community safety practices to scale.

Both workshops will contribute to identifying and addressing the gaps in research and policy on *indigenous communities in action towards community safety*. They **will raise key questions for debate and discussion** and identify ways to build on community assets, and enhance capacity building efforts in crime prevention and community safety processes. The expected outcomes of the workshops will be:

- The identification of tools and practices to help inform, inspire, and sustain local community partnerships aimed at preventing crime and violence and building safety.
- The development of strategies to improve the well-being of indigenous peoples at community, local, national, regional and international levels.

## Audience

Each ICPC workshop is expected to attract around 150 delegates actively involved in crime prevention and community safety programme design, implementation and evaluation.

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**Background Note for Workshop One**
**Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples:**
**Main Trends, Developments and Issues**

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Several of the issues presented in workshop one (violence against indigenous women, evaluating Aboriginal crime prevention initiatives, improving police-community relations in indigenous communities) operate in **contexts specific to urban or rural areas**. The paper recognizes that in some country contexts, a place-based analysis might not be sufficient given the migratory patterns of indigenous peoples between urban and rural and remote settings. What follows from the review of literature is a short synthesis of some trends, developments and issues related to four main themes: 1) urbanization and migration, 2) rural and remote areas, 3) the governance of safety and 4) the safety of indigenous women. The paper also identifies some examples of recent projects developed by and with indigenous peoples to promote safety, and raises key questions to encourage debate and discussion.

## Urbanization and Migration

In line with global urbanization trends, **indigenous peoples are increasingly migrating to cities both voluntarily and involuntarily**. Some of the reasons include: dispossession of land, climate change and global markets affecting food security or traditional subsistence patterns, the prospects of employment and education opportunities in larger urban centers, and as a means to escape different forms of violence often experienced as a result of colonisation, militarization, and conflicts involving resource extraction companies.

**The indigenous youth population in many countries and specifically in urban centers is rapidly increasing**. In Canada, 48% of the total population of Aboriginal peoples is under the age of 24, compared to 31% of the non-Aboriginal youth population[10].

Children and youth also make up a large share of the Aboriginal population in several Canadian cities such as Regina (56%), Saskatoon (55%) and Prince Albert (56%). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Mäori children comprised 25 percent of all New Zealand children in 2001. This is projected to increase to 28 % by 2021[11]. New Zealand is one of the most highly urbanised countries in the world, with 85 % of its total population living in urban areas.

**While there is a lack of research devoted to examining the impact of urban migration on indigenous peoples in general, and more specifically on indigenous youth, the literature reveals much complexity**. Migration patterns and phases are different within and between cultural groups, and different country contexts and this often leads to different opportunities or challenges experienced by indigenous peoples in urban areas. In Chiapas, Mexico, research suggests that earlier waves of Maya youth migration to the city of San Cristobal in the 1970s experienced a smoother transition to city life in the urban *colonias* than youth and children who have arrived in the last wave of migration, following the 1994 rebellion[12]. In Canada, there is a high mobility of the Aboriginal population across cities and between cities and reserves, which can have a disruptive effect on service provision such as health and education[13]. In some instances, indigenous peoples have been able to preserve their identities and cultural practices, maintain close links with their family and extended family and increase their income in urban centres. In other instances, they can experience *multiple marginality[14]*, including: inadequate living conditions, difficult personal and family transformations, racism, and cultural repression by public institutions and in public settings. Several recent studies[15] reveal the social and economic marginalization of urban indigenous populations, such as problems related to overcrowded and inadequate housing, low income, unemployment and lack of meaningful employment opportunities.

**Increasingly, urban indigenous organizations have played a role in providing culturally appropriate services to indigenous peoples living in urban areas.** In the USA, the Native American Youth and Family Center (NAYA Family Center) serves self-identified American Indian/Alaskan Native (AI/AN) youth and their families in Portland, Michigan, by providing education, cultural arts programming, and support to reduce poverty. In Canada, Aboriginal Friendship Centres are located in most provinces and territories and work to assist Aboriginal individuals and families integrate into urban communities after relocating from their reserves.

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[10] Statistics Canada (2008). Aboriginal peoples in Canada in 2006: Inuit, Metis and First Nations, 2006 census. Retrieved January 25, 2009 from
www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/aboriginal/children.cfm

[11] Statistics New Zealand. Maori Population. Looking out to 2021. Retrieved January 26, 2009, from : www.huitaumata.maori.nz/pdf/population.pdf

[12] Rus & Vigil, (2007).

[13] Norris, M.J., & Clatworthy, S. Aboriginal Mobility and Migration Within Urban Canada: Outcomes, Factors and Implications (p.51-78). In Newhouse, D. & Peters, E. (Eds.) (2003). Not Strangers in These Parts. Urban Aboriginal Peoples. Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative (Canada).

[14] Rus & Vigil (2007, p. 178).

[15] For example, in Canada, see Hanselmann (2001), Graham and Peters (2002). In Mexico, see Pérez & Lorena (2007). In Nepal, see Subba (2008).

They provide assistance in the areas of education, skills training, employment, housing and health care, and serve as a reciprocal link to other community organisations.

**Several governments have launched national polices aimed at addressing the socioeconomic needs of indigenous urban populations**. In 1998, the Government of Canada launched the Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS), with renewals in 2003, and 2007. Projects funded under the UAS aim to improve life skills, promote job training, skills and entrepreneurship, and support Aboriginal women, children and families. The governments of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have all launched National Crime Prevention Strategies, prioritising indigenous populations, living in both urban and rural and remote areas in recent years. In Chile, the Chilean government initiated in 2007 a national public consultation in the main cities throughout Chile on urban indigenous issues. It aimed to define an urban indigenous policy that would respond to the main issues indigenous people face in cities.

Despite the claim by some that indigenous peoples have been "over studied", there is **an absence of research that looks at the impact migration has on indigenous peoples in destination countries, but also on transit communities, and home communities**. There is a need to examine more carefully the impact urbanization has on indigenous peoples in relation to age, gender, presence/absence of family or extended family support, and support by urban indigenous organizations and public institutions[16].

Finally, given the urbanization of indigenous peoples, **it is also necessary for city governments in particular, to clarify and discuss their roles and responsibilities alongside other levels of government** to ensure that indigenous populations equitably benefit from services that are culturally appropriate. This raises the following questions for discussion:

- How can cities themselves be made more inclusive, proactive and accountable in the services they provide to indigenous peoples?
- Given the high proportion of indigenous youth that live in urban areas, how can their aspirations and visions of leadership, and their right to participate in safety planning be realized in the present?
- How are indigenous peoples engaged in addressing community safety challenges in urban areas, including evaluation and the communication of successes?

Rural and Remote Communities

Alongside the trend of urbanization, in some regions, **there are large populations of indigenous peoples living in rural and remote communities**. For example, in Australia, indigenous peoples are more likely to live in rural and remote areas than other cultural groups. There are a number of positive and enriching elements that characterize rural and remote communities, in which indigenous peoples can form the majority, or minority among mixed rural populations. However, for the purposes of this paper, we briefly identify the context of these communities from which a number of community safety issues can arise.

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[16] Newhouse & Peters (2003).

While each rural and remote community is unique in its geographic location, there are a number of common characteristics such as their small size, in terms of population, market and labour supply, their physical isolation from other, and particularly larger urban centres, their lack of economic diversification, a weak and declining economic base and limited employment opportunities, high production and servicing costs, a limited range of public and private services and sometimes, a harsh climate.

Numerous commissions, studies and reports have revealed the types of structural disadvantage and associated problems facing indigenous populations in rural and remote communities in countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the USA[17]. These include substance abuse, suicide, anti-social behaviour, and family violence. Many of these studies have noted the **links between crime and victimisation and intergenerational trauma, overcrowded housing, domestic and family violence, witnessing violence, illiteracy and excessive alcohol consumption**.

There is an absence of research in Latin America, Africa and Asia on the associated impacts of dispossession and fragmentation of ancestral lands on indigenous well being. Despite this limitation, several actors[18] have worked to raise awareness of some of the most critical issues facing indigenous populations in these regions. These include but are not restricted to the following: political violence, including the extra-judicial executions of members of indigenous organisations, forced disappearances, the impact of aerial spraying of illicit crops leading to pollution of rivers, disease, and the destruction of subsistence crops, violence against indigenous populations from private security hired by resource extraction companies from developed countries, very high illiteracy rates, especially among women, high victimisation rates among women and children, under-funded services to provide basic necessities of life, lack of access to justice, issues related to the militarisation of indigenous peoples and conflict, the unreasonable application of existing anti-terrorist legislation, and a lack of indigenous specific social policies to address the needs of indigenous peoples living in rural areas.

Large scale development projects have also worked to deteriorate traditional livelihoods and endanger food security. Many projects have also not yielded substantial returns or benefits to the indigenous groups living on their ancestral lands[19]. Moreover, disputes over land ownership, have generated high levels of homicides, as seen for example in Brazil, where 165 murders of Indigenous peoples were registered from 1994 to 2003[20].

**The context and nature of these challenges are important to understand for those wishing to develop, implement and evaluate crime prevention initiatives in rural, remote and isolated settings**.

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[17] See Capobianco & Shaw (2003).

[18] Some of these include indigenous grassroots and NGOS, the *UN Special Rapporteur* country report*s* on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, national human rights associations, and the Indigenous World Report

[19] See for example Kelvin Smith's recent discussion of tourism developments in relation to Dominica's Carib Model Village. Smith, K. (2006). Placing the Carib Model Village: The Carib Territory and Dominican Tourism. In Forte, M. (Eds.) (2006) Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival.New York: Peter Lang. See also, the discussion of the impact of the Urrá Hydroelectric Project on the indigenous Embera Katio people living in Colombia. Amnesty International: www.amnesty.ca/take_action/actions/colombia_embera_katio.php

[20] Osava. M. (2006). Brazil: Indigenous people losing lives to land disputes. Report. Global Information Network: New York, p.1.

There are ongoing debates and expressed concerns in the field of crime prevention, including assumptions about the level or type of social capital needed to begin to work in communities under crisis, the issue of the "fly in evaluator" who may not be culturally aware, or involve communities directly in processes designed to measure outcomes, the need to balance reporting requirements with the time required to establish relationships built on trust and respect, and the danger of generalising favourable results (reductions in crime or increased feelings of safety) obtained in one local community setting, as the basis for replicating the programme in another.

At the same time, **the review of literature reveals strong forces of change working to improve the quality of life of indigenous peoples in rural and/or remote communities**. In Guatemala, several Mayan organisations are developing programmes in areas such as intercultural education, economic and social development. In the Yup'ik Eskimo village of Emmonak, Alaska, the Emmonak Women's Shelter (EWS), provides a wide range of services to victims of crime, including immediate safety (shelter), crisis intervention, education and support to victims of domestic violence and/or sexual assault. Victims in nearby villages are often flown in to use EWS services, since this part of Alaska has no roads.

- What early lessons can be learned from localised governance structures set up to enable communities to deal with crime or address crime and offending communities within rural and isolated settings?
- How can the current state of knowledge on the responses to the social and spatial dynamics of crime facing indigenous communities in rural, remote and isolated communities be better shared with those communities who provide the data, and with other communities experiencing similar challenges?

Governance of Safety

There has been a strong focus on governance internationally, and more specifically on urban governance and indigenous governance in areas such as environment, education, housing, health, youth development, and security. In an age of plural governance, it is clear that **governance is a process that goes well beyond state action towards improving the well being and safety of indigenous peoples worldwide**.

In relation to indigenous governance, the networks of kin support, cultural and spiritual teachings, and the connection to ancestral lands as a source of identity, livelihood, and strength of indigenous peoples, offer additional compelling arguments in support of **comprehensive definitions of good governance, or nodal leadership or governance[21]**. This includes the recognition and the importance of strong community participation and involvement, and partnerships with a range of actors and agencies in the public, private, and non-governmental sectors.

**Indigenous NGOs and organisations continue to exert their influence and make strides in enhancing and regaining the political influence of indigenous peoples in many countries**.

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[21] Nodal Governance refers to "a multiplicity of governance authorities and providers that coexist in multiple ways to produce diverse security outcomes" (Wood & Shearing, 2003, p.27). Also, see Hunt & Smith (2007). The project outlines indigenous design principles and institutional mechanisms that underlie indigenous governance across rural remote and urban communities.

For example, in Latin America, there have been a number of important achievements including the number of indigenous elected officials, constitutional provisions for indigenous peoples, and indigenous focused health and education programmes. While many countries in the region have passed constitutional resolutions and policies for indigenous peoples, there remains **a gap between legal recognition and implementation of rights**.

A review of the literature on indigenous governance[22] suggests a number of main issues, concerns, and/or gaps in knowledge. These include:

- the degree of ownership and control of service provision by indigenous peoples, respecting the principle of self determination
- the issue of representation (how to ensure that the voices of "communities of interest" within the larger indigenous community are heard (women, youth, disabled, gay and lesbian).
- how the interests of urban indigenous populations should be effectively represented (territory, nation, community).
- nodal leadership- the ways in which indigenous leaders mobilise consensus, and resources towards community well being, building mutual trust within and across groups.
- the development of methodologies which are aimed at assessing impact of interventions
- the appropriateness of the dichotomy between solely western/traditional (there are many complexities related to the processes of acculturation, and traditional societies do not remain static, even when traditions are preserved).

While the governance of safety involves a number of different actors[23], there is **increased recognition of the important role of indigenous peoples in policing, and the identification and ownership of justice issues**[24]. A number of indigenous police models have been created to respond to concerns related to policing. Each of these concerns have to be situated within their specific country context reflecting the nature of historical relationships between the police and indigenous peoples, including colonial policies and assimilation practices, and experiences of institutional or systemic racism. They also reflect the different socio-economic outcomes of indigenous peoples and the level of support or recognition received by the community and/or state. However, it can be said that indigenous policing models in general aim:

- to improve the relationship between indigenous peoples and the police, in recognition of historical injustices, and experiences of policing methods that are not culturally sensitive, and lead to mistrust and fear;
- to address problems of insufficient access to police protection by indigenous peoples living in urban, rural and remote areas, including reserves or reservations; and

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[22] See Capobianco & Soria (2008).
[23] For specific examples of community safety partnerships aimed towards improving the well being of indigenous peoples. See Women in Cities International (2004), Higgins (2005), Capobianco & Soria (2008), Capobianco (2006) and Capobianco & Shaw (2003).
[24] Jaccoud (2006)

- to better respond to the local concerns of the indigenous community by involving indigenous peoples directly in policing activities, and through training and employment.

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Some country examples:

In Mexico in 1995, following a number of human rights violations among indigenous peoples in la Montaña de Guerrerro, Mexico, a number of indigenous communities decided to establish an indigenous community policing model, in accordance with their customs and practices. This model serves as an alternative to the established State and Municipal police. While the policing model receives wide community support, there have also been complaints about how the system operates.

In Norway, the Sami Parliament has identified the need for the police, corrections and health workers to speak Sami and understand the Sami culture, to increase access to justice and improve confidence in the criminal justice system.

In Australia, the New South Wales Police Service, recently launched the Aboriginal Strategic Direction (ASD), a policy which aims to negotiate with Aboriginal people how their community is policed, to standards that are expected by all citizens (NSW Police, 2007).

In South Africa, the South African Police Service in the Northern Cape has employed young San leaders as reservists in collaborative efforts to reduce and prevent crime in the community.

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There is also a strong interest in the **use of restorative justice** in relation to indigenous peoples. In particular, restorative justice relates to models which are seen to be based on traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, notably family group conferencing, which was developed in New Zealand, to respond to the need for more appropriate responses to offending by Maori youth, and sentencing circles and healing circles developed in Canada. Restorative justice practices are now being increasingly promoted by governments and used in indigenous communities in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, although not without dispute[25].

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[25] See Bottoms, A. (2003) Some sociological reflections on restorative justice. In von Hirsch, A., Roberts, J. & Bottoms, A. (Eds.) Restorative Justice and Criminal Justice: Competing or reconcilable paradigms? (79-114). Oxford: Hart Publishing. Kelly, L. (2002). Using Restorative Justice Principles to Address Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities. In Strang, H. & Braithwaite, J. (2002) Restorative Justice and Family Violence, (pp.89-107). Cambridge University Press., and Cunneen, C. (2002). Cunneen, C. (2002). Restorative Justice and the Politics of Decolonization. In Weitekamp, E., GM, & Kerner, H.J. (Eds.), Restorative Justice: Theoretical Foundations (pp.32-49). Willan Publishing.

Some country examples:

In Australia, following the 1991 Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, **Aboriginal Justice Groups** have been established at most regional and State and Territory levels to advise governments on Indigenous justice issues. Evidence suggests that they have been effective in helping to reduce juvenile offending, school truancy, family and community disputes, and violence, and providing support for offender reintegration[26].

In Canada, the Department of Justice launched the **Aboriginal Justice Strategy**[27] (AJS) and it was renewed in 1996, 2002, and 2007. One of the three objectives of the strategy is "to contribute to decreasing rates of crime and victimisation in Aboriginal communities operating AJS programs". Key initiatives promoted by the strategy are diversion, alternative measures, and restorative justice and mediation, all of which can play a role in preventing re-offending. To date these programmes have been managed by First Nations and Tribal Councils, community groups, urban Aboriginal coalitions and other non-profit organisations.

While various indigenous practices in the area of policing and justice are regarded by some as strong examples of self determination, there are several ongoing concerns. These include: 1) the limitations put on indigenised criminal justice services (eg. powers of arrest, or sentencing) which may compromise their effectiveness in the long term, 2) the lack of resources allocated to indigenous communities in general which can hinder the quality of the criminal justice services they provide, 3) the need for trained staff who are culturally aware, and can respond with unique skill sets to the complexity of the issues and 4) the absence of systematic data or information on evaluation. Many of these factors can work to undermine the legitimacy of administering criminal justice services in indigenous communities and further perpetuate paternalistic ideologies. Some questions to consider include:

- In what ways do other institutional actors beyond criminal justice (schools, hospitals, community development) participate in crime prevention and community safety practices aimed at indigenous populations living in urban, rural and remote areas?
- How are developments in evaluation methodologies contributing to the knowledge base on what works in effective community safety programming with indigenous peoples, including the evaluation of indigenous policing and justice models?

Safety of Indigenous Women

**Indigenous women contribute to the strength, resilience and maintenance of community vitality and well being**. They play essential roles as keepers of cultural identity, traditional guardians of the natural environment, and are at the forefront in activities that provide holistic support for indigenous and non-indigenous community members.

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[26] Cunneen (2008, p.8).
[27] See Aboriginal Justice Strategy. Fact Sheet 2007. Department of Justice Canada. Available at: www.justice.gc.ca/en/ps/ajs/publications.html

In the field of crime prevention and community safety, their contributions can be seen in a number of effective and promising programmes. Some examples include mobilising opposition to substance abuse, and launching and implementing night patrols in Australia, working to divert Aboriginal youth away from gangs in Winnipeg, Canada, and leading various technical assistance projects in Latin America informed by participatory research methods.

However, the safety of indigenous women worldwide is threatened by a number of phenomena. There is **increased awareness about the high levels of violence perpetrated against indigenous women worldwide**, as revealed by a number of campaigns led by international bodies, commissioned reports, and findings of several UN Special Rapporteur Reports. Indigenous women experience multiple forms of violence, and this has been exacerbated by **neoliberal globalisation** threatening community livelihoods and involving forced displacement from traditional lands, **violence in the name of tradition,** in which customary law and practices in some indigenous communities work to reinforce male power over women. Indigenous women also experience **state violence** through laws that discriminate against them, **climate change** impacting on their livelihood and health, and **militarization and armed conflict** leading to several human rights abuses in the form of sexual violence and extra judicial killings. Violence significantly acts as a barrier to women achieving leadership and for their equality in general[28].

A very informative and inspiring report for action entitled *Mairin Iwanka Raya Indigenous Women Stand Against Women*[29], published as a companion report to the United Nations Secretary General's Study on Violence Against Women, has advanced a working concept of an **indigenous approach to gender based violence**. As it states,

> For indigenous women 'gender-based violence is shaped not only by gender discrimination within indigenous and non indigenous arenas, but by a context of ongoing colonization, militarism, racism and social exclusion, and poverty inducing economic and 'development' policies[30].

Several approaches to combat and prevent violence against indigenous women have been advocated such as 1) the development of new concepts that recognizes both individual and collective rights, intersecting with identities of gender and culture, 2) strengthening indigenous women's advocacy, 3) promoting indigenous women's leadership, 4) advancing indigenous peoples rights, 5) providing opportunities for information exchange to advance knowledge and expertise 6) providing safe and culturally appropriate services for victims and 7) changing attitudes about violence against women in private and public spheres through various mediums.

Some questions for consideration include:

- What are some examples of promising approaches and tools that can assist in efforts to prevent violence against indigenous women?
- How are indigenous women's perspectives informing women's safety planning?

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[28] Australian Human Rights Commission (2008).
[29] The Report was produced by the International Indigenous Women's Forum (IIWF/FIMI), It is available for download here: www.indigenouswomensforum.org/resources/vaiw.html
[30] IIWF (2006, p.2).

In 2008, ICPC released its *International Report on Crime Prevention and Community Safety* and accompanying *International Compendium on Practices to Inspire Action Across the World,* which include accounts of community safety partnerships in diverse countries, aimed at improving indigenous well being, including examples aimed at preventing violence and victimization. The practices and tools featured in workshop two (Project Venture, New Mexico, Police training in Australia, and Holistic programming in Quebec) further illustrate the importance of addressing multiple risk and protective factors in working towards improved outcomes for indigenous peoples in the areas of health, justice, education, and early child development. This paper briefly highlights four main elements of community safety partnerships with indigenous peoples. 1) developing a holistic approach, 2) participation 3) capacity building and 4) evaluation. It also identifies some examples of recent projects developed by and with Indigenous peoples to promote safety, and raises key questions to encourage debate and discussion in the upcoming workshop.

## Key Elements of Community Safety Partnerships

### Developing a Holistic Approach

Given the conditions under which many indigenous peoples live in rural, remote, or urban settings, often related to issues of inequity, discrimination, and racism, they tend to be characterised by multiple risk factors with few of the protective factors that promote resilience to crime and victimisation, such as good educational skills, or positive family and school environments. Studies in Canada, Australia and New Zealand all underline this challenge[31]. By no means are all of the risk factors identified encountered in every indigenous community, nor do they characterise all indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, the very broad range and nature of these risk factors requires them to be addressed across many fronts, and through **multi-faceted or holistic interventions designed to target several factors at a time**, and using a variety of approaches.

As emphasized in the 2002 *UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime*[32], one of the key principles guiding effective prevention is that **strategies should be built on cooperative partnerships between government institutions and ministries, community and nongovernmental organizations, the business sector and civil society**. A number of community safety partnerships focused on the health and well being of indigenous communities have been developed based on this principle, and supported by National and sub-regional governments, donor organizations, and the private sector.

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[31] See Linden (2001), La Prairie (1994), Homel et al. (1999), Doone (2000).
[32] ECOSOC (2002a), Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime, Resolution 2002/13.

Although the knowledge base on what interventions work best is still emerging, **those community safety partnerships which actively engage indigenous peoples in strengthening multiple protective factors increasing individual and community well being, should be given far greater recognition and public visibility**. In the US, the National Youth Leadership Project (NIYLP) is a national non-profit organization that has been serving Native American and other youth for 20 years and has developed nationally recognized programs in outdoor adventure, service-learning, leadership and peacemaking. Their programs are grounded in the teachings of Native elders and their programs are built around traditional Native values. In Quebec, Canada, the Centre d'amitié autochtone de Val d'Or is a community organization that aims to inform and assist indigenous peoples living in urban areas. With over 30 years of experience, the Friendship Centre provides programs in support of community, economic and social development.

It is also important however to note several challenges. Similar to other organisations serving vulnerable populations, many indigenous organisations continue to grapple with the administrative burdens of fragmented and short term funding programmes, with often separate reporting requirements, given multiple funding streams. While some organisations, have been successful in leveraging funding beyond initial pilot projects and governmental support, other indigenous organisations with promising outcomes continue to work, balancing different community interests and needs, which often remain unmet by government, Donors and the private sector[33]. In addition, crime prevention action involving multiple partners and addressing several risk factors within an integrated strategy can be challenging for those involved in providing critical service to communities, and those assessing process and outcomes of holistic measures. In the spirit of true commitment towards effective community safety, partners must work through time sensitive programming requirements, challenges related to mistrust, and work towards building or repairing critical relationships that are key to sustaining resources, gaining access to information and data, and mobilizing different partners.

Participation

ICPC's international review on *Crime Prevention and Indigenous Communities* reveals that current community safety programmes take a broad approach which recognises the multiplicity of causal factors and the need for a really integrated and participatory approach. **The development of meaningful participation, rather than consultation, in community safety and prevention is seen as a key mechanism for facilitating ownership, leadership and building skills and capacity, and for helping to change attitudes, strengthen social networks and build trust between partners[34]**. Safety audits undertaken by women to identify crime and safety issues, participatory rural appraisals, and the direct involvement of community members in planning and implementing neighbourhood projects all provide some important examples[35]. The emphasis among indigenous communities is that partnerships should be 'by' and 'with' those communities[36].

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[33] Capobianco & Soria (2008, p.141).
[34] Shaw (2006, p.8).
[35] ICPC (2008), Gerber & Robertson (2008).
[36] Bacigalupo (2008), Capobianco (2006).

While national or regional governments and indigenous and non-indigenous organizations may provide assistance and support (tools, training, funding, etc.), indigenous peoples must take the lead in promoting and creating healthier and safer communities, according to their own aspirations. **Empowering individuals and communities is seen as a mechanism for increasing the capacities for successful self-determination**. There is increased emphasis on leadership initiatives designed 'by' and 'with' indigenous grassroots and organizations that are aimed at enhancing and strengthening the leadership capacities of indigenous women and youth [37]. Some approaches also recognize the importance of healing which needs to take place in relation to hurt and injustice affecting their communities, before passing on traditional knowledge and skills to future leaders.

## Capacity Building

Implementing and sustaining prevention strategies and programs require both sufficient investment in programs and resources beyond pilot initiatives. **Helping to enhance and strengthen leadership skills and support towards capacity building measures can ensure sustainability of crime prevention in the long term**. While by no means universal, there is greater attention to the **specificity and context** of indigenous communities.  This entails a very detailed analysis of the causal and protective factors and assets of communities, but also a focus on strengthening leadership, capacity and skills of community members to apply for funds, or implement, manage, and evaluate crime prevention projects.

Awareness of the importance of capacity building in community safety can also be seen in the variety of intermediary organizations, indigenous and non- indigenous, NGOs, foundations, etc., that are providing support. This includes resources for training, support towards venues, and mixed methods for the exchange of expertise (video conferencing, workshops, blogs, etc.), comprehensive reports and guides to good and inspiring practice, and culturally appropriate tools for partnership and problem diagnosis[38].

Some country examples include:

In Australia, the Northern Rivers Abuse of Older Adults Prevention Project, Northern Rivers Social Development Council (NRSDC) developed the *Abuse of Older Adults Prevention Training Program* [39] *,* funded by Australia's National Community Crime Prevention Programme. The prevention project involved an extensive 2 year consultation with service providers working within the aged care sector, and was based on a comprehensive interagency training manual (2008) developed as part of this process. The Australian Institute of Criminology has been involved in the development of tools, good practice guides, and training workshops for police working with drug issues in remote Aboriginal communities.

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[37] See Capobianco (2006).
[38] See Cunneen (2001), Singh & White (2000).
[39] www.nrsdc.org.au/component/content/article/195-training/320-abuse-of-older-adults-prevention-training.html

In Canada, the Newfoundland Aboriginal Women's Network (NAWN) has developed the project *Aboriginal Women on the Verge of Rising (Kiskat-pukuwit): Breaking Barriers, Building Strong Minds*[40], supported by Status Women, Canada. It aims to raise awareness on violence prevention through a series of culture-based train-the-trainer workshops aimed at Aboriginal women, on overcoming violence and abuse. The Native Women's Association of Canada and its Youth Council have developed a *Violence Prevention Toolkit*[41]. It is designed to educate and train participants through the delivery of the toolkit, to promote the prevention youth violence, with a specific focus on Aboriginal girls.

In Peru, a local NGO, in collaboration with UNICEF, developed and implemented a model of women community defenders *Defensorías Comunitarias*[42], in 17 districts of the Ayamare province. Defensorias Comuntiarias train local leaders to promote and protect the rights of women, girls and children.

In the US, the American Indian Development Associates (AIDA)[43] delivers training and technical assistance to aid communities in developing culturally appropriate and effective ways of dealing with problems faced by Indian youth and their families. Technical assistance is delivered through onsite visits, telephone consultations, and regional training seminars. They have conducted seminars on comprehensive juvenile justice planning, development of community-based alternatives to incarceration, and training on qualitative data collection and analysis to obtain community perspectives on juvenile delinquency, violence and victimization.

The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) developed a virtual network of researchers and practitioners working in the area related to Community Safety and Indigenous Peoples (CSIPNET) in 2004. The network aims to facilitate collaboration and exchange among Indigenous and non-indigenous policy makers, researchers, and practitioners working on issues relating to crime prevention and to advance international learning in the area of crime prevention, community safety and Indigenous communities. ICPC is currently developing a training module designed for police and community partners on Indigenous Peoples and Community Safety Partnerships.

Evaluation

It is clear in many previous reviews of community safety or crime prevention programmes, that there **is an absence of evaluated crime prevention and community safety programmes focusing on indigenous populations**.

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[40] NAWN's website, at www.nawn-nf.com/board.htm
[41] For more information, visit NWAC website at: www.nwac-hq.org/en/index.html
[42] Comisión Económica para Latinoamérica y el Caribe (2007), Capobianco & Soria (2008)
[43] See OJJDP (1999) Training and Technical Assistance for Indian Nation Juvenile Justice Systems. Fact Sheet. Available at http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/fs99105.pdf

Some of the reasons identified include: the lack of data collection, the lack of research on culturally appropriate evaluation methodologies, the lack of evaluative frameworks in accompanying programmes serving indigenous populations, the challenges encountered by both indigenous and non-indigenous practitioners in evaluating complex interventions with multiple partners and initiatives[44], and in some countries, the absence of a policy framework to undertake rigorous evaluation of crime prevention strategies.

In countries where evaluative frameworks have been developed in crime prevention, there is also a need to examine more closely whether present indicators for successful outcomes capture the needs and aspirations of indigenous peoples[45], and whether the research methods used are appropriate. For example, establishing control groups among indigenous groups that do not have access to programmes in efforts to determine what works, may raise some ethical issues[46].

Some important questions to consider in this workshop include:

- How do we ensure that the specificities of local community dynamics and contexts are not ignored in the transportation of crime prevention models developed in different urban and rural landscapes?
- How do we move from small isolated short term projects to working towards building successful initiatives to scale?
- For Indigenous organizations and communities, how can prevention programs be more responsive to the perspectives of indigenous peoples?

## Conclusion

A number of important developments in relation to the growing numbers of indigenous peoples living in urban areas, changes occurring in rural and remote communities, and contemporary developments in the governance of safety, reveal both challenges and opportunities for the development of effective community safety initiatives. As community safety and crime prevention relates to almost every aspect of policy making and service delivery to indigenous communities, the *Aboriginal Policy and Research Conference* provides a contemporary venue from which to examine holistic approaches that aim to not only reduce crime and violence, but increase the well being of indigenous peoples in Canada and abroad.

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[44] Marsiglia & Kulis (2009).
[45] See Cooke et al (2006).
[46] Roberston et al (2004), Dickson- Gilmore, E.J. (2008).

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