CULTURALLY-SPECIFIC CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMMING: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CSC PROGRAM "IN SEARCH OF YOUR WARRIOR"

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in Justice Studies

University of Regina

by

Kristopher Brian Naclia

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

September, 2009

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-65670-9
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-65670-9

UNIVERSITY OF REGINA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

SUPERVISORY AND EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Kristopher Brian Naclia, candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Justice Studies, has presented a thesis titled, ***Culturally-specific Correctional Programming: A Qualitative Analysis of the CSC Program "In Search of Your Warrior",*** in an oral examination held on September 8, 2009. The following committee members have found the thesis acceptable in form and content, and that the candidate demonstrated satisfactory knowledge of the subject material.

External Examiner:	Dr. Herman Michell, First Nations University of Canada
Supervisor:	Dr. James P. Mulvale, Department of Justice Studies
Committee Member:	Dr. Nicholas Jones, Department of Justice Studies
Committee Member:	Professor William Asikinack, Indigenous Studies, First Nations University of Canada
Chair of Defense:	Dr. Kyle Hodder, Department of Geography

ABSTRACT

Aboriginal people are overrepresented within the federal correctional system and according to recent statistics, the problem is getting worse. This study examines the subjective experiences from the high intensity violence prevention program "In Search of Your Warrior (ISOYW)", implemented by the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) for federal male offenders. The purpose of this study is to investigate the inclusion of Aboriginal culture in correctional programming. The program, originally designed by the Native Counselling Services of Alberta, was implemented by CSC in 1999 and is delivered at federal correctional facilities across Canada. In Search of Your Warrior is a unique cultural program that uses traditional Aboriginal teachings, spirituality and ceremonies in a group setting to present and discuss the skills necessary to reintegrate back into the community. The primary method for data collection in this study consisted of qualitative semi-structured interviews following a phenomenological research approach. The main source of data for this study is from interviews with thirteen ISOYW program participants, with additional insight being offered by four case management officers and five program service providers. These interviews provided responses based on personal perceptions, experiences and involvement with this program. Respondents provided insight on the impact of the culturally-specific correctional program and their points of view on its efficacy. Finally, suggestions for future research and recommendations for program enhancement are made to advance correctional programming to better address the needs of Aboriginal offenders.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of the people that contributed to this study. I am very grateful to all of the participants who offered their time and energy to be a part of this research. As well, I would like to thank my advisory committee members Nick Jones and Bill Asikinack, who were kind enough to provide guidance and clarity in this research project. My thesis advisor Jim Mulvale made this research possible and was instrumental in getting me through the many hurdles and countless hours of research. Jim's intellectual and personal guidance throughout the research process was greatly appreciated, and indispensable in getting over many difficult barriers which I initially perceived as being nearly impossible. I would also like to thank Roxanne Miller and Lawrence Burnouf from Correctional Service of Canada Aboriginal Initiatives Branch at Prairie Regional Headquarters in Saskatoon for use of their facilities, assistance with security and research clearance, and continued support throughout my research endeavour. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Angela for her patience and support throughout the many years of my academic studies and the sacrifices that were endured.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS iii
LIST OF TABLES v
1. INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Historical context of Aboriginal people in Canada 4
1.2 Research questions 10
1.3 Key operational definitions 12
1.4 Organization of thesis 12
2. LITERATURE REVIEW 15
2.1 Introduction 15
2.2 Canadian criminal justice models 15
2.3 Aboriginal discrimination and the justice system 18
2.4 Anomie and strain theory 25
2.5 Roots of Aboriginal programming 32
2.6 Culturally-specific programs 37
2.7 Research on Aboriginal correctional programming 38
2.8 In search of your warrior program 45
2.9 Significance of the study 51
3. METHODOLOGY 53
3.1 Introduction 53
3.2 Methodological approach and method 55
3.3 Sampling 58
3.4 Approach 62
3.5 Interviews 64
3.6 Ethics 65
3.7 Data analysis 68
3.8 Summary 69
4. PROGRAM PARTICIPANT ANALYSIS 71
4.1 Introduction 71
4.2 General themes 77
4.3 Specific themes 89
4.4 Unique themes 95
4.5 Program participant criticisms 97
4.6 Essence of ISOYW 98
4.7 Summary 102
5. NON-PROGRAM PARTICIPANT ANALYSIS 105
5.1 Introduction 105
5.2 Program service providers 106
5.3 Case management officers 113
5.4 Summary 119
6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 121
6.1 Introduction 121
6.2 Results in relation to previous research and literature 123

6.3 Culturally-specific correctional programs 125
6.4 Thematic results 126
6.5 Conclusions 129
6.6 Implications 130
6.7 Suggestions for further research 131
REFERENCES 137
APPENDICES 146
Appendix A. Sequence of inquiry: questions for program participants 146
Appendix B. Sequence of inquiry: questions for Correctional Service Canada staff. 147
Appendix C. Sequence of inquiry: questions for Elders 148
Appendix D. Consent form: program participants 149
Appendix E. Consent form: correctional workers and Elders 151
Appendix F. University of Regina research ethics board approval 153
Appendix G. Correctional Service Canada research approval 154
Appendix H. Analytical reduction of key words and phrases 155
Appendix I. Emergent themes and the key words/phrases 157

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 Example of relevant data extraction 72

Table 4.2 Example of delineation of data from transcripts 74

1. INTRODUCTION

The federal Canadian correctional system began following confederation when the federal government took over the operations of three provincial penitentiaries in Kingston, Montreal and Halifax. Since then two separate correctional jurisdictions have been developed, each one distinguishable by the length of supervision of an individual's sentence. Federal penitentiaries are for offenders sentenced to two years or more. These institutions are the responsibility of the federal government through the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). Provincial correctional and remand centres are for individuals sentenced to serve two years minus a day or less. They are the responsibility of each provincial government. This study focuses on the federal correctional system and, more specifically, the initiatives CSC has implemented in their attempt to successfully reintegrate Aboriginal offenders back into Canadian society after incarceration.

A lot has changed over the past 174 years since the beginning of correctional institutionalization. Criminal justice philosophy appears to be shifting from a primary focus of retribution and punishment, towards greater acceptance of restorative and Aboriginal justice principles, which focus on repairing the harm caused by criminal behaviour. Rather than just locking people up as a deterrent to and punishment for crime, these institutions may be used to improve the lives of criminals. When inmates are released from correctional institutions, as most of them are, they will hopefully be able to abide by Canadian laws and respect the values and mores of society. As well, traditional Aboriginal justice principles may assist in community reintegration by involving respected members of the Aboriginal community in justice-related decisions. However, when it comes to Aboriginal people, rehabilitative and restorative efforts aimed at

assisting offenders after incarceration may be misguided. In their current form, they may actually exacerbate these offenders' reintegration into society by prematurely returning offenders to a romanticized, rather than realistic, concept of "community". Before exploring the realm of restorative justice initiatives in correctional institutions and how they apply to Aboriginal people, the concept of overrepresentation as well as the statistics that demonstrate it will be introduced to establish why justice reform for Aboriginal people is necessary.

The Correctional Investigator of Canada (2007) affirms that Aboriginal people make up approximately 4% of the national population, but account for nearly 19% of the federal inmate population. It is even more troubling that, while the overall inmate population decreased between 1997 and 2007, the number of Aboriginal people in federal institutions increased, by nearly 26%. This figure is even more staggering given that the Canadian criminal justice system has sought to incorporate Aboriginal cultural practices such as the use of sentencing circles as well as cross-cultural training, culturally focused programs, healing lodges, and Aboriginal policing over the past two decades as solutions to the problem of overrepresentation.

Prior to the Second World War the incarceration rates of Aboriginal peoples in the federal prison system were proportionate to the Aboriginal general population. After the war, a sudden increase can be found in the incarceration rates of Aboriginal peoples (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1991). The overall incarceration rate for Aboriginals in Canada is about nine times higher than for non-Aboriginals. The problem in Saskatchewan is even more distressing, with Aboriginals being incarcerated at a rate 35 times that of the rest of the provincial population (Wilson, 2007). Saskatchewan's demographics have been

shifting drastically, as the proportion of Aboriginals has been and will be growing, from 9.7% in 1991 to a projected 28% by 2035 (Government of Saskatchewan, 2004). An increasing Aboriginal population coupled with increasing incarceration rates makes it evident that the phenomenon of overrepresentation of Aboriginals in correctional facilities must be dealt with, or, as the population increases, so may the problem.

The focus of this study is on an initiative implemented by CSC to reduce Aboriginal over-incarceration rates through the use of culturally-specific correctional programs designed for Aboriginal offenders. Aboriginal-specific programs are administered in correctional facilities as a compliment to contemporary correctional programming. They are conducted by Aboriginal facilitators, with the assistance of Elders, rather than primarily administered by psychologists or non-Aboriginal facilitators. These programs blend contemporary cognitive-behavioural therapy with traditional holistic approaches to address the needs of offenders, teaching them about Aboriginal culture by introducing traditional ceremonies. These Aboriginal-specific programs use restorative justice principles and respected people from the community to address personal and systemic issues. This may be achieved by instilling traditional values and beliefs as well as reinforcing a worldview in the hope that the offenders will transfer these newly acquired skills, attitudes, and behaviours into the community, creating an interconnectedness and sense of belonging. To understand why cultural programming has been established in federal correctional institutions, one must look back at the history of Aboriginal people in Canada since the arrival of Europeans.

1.1 Historical context of Aboriginal people in Canada

This section provides a brief history of Aboriginal people in western Canada and their eventual marginalization and loss of culture and traditions resulting from Canadian social policy and government interference derived from colonialism. The socio-economic position of Aboriginal people in Canadian society will also be discussed, as well as how it relates to their overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. Collectively these factors will help explain Aboriginal overrepresentation and the rationale behind the implementation of culturally specific programming in federal correctional institutions.

Mulvale (2007) provides a concise history of how the first contact with Aboriginal peoples by European explorers, traders and settlers, in what is now considered western Canada, began in the early 1600s, with the establishment of the fur trade. This relationship eventually progressed, with the assistance of the Canadian government and social policy, into colonization and deculturation. French and British colonial agents pursued relations with Aboriginal people to buy furs for the European market, for guidance in navigating the vast countryside, and to learn survival techniques for the harsh winters. During this period their relationship was considered to have a degree of reciprocity and cooperation for the exchange of goods and services. This relationship changed drastically in the late nineteenth century. As the fur trade declined, and with more and more settlers arriving in Canada, the government was eager to secure land for the transcontinental railroad and to extend sovereignty and political control from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This pursuit of territory resulted in the formation of Treaties between First Nations and the British Crown (through the country of Canada after Confederation in 1867), eventually diminishing the traditional territory once used to

hunt the now-decimated buffalo herds. The Treaties gave the Canadian government the authority to convert the land into private and Crown property, a concept foreign to the Aboriginal people, in exchange for parcels of reserve land, annual payments, schools, agricultural tools, and hunting and trapping rights. The agreements formed as a result of the Treaties were considered by Aboriginal people to be sacred documents between themselves, the Crown and the Creator. The (often deliberate) misinterpretation, language barriers, and confusion surrounding Treaty agreements would devastate the culture and way of life of the First Nations people in the century to come.

Despite Treaty promises, the true intentions of the Canadian government eventually became clear in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Instead of an 'implementation' Act, the Canadian government passed the Indian Act in 1876. Paternalistic and assimilation policies were adopted resulting in what may be considered cultural genocide. Federal government actions in this regard included the inception of residential schools under the auspices of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, the restriction of movement for First Nations people to go on and off reserves without the permission of an Indian agent, and laws restricting the use of traditional ceremonies and language as well as other dehumanizing provisions. All of these practices and policies marginalized Aboriginal people and resulted in their treatment as second class citizens (Mulvale, 2007).

Thus, colonization left Aboriginal people exposed to personal and institutional abuse resulting from suppression of their culture. In the past century, Aboriginal people have experienced systemic abuse in foster homes, residential schools, correctional facilities and social programs. One example of this is the "60s swoop" by child welfare

agencies, which took children away from their Aboriginal families in the 1960s and 1970s and placed them mostly in Caucasian middle-class homes (York, 1990). Here they suffered the loss of culture and traditions, while having to deal with racism in a Caucasian environment (York, 1990). Residential schools removed Aboriginal children from their families and forbade them the use of their native language, ceremonies and culture. Many parents were not allowed visitation rights with their children, and children were separated from their siblings and given new names in the schools. Being Aboriginal was associated with shame, and Aboriginal traditions were considered barbaric, resulting in attempts to eradicate traditional ways and replace them with mainstream beliefs (McGillivray, 1997). Residential school students were disconnected from their land, Elders, cultures, value systems, and knowledge systems. In 2008, a national residential school settlement was reached in order to give compensation to residential school survivors. This offers two types of compensation which survivors can apply for; a common experience payment for general compensation and an independent assessment process for those who suffered any type of sexual or serious physical abuse at a residential school. On June 11th, 2008 Prime Minister Stephen Harper gave an official apology on behalf of the Canadian government to former students of residential schools for removing them from their homes and trying to assimilate them into the dominant culture, a decision which had been based on the assumption that Aboriginal spiritual and cultural beliefs were inferior (Office of the Prime Minister, 2008). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008) was created as a result of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement to create an accurate and public historical record of the policies and operations of the former Indian residential schools. It was also created to find

out what happened to the children who attended them, create public awareness and education about the impacts of residential schools, establish a national research centre and foster truth and healing in order to renew the relationship between Aboriginal people and other Canadians.

This demoralizing treatment, which was an attempt to force assimilation and to dismantle language and culture, was used to reduce the resistance of Aboriginal people so that they could be controlled by the dominant Eurocentric segment of Canadian society. As a result, Aboriginal people are currently placed in marginal geographic areas and social and economic structures, resulting in a lack of family stability, no sense of belonging to the community, and the loss of customary social control practices, movement, traditional roles and obligations (LaPrairie, 1996). The resulting poor socio-economic condition of Aboriginal people has also been linked to the disproportionate number of incarcerated Aboriginal individuals in correctional institutions (Heckbert & Turkington, 2001; LaPrairie, 1992; 1996; RCAP, 1996b).

In an attempt to better understand the reasons Aboriginals are incarcerated at significantly higher rates and to address the cultural programming philosophy for those who are currently incarcerated, the dynamic factors of Aboriginal social status and loss of culture need to be taken into account.

Dickenson-Gilmore & LaPrairie (2005) argue that the marginalizing social structures of colonialism surrounding Aboriginal people are linked to the high proportion of criminal activities, which result in high rates of incarceration. Canada is a stratified and unequal society, with those ranking low in the hierarchal system unable to enjoy the benefits of modern industrialized society. This inequality increases the likelihood of

crimes being committed due to factors such as unemployment, poverty, and lack of education.

Frideres and Gadacz (2008) define four socio-economic factors which affect one's ability to participate in modern society, and discuss the impact of these factors on Aboriginal people. These factors are income, labour force participation, occupational status and education. There is a disparity in the income between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people, first noted in 1966 by Hawthorn, Cairns, Jamieson, & Lysyk, and data suggest the gap is getting larger (as cited in Frideres and Gadacz, 2008). Aboriginal people on average earn less, are more likely to have no income, and are less likely to be among those considered to be high-income earners. Aboriginal participation in the labour force is about 20% lower than the national rate (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008). Aboriginal people are more likely to work part-time or seasonal jobs, resulting in less job security. Furthermore, measures to improve participation and raise their standard of living have done little to improve the Aboriginal unemployment rate, which is three times the national average. The occupational status of Aboriginal people as compared to the rest of the population is also bleak. There are fewer Aboriginals in upper-status occupations and more in lower-status occupations, such as manual labour and semi-skilled jobs. Education in Canadian society is regarded as key to being successful. The educational attainment and school attendance of Aboriginal people is substantially lower than the general population. They are less likely to pursue post-secondary education or even graduate from high school. Therefore, Aboriginal people are more likely to experience marginal social and economic status, which in turn increases the likelihood of participation in criminal activity that eventually may result in incarceration. This is not to say that

Aboriginal people in general are more likely to commit crimes than non-Aboriginal people; rather, external constraints and degradation may be more influential than Aboriginal ethnicity. Limited access to and unequal opportunity for the benefits of society may hinder their ability to achieve capitalist goals of wealth accumulation; however, the majority of Aboriginal people do not commit crimes, notwithstanding these disadvantageous factors. There have been many accomplishments, achievements and successes that cannot be ignored.

The historical inheritance and current socio-economic condition of many Aboriginal people on First Nation reserves and within urban settings have thus increased the likelihood of their participation in criminal activity resulting in incarceration. The underlying conditions include high unemployment rates, family dysfunction, substance abuse, lower education levels, and interpersonal violence (Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts, & Johnson, 2006). The aforementioned problems, factored in with loss of culture, traditions and spirituality have resulted in many Aboriginal people living with oppression, racism and violence on a daily basis.

Although the institutional abuses experienced by Aboriginal people may have ended, a pervasive cycle of violence within Aboriginal communities continues from generation to generation as a result of the colonial and residential school experiences. Aboriginal people are more likely to experience violent victimization by someone they know, to experience higher rates of spousal, sexual and physical abuse, and are more likely to be a victim of, or accused of homicide (Brzozowski et al., 2006). This cycle of violence continues because those individuals who have been abused in the past tend to become the perpetrators of abuse in the future. In general, the greater the severity of the

abuse experienced by a person, the stronger the probability of that person committing a violent offence later in life (Milner, Robertson, & Rogers, 1990).

According to Freeman-Longo (1986) the victims of child abuse (who may themselves become abusive parents) are not likely to disclose their own experiences of abuse. They do not associate their own pain from abuse with the trauma they inflict on their victims. As a result, many begin treatment with no concept of why they have harmed their victim.

The shared experiences of intergenerational abuse and colonialism for Aboriginal people cannot be separated from the abuse they experience or perpetuate. The historical experience of the social policies of forced assimilation and colonization has created Aboriginal nations which have lost their sense of identity, self-worth, language, culture and community. This is not to say that all Aboriginal communities are like this; there are many examples of cultural reclamation and renewal taking place among various Aboriginal communities. However, the history of colonization combined with intergenerational cycles of violence contributes to and intensifies the intergenerational violence occurring today. As a result, incarceration of Aboriginal people in correctional facilities continues, and the underlying issues perpetuating this cycle continue to exist.

1.2 Research questions

This study is focused on a culturally-specific correctional program for Aboriginal men incarcerated in a federal correctional setting. This program was adopted by the CSC in collaboration with the Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA) under the name In Search of Your Warrior (ISOYW). This research aims to find out how this program assists offenders in becoming ready for reintegration into the community, and what

perceived benefits, if any, are gained by participants in the culturally-specific program. ISOYW blends contemporary therapy with traditional Aboriginal ceremonies and spirituality to address the needs of the individual, the values of the Aboriginal community, and to introduce or reintroduce offender's culture to them. This high-intensity program differs from contemporary violence prevention programs by introducing the historical context of social policies and acknowledging deculturation and assimilation practices which have impacted upon Aboriginal people. Furthermore, it invites participants to connect with their culture and pride through Aboriginal teachings and the involvement of community leaders in fostering successful reintegration.

This study addresses the *primary research question*: What are the perceptions, observations and subjective experiences of the program participants, program service providers and case management officers involved with ISOYW with respect to the program's effectiveness?

The following subsidiary questions provide support and structure to the primary research question: (1) From the perspective of those involved in the ISOYW program, does the culturally-relevant component of this correctional program have a positive impact that improves the inmates' chances of being released from and staying out of prison? (2) What research has been completed on culturally-specific programs in federal correctional institutions? (3) How does this program differ from conventional violence prevention programs? (4) How does ISOYW integrate cultural competency into correctional programming, thereby rendering it more effective for Aboriginal men? (5) How does the acquisition of cultural knowledge and ceremonies impact offenders? (6) What recommendations do the study participants have for program improvement?

This research attempts to address these questions from the perspective of those involved in the program by giving voice to these individuals who may not otherwise have had the chance to express their views for fear of reprisal from within the system. It represents an emic, or "insider's" perspective. The researcher, an outsider to the criminal justice system, sought to gain an understanding of the ISOYW program from those intimately associated with the program.

1.3 Key operational definitions

The overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in Canadian correctional institutions as compared to the rest of the Canadian population has been well documented in government reports, academic literature and by the Aboriginal community. The term "overrepresentation" refers to the proportion of Aboriginal people incarcerated in federal, provincial and territorial institutions compared to their proportion in the general population. The term "Aboriginal people" is used to identify First Nations (registered or entitled to be registered under the Indian Act); non-status (Aboriginal ancestry but not a member of a band or treaty), Métis (mixed First Nations and European ancestry) and Inuit people (Aboriginal people in northern Canada) as an inclusive group (Frideres & Gadacz, 2008).

1.4 Organization of thesis

Chapter one is an introduction to the issues surrounding the historical context of Aboriginal people in Canada and the impact colonization has had on their incarceration rates, socio-economic position and loss of culture. This is followed by the research questions developed for this study and the key operational definitions. The chapter ends with the organization of the thesis.

Chapter two is a review of the literature on how culturally-specific programs designed for Aboriginal offenders began in federal correctional facilities. There will be an in-depth discussion on the various justice models in the Canadian criminal justice system, how they are applied to Aboriginal people and the theoretical orientation of culturally specific programs for Aboriginal offenders which demonstrate a shift in justice principles. The chapter will end with an examination of strain and institutional anomie theory and the relationship to Aboriginal crime rates and social disposition.

Chapter three presents the research methodology employed in this study. This includes a discussion and defense of the implementation of a qualitative research orientation using a phenomenological approach. The research methods, approach, sampling, ethics and limitations will be discussed in detail.

Chapter four presents an in-depth description of the findings from the data. Direct quotations from participant interviews will illuminate the participants' experience and perceptions of ISOYW. The data has been separated into three thematic categories: general themes derived from nine to thirteen of the program participants; specific themes derived from four to eight of the program participants; unique themes derived from three or less of the program participants.

Chapter five presents the analysis and interpretation of the data and literature on culturally-specific programs. The analysis of the collective data sources will present how the findings from the interviews confirm, modify or possibly contradict the findings from other studies and existing theoretical claims about Aboriginal-focused cultural programs.

Chapter six gives the summary and conclusions of the study. Each of the primary and secondary questions will be addressed, followed by the major findings and

conclusions which have been made. Finally, suggestions for further research will be offered.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Aboriginal correctional programs attempt to allow offenders to practice their traditions without discrimination, acknowledge that cultural and traditional practices contribute to holistic healing and reintegration, allow them to develop and maintain their identities, and give them the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs (Correctional Service Canada, 1995). This section will start by exploring the Canadian criminal justice system models and the methods perceived to best alleviate Aboriginal overrepresentation. There will be a look back at how Aboriginal programming started and where it is now. An analysis of studies that have been completed on Aboriginal correctional programming will introduce what has been discovered and why more research is needed. This will be followed by a discussion of how this issue is being addressed through Aboriginal justice initiatives that focus on holistic healing and traditional teachings with greater cross cultural awareness, sensitivity and innovation. Finally, the In Search of Your Warrior program will be outlined and the research that has been completed on it to date will be reviewed.

2.2 Canadian criminal justice models

The Canadian criminal justice system is founded upon a number of justice models which arose from the historical circumstances under which it was developed. These models include: (1) retribution, (2) incapacitation, (3) deterrence, (4) rehabilitation and (5) restoration. It primarily adopted a European ideology based on individualistic accountability and the paradigm of punishment (Van Loon & Whittington, 1976). The values and practices observed in the justice system are a reflection of the underlying

frameworks found in these models. Additionally, it is based on the notion that such a system should be just and equitable for all Canadians. However, this formal justice system appears to fail to provide justice for Aboriginal people, by attempting to impose a specific philosophy and practice of justice which is perceived by many Aboriginals as foreign to their understanding (Hurlbert & McKenzie, 2008).There have been positive responses to the failure of the criminal justice system to protect and reflect the needs of Aboriginal people, and to understand how this shift is occurring. Both the formal and Aboriginal justice models will be outlined to show the inherent differences in ideological perceptions and responses to criminal activity.

The concept of retribution is summed up by the notion of "just deserts". That is, the offender gets what they deserve. In an effort to achieve or return the parties involved to a state of social equality, that existed prior to the commission of the crime, the offender must be punished to counterbalance the advantage they are perceived to have gained as a result of their crime. It is essentially, an "evening of the score." The idea of just deserts also includes the notion of proportionality, that is, the punishment must fit the crime.

Incapacitation, as a model of justice, involves the removal of the offender from the community in an attempt to ensure public safety and significantly reduce the likelihood that the individual can engage in additional criminal behaviour. It is also aligned with the retributive model, as it is often the case that the punishment applied to an offender is that of incarceration.

Deterrence is based on the idea that human beings are rational and that they are capable of weighing the costs and benefits of taking a given course of action. Deterrence theory suggests that when the costs associated with the commission of a crime are greater

than the perceived benefits that will result from the crime, the individual will rationally chose against perpetrating the criminal act. There are two "categories" of deterrence, specific and general. Specific deterrence is employed in the criminal justice system when the offender is punished, with the anticipated result of that punishment will cause them to reconsider future criminal behaviour. General deterrence involves the punishment of an offender impacting other's choices to engage, or not engage, in criminal acts. It is thought that as a result of seeing the offender being punished for their behaviour, that others will be deterred from doing the same.

Rehabilitation is a model that suggests that people can change from their criminal lifestyles. In practice it is seen as processes that an offender undertakes to address the underlying issues and factors that contributed to their criminal behaviour in an attempt to reform the offender.

More recently, restorative justice and Aboriginal justice philosophies have been adopted by the criminal justice system. Restorative justice, like retribution, seeks to achieve social equality following a crime. However, its processes for achieving this end contrast very sharply with the retributive model. Restorative justice tends to focus more on the behaviour, not the individual, as "bad." It seeks a collaborative resolution to restoring equality through reparation of harm, often through restitutive processes, rather than punishment. There is an oft-argued position that restorative justice and Aboriginal justice are very closely aligned (Weitekamp, 1999; although this claim has been disputed, Daly, 2002). As such, in response not only to overrepresentation, but also to discrimination and differing views of justice, these models of justice have been employed in the Canadian criminal justice system.

Aboriginal justice systems give jurisdiction to each Aboriginal community in the decision to operate a court system resulting from negotiation and legislation with federal and provincial governments (Report of the Manitoba Justice Inquiry, 1999). Each community would be given the opportunity to progress at their own pace, starting with a limited number of cases and gradually progressing. This is in response to the systemic problems and high rates of Aboriginal people in courts and jails by a foreign and inadequate system.

The Justice Reform Commission (2001) established in Saskatchewan is focused on implementing Aboriginal justice strategies to resolve many of their own justice issues, by the First Nations communities themselves. This process has begun with Aboriginal alternatives to the formal justice system through the use of holistic approaches to treatment. In agreements with the Solicitor General and Aboriginal communities and organizations, the use of holistic Aboriginal justice principles and Elders services have now been implemented throughout the justice system. In correctional system this includes access to spiritual services, native liaison services, addiction treatment, and healing lodges as alternatives to core programs and services (Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, 2000).

2.3 Aboriginal discrimination and the justice system

To understand the issue of discrimination for Canadian Aboriginal people in the justice system it is necessary to look at it in three ways; personally, systemically, and ideologically. Personal discrimination deliberately excludes or unfairly treats a person on the basis of his/her race. The justice system has responded through cross-cultural awareness training to teach non-Aboriginals about cultural differences, to reduce the

amount of personal as well as systemic discrimination. Racism may be expressed individually, arising from the notion that one group is innately superior to another, or as an expression of systemic racism on a personal or inter-personal level. Aboriginal people have been stigmatized because of their physical attributes, which distinguish Aboriginal people from other ethnic groups. These attributes are often cues for racist treatment correspondent with the stereotypes of that group.

Systemic discrimination denies the rights of Aboriginal groups or communities, through exclusion or differential treatment resulting from the policies and practices of established institutions in society. One result of this discrimination is fewer employment opportunities as well as Aboriginal people being overrepresented in the bottom 20% of income earners and underrepresented in the top 20% (Canadian Council on Social Development, 2000).

Systemic discrimination has been observed throughout the Canadian criminal justice system, including policing, courts and corrections. The criminal justice system discriminates against Aboriginal people by "applying laws which have an adverse impact on people of lower socioeconomic status. This is no less racial discrimination; it is merely 'laundered' racial discrimination" (Harding, 1992, p. 8). This form of discrimination is evident in the daily lives of many Aboriginal people. For example, with regard to policing, personal discrimination is evident in statistics such as Aboriginals being three times more likely to be charged and sent to court after arrest than non-Aboriginals for the same criminal event (Satzewich, 1998). Once Aboriginal people enter the judiciary system, the courts are another possible avenue for systemic discrimination. As a result of language barriers, cultural differences and socio-economic problems, Aboriginals are less

likely to get a fair hearing (Harris, 2003). One study indicates that nearly one-third of the Aboriginal inmates do not understand their sentence or the sentencing process, because of inadequate representation and differing cultural values (Satzewich, 1998). After sentencing, the systemic discrimination continues while in the correctional system itself. Sapers (2007) recognized the barriers present for Aboriginal offenders due to systemic discrimination such as over-classification, which means a higher likelihood of being placed in maximum security institutions and/or in segregation. Aboriginal offenders are also released later than non-Aboriginals, more likely to be released on statutory release as opposed to parole, and are also more susceptible to parole revocation.

Ideological discrimination is partly a result of differing worldviews, cultural commandments and establishment of what justice is. There is a cultural gap between Aboriginal people and the dominant white society that creates gaps and miscommunication between the two groups. Traditional Aboriginal law commands that justice processes involve those people who have relationships surrounding the offender and victim. Justice processes should be structured to heal individuals, deal with more than the anti-social acts, and facilitate learning to cope with the negative forces surrounding community members. Decision making is a reflection of our culture and we should not condemn a society we do not understand. Presuming to speak for Aboriginal people may not result in their view of justice (Ross, 1992). European concepts of criminal justice are based on an adversarial system focused on concepts of blame and retribution perceived goals of punishment and deterrence. In an attempt to provide appropriate solutions, the use of culturally relevant systems of justice has been integrated into the formal justice

system, involving Aboriginal communities and noting the ideological differences in Aboriginal justice philosophy.

Guest (1999) describes Aboriginal justice systems as being as diverse as the Aboriginal people that exist throughout the world. These systems are organic, and reflect the needs of the each diverse community, whereas the main criminal justice system is based on the use of government intervention with the threat of incarceration, to attempt to force individuals to abide by the written laws. In Aboriginal justice systems, the values and traditions of the various Aboriginal communities are passed down and upheld by the respected members and Elders. When a conflict arises, community members are to ensure a quick and peaceful resolution which stays in line with the traditions and needs of the community. The justice process is fluid and ever-changing, where experiences of conflict between the offender and victim are used as learning and teaching experiences for the whole community, as opposed to a system which is structured on hierarchal judgements enforced by representatives of the state to determine guilt or innocence. Aboriginal justice systems rely on a connection between the offender, victim and community, and a willingness of all parties to participate in the process of true healing. However, according to Dickenson-Gilmore & La Prairie (2005) the strong migration of Aboriginal people from reserves to the inner core of urban centres which are plagued by poverty, crime and violence has impacted the connection to and relevance of what is considered to be an Aboriginal "community", to the point that it may no longer exist. The geographical location of the largest portions of Aboriginal people living in extremely poor city neighbourhoods (Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Regina) may result in a more disconnected but accurate interpretation of the socio-economic factors of Aboriginal communities.

Although, reserves may still be "home" for many Aboriginal people living off-reserve, the interconnection between the individual and community may be lost, making the fundamental structure of Aboriginal justice systems difficult to maintain. However, the notion of "community" among Aboriginal people extends from humans to embrace the natural world. It is a philosophy of life that is transportable and extends past geographical restrictions.

Although there are other perspectives, Dickenson-Gilmore & LaPrairie (2005) explain how the ideological differences that are ingrained in the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal justice systems make their integration quite difficult. The Aboriginal justice system attempts to restore harmony in the relationships among offenders, victims and the community through the agreement of all parties to a dispute resolution. This ensures that everyone may heal and learn from the experience, helps the offender empathize with the victim and restores their connection to the community. The instillation of a self-policing moral code through community accountability and connection is significantly different than the main criminal justice system.

According to Dickenson-Gilmore and LaPrairie (2005) the fundamental success of an Aboriginal justice system requires successful, healthy communities, a willingness to participate in the process from all parties, and communal accountability. Many Aboriginal communities may not be ready for such measures and the responsibility of healing their people, when they in turn are trying to heal themselves. It is not realistic to attempt to transfer the responsibility for the administration of justice from Canadian society directly onto the backs of Aboriginal communities, when those communities are often afflicted with asymmetrical power struggles, poverty, boredom, unemployment and

substance abuse. Reintegration of offenders into an environment such as this may only exacerbate the problems of administering justice, rather than solve them. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that non-Aboriginal communities are free of racism which may create challenges for Aboriginal offenders trying to reintegrate outside of their own community.

Guest (1999) identifies a problem with the institutionalization of Aboriginal justice processes, because the holistic measures to promote healing may be delivered in a piecemeal, conflicting and/or coercive manner. As long as the threat of incarceration looms over an offender's head, it may be more difficult for them, the victim, and the community to resolve their conflict in a genuine and healing-oriented manner. A person must want to heal, and feel connected to the community, rather than be "forced to heal" as a means of staying out of prison. Therefore, while the traditional social structure of Aboriginal people may make them more readily accepting of restorative justice principles, they may still be unready for their actual implementation.

The most significant difference between the two justice models is how crime is perceived, which then impacts on the perceptions of the best way of dealing with it. In the formal system, "crime" is seen as an action by a bad person or persons, which requires punishment to deter the offender and others from committing the same offense. The Aboriginal system views "crime" as a behaviour which requires a response that focuses on the teaching and healing of all the parties involved, as opposed to focusing simply on punishing offenders. These restorative justice measures reject the one-response-fits-all mentality; rather, different communities may design different responses to criminal behaviour that reflect and take advantage of their unique circumstances (Furio, 2002). In

contrast to the formal model of trial and policing, traditional Aboriginal societies rely on Elders and community leaders to teach community values, provide counselling, mediate in the event of criminal acts, and facilitate compensation, resolutions and restoration of the community (Hurlbert &McKenzie, 2008).

Models of justice in Canada have been evolving to reconcile these different views through the adoption of Aboriginal courts and policing, sentencing circles, culturally specific programs within corrections and alternative justice measures. The implementation of these restorative measures to reflect Aboriginal concepts of justice have acknowledged that these justice measures are broader and different from the formal justice system, focusing on a balance of collective responsibility, individual accountability and responsibility. However, these alternative programs have only been implemented sparsely throughout the formal justice system and are as yet unable to deal with the complex social and criminal issues facing Aboriginal people. Although no correctional program is perfectly designed to deal with complex broad societal issues, these structural causes must be taken into account in order to address the complex personal problems of the individuals involved, even if the program cannot entirely resolve these problems on its own.

Hurlbert and McKenzie (2008) conclude that Aboriginal justice issues and needs have been recognized by various justice commissions, and have advanced education in communities among the justice system participants. These advances have resulted in more community involvement and alternative justice models as well as Aboriginal-specific courts. However, despite the evidence of the effectiveness of these initiatives, the high incarceration rate of Aboriginal offenders continues.

2.4 Anomie and strain theory

Anomie theory was first introduced by Emile Durkheim (1893) and then advanced by Merton (1938) as a new concept encapsulated in strain theory. Strain theory argues that societal structures puts pressure on certain groups to meet society's prescribed goals.

> Central to different versions of anomie theory is the premise that human beings are normative beings. People act and think on the basis of commonly shared definitions and traditions ... Shared cultural goals define and sanction people's goals and the means they use in reaching these goals. Anomie results when the power of social values to regulate the ends and the means of human conduct are weakened. (Bernburg, 2002, p. 729)

In Canadian society the accumulation of wealth is associated with personal value and worth. Accumulating wealth translates into achieving a higher social status. Despite an egalitarian ideology that suggests that everyone has the opportunity to achieve wealth, the social structures within society limit the ability of certain groups to satisfy this desire. Those who attempt to achieve status through approved institutional means, such as education, hard work and honesty, but fail, do not receive the rewards of status and prestige and therefore experience strain. However, social reward is often given to those who achieve wealth, even by unapproved means such as crime. "In short, Merton's anomie [strain] theory explains how social structure contributes to the creation of deviance on all levels, although the primary focus of the theory is on the lower class" (Williams and McShane, 2003, p. 102).

Strain, therefore, tends to be concentrated in the lower class groups of society. As previously stated, Aboriginal people are more likely to be in the lower class of Canadian

society. Therefore, upward mobility through the acceptable institutional means can only be achieved by the most talented and hard-working individuals. Much of the rest of the Aboriginal population experiences strain. The dominant culture places emphasis on achieving wealth, but the social structure of society limits the possibilities of some individuals to achieve this wealth through institutional means. The fundamentals of traditional Aboriginal culture are based on holistic wellness as opposed to individualistic acquisition. Therefore, differences in ideologies between Aboriginal culture and that of the dominant culture place an even greater strain on Aboriginal people.

Merton's strain theory can be separated into two categories. First, it refers to characteristics of society where social structures do not provide the means to achieve the goals of the culture. Second, it refers to feelings and emotions from personal experiences. The connection between these two aspects of his theory is that people who are unable to achieve the goals of the dominant culture due to structural constraints will experience strain (e.g. stress, frustration, depression, and anger). To alleviate this strain they seek out other ways to achieve the societal goals, crime; or abandon the goals all together. Merton argues that in attempting to meet these goals an individual will engage in one of five "modes of adaptation." Of the five modes of adaptation only one is considered socially acceptable, conformity. In this mode the individual seeks to meet the socially prescribed goals via socially accepted means. The remaining modes of adaptation are considered non-conformist: (1) innovation, (2) ritualism, (3) retreatism, and (4) rebellion. Each of these non-conformist modes of adaptation is considered deviant, and can be observed in criminal behaviour; for example, crime.

At the societal level, Messner and Rosenfeld (2001) explain high levels of crime as being a result of commitments to achieve material success pursued by everyone in open, individual competition. They argue that all institutions are subservient to the economy, and that the values, beliefs and commitments of non-economic institutions, such as schools and families, are therefore devalued and not socialized into society. They state that goals of a culture should include collective goals other than material success, such as good parenting, effective teaching and serving the community. Furthermore, they suggest that emphasis should be placed on mutual support and collective obligations, rather than individual privileges and interests. Institutional anomie theory states that crime can be explained by examining the interrelationships of various social structures and the emphasis placed on economic success in a particular culture. The overemphasis of economic goals within society along with the devaluation of non-economic institutions results in higher rates of crime (Bjerregaard & Cochran, 2008).

The current structure of Aboriginal communities has been shaped through the historical processes of colonization and the creation of the reserve system, which has resulted in anomic communities where crime is more likely to occur. These structures, enforced by the dominant Euro-centric culture, have played an instrumental role in Aboriginal peoples' marginal locations in geographic, social and economic structures (Wotherspoon & Satzewich, 1993). Societal strains of marginalization, poverty, racism and lack of cultural identity have resulted in personal strain, leaving Aboriginal people feeling despair, loneliness, worthlessness. Additionally, they are often belittled by broader society. These feelings may also be caused by a diminished sense of identity, from forced institutionalization into foster care or residential schools, leading to further

dysfunction in life and with family relationships. As a result of these feelings, many Aboriginal people turn to drug and alcohol abuse (Waldram, 1997).

It is quite evident that Aboriginal people are at a structural and personal disadvantage which makes them more likely to participate in delinquent activities. Depending on how crime is viewed, either from the Aboriginal justice perspective or the formal justice perspective, will determine how it is dealt with. The formal system incarcerates those who break the law, regardless of the predisposition to commit crime, whereas the Aboriginal system attempts to heal the offender, victim and community to re-establish harmony.

The formal system has recognized Aboriginal restorative principles as an alternative to forcing institutionalized constraints on Aboriginal people, and has implemented several initiatives to utilize them, as evidenced by culturally-specific programs in correctional institutions. These are significant strides in an attempt to recover Aboriginal culture and re-establish traditional Aboriginal values of interconnectedness and holism, and to help reconnect Aboriginal offenders with their cultures and communities.

Not all researchers agree that Aboriginal overrepresentation can be alleviated by the criminal justice system's adoption of culturally-specific endeavours. There are systemic problems that require systemic solutions. The problem may have more to do with certain demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the areas in which the overrepresentation lies, rather than with the generally accepted main causes such as racial discrimination or cultural insensitivity. LaPrairie and Stenning (2002) argue that overrepresentation may be a result of more Aboriginals living in socio-economically

marginalized communities (poor inner-city neighbourhoods) where more disadvantaged individuals come into contact with the police and where more crimes are committed, resulting in the Aboriginal people from such communities being statistically over-represented in the criminal justice system.

Without a doubt the demographics of Canadian Aboriginals (high proportion in the high-risk age group for criminal behaviour, age 15 to 24; lower education levels; lower employment rates; higher substance abuse issues; living in high crime neighbourhoods) contributes to overrepresentation in the criminal justice system as well. It is well-documented that Aboriginal crime rates are disproportionate to the rest of the population (Brzozowski et al., 2006; CCJS, 2000; LaPrairie, 1996; Trevethan, 1991) and that Aboriginal crime is predominately intra-racial (CCJS, 2001; Roberts & Doob, 1994; Trevethan, 1991). As well, Aboriginal people are more likely to be victims of crime (CCJS, 2000) and they are more likely than non-Aboriginals to be assaulted by someone they know (Trevethan, 1991). Consequently, overrepresentation could be explained as being a result of Aboriginals committing more crimes because they are marginalized and often live in areas where more crime takes place. LaPrairie and Stenning (2002) argue that because of these underlying factors:

> Aboriginal overrepresentation cannot be satisfactorily or appropriately addressed through adjustments to the exercise of discretion by police or other criminal justice officials on the basis of race, or by attempts to make such officials more 'culturally sensitive', or by changing the racial composition of the criminal justice workforce (LaPrairie & Stenning, 2002, p. 188-189).

According to this argument, overrepresentation does not arise as a result of the criminal justice system not meeting the needs of Aboriginal communities. Rather, it derives from communities (that may not be distinctly Aboriginal) that are marginalized in socio-economic terms. So what can be done by the criminal justice system to reduce levels of Aboriginal overrepresentation? According to La Prairie and Stenning (2002), not much, because the underlying conditions that give rise to this problem are beyond the scope of the justice system.

The criminal justice system is not designed to single-handedly resolve the socio-economic conditions of Aboriginal people. However, the correctional system may identify and address, through education and therapy not accessible to offenders before incarceration, the issues which have contributed to marginalization. The criminal justice system for Aboriginal people has been shifting, from completely punitive measures resulting from individualistic accountability, to the inclusion of more holistic measures of community involvement and cultural awareness, through healing lodges, Elder assistance in correctional facilities, and escorted temporary absences designed to reunite the individual with their culture and community. The assumption that the criminal justice system is incapable of reducing overrepresentation is based on the idea that the community and justice system are separate, unconnected entities, whereas one of the purposes of Aboriginal-specific correctional programs is to establish that connection.

Publications from both the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996b), a federally-commissioned and funded report, and the Commission on First Nations and Métis Peoples and Justice Reform (2004), which was mandated by the province of Saskatchewan, indicate the need for fundamental changes to the justice system's

approach towards Aboriginal people. These commissions propose changes to correct historical injustices, through recognition of the right of Aboriginal peoples to self-determination, enhancement of social, economic and cultural rights to address the root causes of crime and recognition of Treaty rights. These commissions see such measures as long-term systemic solutions to Aboriginal overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. This approach includes the need for culturally appropriate programming in correctional facilities and recognition of Aboriginal culture in service delivery. The current criminal justice system was not designed by or for Aboriginal people; it is considered culturally inappropriate and discriminatory, and structured to imprison marginal groups in society, including Aboriginal people.

The Commission on First Nations and Métis Peoples and Justice Reform (2004) Recommendation 6.23 states that federal and provincial correctional institutions need to allow access to cultural and spiritual programming to First Nations and Métis people of Saskatchewan. In the report, CSC acknowledges the roles that spirituality, tradition and culture play in the promotion of safe reintegration, and that first exposure to them often occurs when offenders are incarcerated. There is unanimous agreement among CSC and the commissions regarding the importance of Elders in correctional institutions, the need to reconnect offenders to Aboriginal culture and history and the need to facilitate healing among the Aboriginal communities. Accordingly, if Aboriginal inmates are going to be able to reintegrate into their communities, the framework of the administration of justice is going to have to include Aboriginal peoples, communities and institutions, along with effective implementation strategies in both the short and long term. The criminal justice system does not have as its primary purpose the resolution of the root causes of

Aboriginal crime (poverty, unemployment, abuse, racism, colonialism, etc.) but it is argued that Aboriginal programming must be central if the criminal justice system is to address questions of fairness, honour and justice in relation to the Aboriginal people for which it is responsible.

2.5 Roots of Aboriginal programming

Aboriginal peoples' relationship with the Canadian correctional system has changed drastically over the past century, since the Indian Act of 1876 prohibited the practicing of certain traditional and spiritual ceremonies. Initially, traditional Aboriginal social, political and economic practices were seen as obstacles to Christianity and civilization.

Milloy (1999) explains how ceremonies such as the potlatch and sun dance were even considered to be criminal behaviour. Although these spiritual practices were made illegal within Canadian law, many Aboriginal people continued practicing these ceremonies in private until 1951, when the prohibitions were removed from the Indian Act. However, this did not apply to Aboriginal inmates, who were still forbidden to practice their beliefs behind prison walls, where the focus was on punishment and discipline.

Waldram (1997) explains how, during the 1950s, the Native Brotherhood movement was begun in Stony Mountain penitentiary in Manitoba by Aboriginal inmates who were concerned with the increase of Aboriginal people's incarceration rates in federal prisons and the impact of, or access to, Aboriginal spirituality in Canadian correctional institutions. This group was eventually accepted in penitentiaries across the country, but was seen more as a recreational body, with little importance. The changes to

the Indian Act in 1951 allowed Aboriginal people to practice their traditions and beliefs, but inmates were forbidden to practice their traditional ways and were denied visits from their Elders. Finally, in the early 1970s, Elders were allowed to visit the prisons, but were not allowed to bring in medicines and sacred objects for another decade because of the perceived security risk (Irwin, 2006). Aboriginal liaison workers were introduced at this time as contract employees, who communicated between the correctional administration, the Aboriginal inmates and Aboriginal communities while assisting with the individual needs within the institutions, as defined within the CSC Commissioners Directive 702, section 28.

The introduction of Elders and liaison workers did not end the struggle to practice Aboriginal traditions and beliefs behind the penitentiary walls. In 1983, one year after the implementation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a 34-day spiritual fast by Darrell Butler, an Aboriginal inmate at Kent Penitentiary, resulted in the adoption of CSC guidelines specifically focused on the cultural needs of Aboriginal people (Couture, 1983). Butler's struggle can be seen as the catalyst for the recognition and allowance of Aboriginal spirituality in Canadian penitentiaries. Stipulations in the Constitution Act (Sec. 35), the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Sec. 25) and the Corrections and Conditional Release Act have put further pressure on the criminal justice system to recognize the distinct legal rights of Aboriginal peoples by guaranteeing religious freedom within correctional institutions and responding to the more general needs of Aboriginal people.

A lot has changed in Canadian corrections, but there remains resistance by Aboriginal inmates to the coercion and injustices toward their traditions and beliefs. The

practice and teaching of traditional Aboriginal spirituality within the correctional system has grown significantly over the years, to the point where it is now recognized as being an integral part of rehabilitative programming (LaPrairie, 1996).

In 1975, Aboriginal-specific programs were initiated with the Native inmate self-help movement, when the Native Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods were officially recognized by the Commissioner of Penitentiaries (Reasons, 1975). These programs gained further ground with the acknowledgement of Aboriginal legal rights being set out in the 1982 Constitution Act. This recognition of special needs for Aboriginal offenders and the social and cultural isolation among Aboriginal inmates emphasized the need for Aboriginal-specific programs (Birkenmeyer & Jolly, 1981). The Native Liaison Support System for offenders, founded in the early 1970s, grew into a network of organizations and agencies addressing areas of community supervision and support, community outreach, counselling, case management facilitation, cultural sensitization, healing, cultural affirmation and training/education (Goss & Associates, 1992).

The CSC implemented a policy on Native Offender Programs in 1987 in recognition of the importance of traditional culture and values of Aboriginal spirituality. That same year the Task Force on Aboriginal Peoples in Federal Corrections was established to examine offender needs, from admission, to correctional facilities to warrant expiry, to improve their chances for reintegration. This development was supported by the task force who developed a final report concerning Aboriginal programming on a national level (Goss & Associates, 1992).

The terms of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992) Sections 80-84 state that CSC shall provide a range of programs designed to address the needs of

Aboriginal offenders and contribute to their successful reintegration into the community. Furthermore, it allows for the transfer of an Aboriginal offender to an Aboriginal community for supervision, treatment and programming, and allows Aboriginal offenders to be released on parole to Aboriginal communities. The Corrections and Conditional Release Act recommended the establishment of a National Advisory Committee, and recognized Aboriginal spiritual leaders and Elders as having the same status as other religious leaders (Department of Justice, 1992). These provisions allow Aboriginal communities to use their values, strengths, and relationships to assist in reintegration and to transfer cultural programming from the institution to the community.

In 1999, a Framework for Enhancing the Role of Aboriginal Communities was completed and formed the basis for an "effective corrections initiative" derived from a partnership of the National Parole Board, Correctional Service of Canada and the then Department of the Solicitor General. One result was the CSC receiving funding dedicated to the development with Aboriginal communities of additional healing lodges. Research evidence suggested that recidivism rates would be reduced when offenders were able to reconnect with their families and communities but, by 2002, several attempts to establish and sustain these healing lodges were failing (CSC, 2006).

CSC (2006) cited two main barriers to the success of the healing lodge initiative. First, the communities that wanted to develop the healing lodges lacked expertise in planning, developing and implementing community-based programs. The priorities at the time were focused on more immediate needs such as housing and economic development for rural, northern communities and in urban centres to address social marginalization issues rather than implementing healing lodges. Second, in 2002, an examination of

Aboriginal offenders released from healing lodges indicated that they had a higher recidivism rate (19%) than those released from minimum-security institutions (13%). Healing lodges had been implemented to reduce recidivism and this appeared to have been counterproductive. According to CSC (2006) there was a need for Aboriginal specific programs within the institutions to prepare offenders for the healing lodge experience. An audit in 2000 indicated that only 3% of Aboriginal offenders identified affiliation with Aboriginal spirituality on admission. Furthermore, CSC suggested that culturally-specific correctional programming throughout the offender's sentence might assist in an offender's reintegration into the community, while providing Aboriginal people with the tools to reconnect with their families and culture.

The outcome of this five-year initiative has been the implementation of a "Continuum of Care model" with guidance from Elders and participation from national Aboriginal organizations. The introduction of this model in 2003 is based on Aboriginal community research indicating that "the major factors contributing to Aboriginal offenders' success upon release were their participation in spiritual and cultural activities, as well as programs (preferably delivered by Aboriginal people) and the support they received from family and community" (Correctional Service Canada, 2006). As a result, seven national Aboriginal correctional programs targeting basic healing, violence prevention, family violence prevention, substance abuse and prevention of sexual re-offending were developed. Several culturally-specific programs for Aboriginal offenders have been adopted by the CSC.

2.6 Culturally-specific programs

Over the past four decades, Aboriginal offenders have been identified as a group with special needs in Canadian corrections. For example, changes to the Criminal Code, Section 718.2(e) take into consideration the circumstances of Aboriginal people when they are sentenced. In the Corrections and Conditional Release Act, Section 81 allows offenders to serve their sentence under the supervision of an Aboriginal community, and Section 84 allows offenders on conditional release to live in an Aboriginal community. These initiatives are in response to the overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system and the recognition of the special status of Aboriginal people and culture in Canadian society. The assumption that the loss of culture is at the heart of overrepresentation, as discussed above, has lead to the belief that renewal of culture is the solution. These new initiatives in programming for Aboriginal offenders serving a federal sentence are premised on the need for culturally-specific programs for Aboriginal offenders to provide holistic healing and teachings of traditional values and beliefs to assist in successful reintegration into the community.

The CSC has implemented the use of Aboriginal-specific programs. Sections 79-84 of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (CCRA) mandate CSC to provide Aboriginal-specific programs and services to Aboriginal offenders. As well, the Commissioner's Directive 702 recognizes that differences in cultural approaches to learning require different techniques (Correctional Service Canada, 1995). Furthermore, Section 81 of the CCRA implements the use of healing lodges to aid Aboriginal offenders in their successful reintegration through traditional healing methods, with holistic and culturally appropriate programming.

Traditionally, correctional programs are structured interventions that address only the factors directly related to the offenders' criminal behaviour to assist in rehabilitation and reintegration (Furio, 2002). Contemporary violence prevention programs in correctional facilities are based on the idea that anger arousal leads to aggression, and teach individuals to control their anger in order to reduce violent offending. Culturally relevant correctional programs such as ISOYW attempt to blend individualistic therapy with the addressing of systemic societal causes of crime through personal and cultural awareness.

Anger management and treatment involves reviewing events that trigger angry episodes to show participants that their perceptions of threat may not have been accurate. In culturally relevant programs, the important issue is how this treatment is approached. "Focusing on how clients can forgive transgressors (in instances where violence is triggered by interpersonal conflict) may be a more positive way of approaching treatment than attempting to in some persuade people that their anger is in some way unjustified or inappropriate" (Day, Wilson, & Howells, 2008, p. 197).

2.7 Research on Aboriginal correctional programming

It is quite common for Aboriginals to have no, or very little, cultural experience or knowledge before being incarcerated. The correctional system is often where these individuals are first exposed to their culture and invited to find out who they really are (Sinclair, 1997; Heckbert & Turkington, 2001). Multiple studies have found that many Aboriginal offenders were raised without Aboriginal language, culture, teachings or ceremonies (Ellerby & MacPherson, 2002; Heckbert & Turkington, 2001; Johnston, 1997; Trevethan, Auger & Moore, 2001). Regrettably, reconciliation with their culture

and traditions is just being introduced to Aboriginal offenders in correctional facilities, after the damage of racism and marginalization has been done. The following discussion explores how culturally-specific programs are meant to give Aboriginal offenders the skills and knowledge to return to their communities and to determine if Aboriginal programming is more appropriate for Aboriginal offenders than conventional correctional programs.

In 1994, 120 Aboriginal offenders participated in a study by Weekes and Milson (1994) on the Native Offender Substance Abuse Pre- Treatment program, designed to orient and prepare offenders for institutional and community-based intervention. This study determined that the program provided significant improvements in participants' knowledge and attitudes towards substance abuse, general problem-solving ability and recognition of Aboriginal cultural factors. The results of this study, though, are limited in scope because there was no follow-up after program completion.

A study by Heckbert and Turkington (2001) on the factors that relate to the successful reintegration of Aboriginal offenders demonstrated that Aboriginal spirituality and cultural activities were major factors in participants' ability to stay out of jail. The participants acknowledged that Aboriginal-specific programming is necessary during incarceration because most of them were never involved in their culture prior to incarceration, and they saw this programming as a positive step in shaping their sense of identity, which was instrumental in their healing and rehabilitation. This study interviewed 12 women and 56 men. Those who were interviewed met the criteria of being formerly incarcerated in a federal penitentiary, out of jail for two years and of Aboriginal

ancestry. This study also found that Aboriginal spirituality was not taken seriously by the institutions.

Waldram and Wong (1995) suggest that these programs help Aboriginal people to understand the reasons for their actions and to facilitate behavioural changes using culturally-sensitive mechanisms. These programs are seen as being directly relevant to the lives and experiences of Aboriginal people. Since members of the client group have similar histories and experiences as other Aboriginal persons, it is assumed that they will have greater acceptance and understanding of the program information. Respect of the Aboriginal material and methods of incorporating the norms, traditions and ceremonies of Aboriginal culture may increase the program's success rate.

There appears to be a need for violence-prevention programming which can address the needs and issues of Aboriginal men. Johnston (1997) conducted a survey of 556 Aboriginal inmates, representing half of all Aboriginals incarcerated in federal institutions in 1996. The research found that their criminal history was characterized by a prevalence of violence. The interviews with offenders demonstrated that after incarceration they placed a high value on their traditions and cultures, had a high degree of participation in cultural activities, and were more likely to trust other Aboriginals, especially spiritual leaders and Elders.

Proulx and Perrault (2000) suggest that cultually-specific programs should encourage the use of Aboriginal facilitators and Elders to provide credibility and understanding of the teachings. It is thought that program participants will more easily identify with the Aboriginal facilitators and Elders, making it easier for them to listen and participate in the group sessions. Their shared experiences will allow for a bond of trust

and respect to form, as well as validation and a realization that others have had similar life experiences. These factors form the basis of two features necessary for successful treatment and healing; trust in others and improved self-esteem.

A report on the reintegration potential of Aboriginal offenders, by Sioui and Thibault (2001), confirmed that the significant cultural differences of Aboriginal people must be taken into account to optimize reintegration potential. This study also argues that Aboriginal-specific programs, Elders and spiritual activities need to be more accessible for Aboriginal offenders, based on the correlation between participation in cultural and spiritual activities and a reduction in the recidivism rate, in order to have greater effectiveness for spiritual activity participants. Changes to the Reintegration Potential Reassessment Scale (a tool used to predict an offender's risk of recidivism, and that facilitates reintegration and guides intervention strategies) are also suggested as being necessary to reduce cultural bias.

When looking at treatment programs for sex offenders, Ellerby and MacPherson (2002) and Trevethan, Moore, and Naqitarvik (2004) found that the completion rate for non-Aboriginal participants was higher, but that this difference disappeared once culturally-specific programming was introduced. As well, after completion there were positive changes in attitudes and risk, with reduced need for further programming, and they maintained their involvement with the clinic after program completion once a blended traditional healing/contemporary treatment program began.

Zellerer (2003) assessed the evaluations conducted on the Ma Mawi/Stony Mountain project. A preliminary evaluation of the culturally-focused family violence prevention program was conducted by Cyr and Gitzel in 1994 (as cited in Zellerer, 2003)

in its first year to gather information about project implementation, delivery, objectives and any necessary changes. This consisted of a review of relevant documentation, discussions with staff and interviews with program participants. A full review was conducted by Proulx and Perrault 1997 (as cited in Zellerer, 2003) after three years of operation, which focused on qualitative inquiry to understand the participants' perspectives on the program regarding expectations, satisfaction, effectiveness, applicability and cultural relevance. As well, information was gained from case management officers, correctional officers and offender files.

Zellerer's (2003) review and discussion of the Ma Mawi/Stony Mountain evaluations yielded the following results. The outcome of the program was positive for both staff and participants. The men had high expectations that the program would help them with violence, and these were met. Participants were highly satisfied with the program. Group discussions and cultural ceremonies were the preferred components. Many offenders stated that the program was an introduction to their heritage. Most men believed the program helped them understand and control their violence. Staff confirmed that some observed changes had occurred. It was shown that facilitators who were not employed by the correctional institution, but rather through a non-partisan community organization increased trust in the client-counsellor relationship. Follow-up in the community was considered equally as important for continued healing and commitment to non-violence. The evaluators of the pilot project concluded that it was a valuable program that met its objectives. Zellerer (2003) concluded that a "clear and consistent finding is that programs should combine mainstream or contemporary methods with traditional Aboriginal approaches" (p. 187). The qualitative evaluation of the Ma

Mawi/Stony Mountain program is parallel to the current research study of the ISOYW program. Both programs are Aboriginal-specific violence prevention programs for CSC and were formed in collaboration with the community. Before further discussion and comparison is conducted on the findings of ISOYW, the research completed to date on the program will be reviewed.

According to Waldram and Wong (1995), traditional teachings and beliefs may instil a sense of identity, increasing the offender's sense of self-worth and interest in participating in the program. Greater self-confidence and self-respect as an Aboriginal person may also increase positive long-term effects by integrating the cultural teachings, traditions and ceremonies into daily life. Many of the contemporary correctional programs are thought to be not applicable to Aboriginal offenders because these offenders may not relate to the program content or delivery, making it less likely that they will internalize the material and apply it within their own communities upon release. For programming to be successful there must be demonstrable changes in the attitudes, beliefs and lifestyles of the offenders.

Aboriginal programs attempt to teach Aboriginal offenders skills which correspond to the values and traditions of their ancestors, and to encourage pride in their Aboriginal heritage and the application of Aboriginal teachings and knowledge to everyday life. In 1999, thirteen Aboriginal-specific programs were introduced for federal offenders addressing an array of issues, including substance abuse, sex-offender programming and anger management (Epprecht, 2000). Several of these programs have been evaluated by CSC researchers to determine their effectiveness in relation to contemporary programming, to analyze completion and recidivism rates, internalization

of program material and changes in the attitudes/beliefs of the offenders. The research concludes that there were positive changes in the attitudes and behaviours of program participants, as well as positive experiences, illustrated by program participants and correctional staff. CSC continues to expand on and explore the perceived benefits of integrating Aboriginal cultural components into contemporary cognitive behavioural programming. One of these culturally-specific programs and the focus of the current study is the In Search of Your Warrior program, a high-intensity violence prevention program for Aboriginal offenders.

All of the evaluations on culturally-specific correctional procedures suggest that these procedures are having positive results, and encourage the use of more Aboriginal approaches to rehabilitation in correctional facilities. Aboriginal programs appear to have higher completion rates, higher degrees of satisfaction by program participants, more cultural significance and applicability and are meeting CSC objectives. However, these programs have been running for several years now with no significant impact on reducing the amount of Aboriginal people being incarcerated. Dependent on how they are calculated, recidivism rates may be lowered by participation in these programs (calculation of recidivism rates may include or be limited to: readmission for a breach of conditions of release commonly because of alcohol or drug consumption, readmission for repeat offences only, readmission after warrant expiry or while on parole, readmission to a federal/provincial correctional institution for any reason for any determinant time period, etc.). Overall, incarceration rates of Aboriginal people have increased, not decreased, since the inception of these programs. Aboriginal programs do appear to have positive impacts associated with successful reintegration; however, larger social and

systemic pressure and issues outside of prison may be more influential than the acquisition of cultural competence. Both systemic change and cultural revitalization are important and needed.

2.8 In search of your warrior program

In 1999, the ISOYW program was designed in collaboration with Native Counselling Services of Alberta, CSC and Elders. It was designed for Aboriginal offenders to learn about their anger, violence, culture, spirituality and traditions. This is a high-intensity violence prevention program for male Aboriginal offenders with two or more convictions for violent offences.

The ISOYW program is delivered by Aboriginal professionals, who provide instruction to the group members on various forms of violence (psychological, physical, sexual, and emotional) as well as the devastating consequences for individuals, families and communities. ISOYW follows the CSC Aboriginal Initiatives directorate by using a community-based, culturally-specific and balanced approach to incorporate concepts such as healing, reconciliation, spirituality, respect, accountability, balance and restoration (Native Counselling Service of Alberta, 1999). Similar to other Aboriginal programs, ISOYW uses holistic therapeutic techniques for mental, physical, emotional and spiritual recovery which provides flexibility in addressing the needs of individuals, whereas conventional programming uses clinically structured therapeutic techniques to address cognitive-behavioural issues. This alternative treatment is in response to the inability of conventional counselling to adequately take into account diverse worldviews and to respond to the problems facing Aboriginal people (Zellerer, 2003).

The ISOYW program is administered by Program Service Providers (PSP) who are directly involved in program delivery, either as Elders or facilitators. The program participants' Case Management Officers (CMO) are responsible for offender supervision.

During the data collection process, the researcher spoke to several CSC staff members and regional managers about the process an offender goes through while under the supervision of CSC. This paragraph and the following three paragraphs are based on this information. The case management officer updates the correctional plan upon completion of the program to determine if there have been any changes to each offender's level of risk. If the offender's risk of re-offending is lowered as a result of the program, there may be changes to the security rating to determine if the individual is ready to move on to the next step of his correctional plan. Every correctional plan is tailored to the offender, and may contain some or all of the different levels of supervision. For example, an offender may be incarcerated at a medium institution until his statutory release, when he is then under the supervision of a parole officer in the community until the warrant expiry date. After warrant expiry CSC archives the offender file.

The parole officer determines and reports on offenders' progress or regression throughout his sentence, so his security rating and reintegration potential is reflective of the correctional stage. After completion of the ISOYW program the parole officers, ISOYW facilitators, Elders and offenders may have a case conference to discuss any progress demonstrated by the offender. Sometimes these case conferences are completed with just the parole officer and offender, depending on factors such as availability, time and willingness to participate. This case conference discusses what the offender gained

from the program and how it has addressed the needs previously established in the correctional plan.

Elders are program service providers who are employed either on a contract basis from the community or (as has become more common recently) are employed directly by CSC. Facilitators and parole officers are always directly employed by CSC. Zellerer suggests that the program service providers should come from the community rather than from within the prison, because of a lack of trust by inmates towards institutional staff. "A Program operated by a community based agency not only enable the necessary development of trust for disclosures and learning, but it also creates a resource for inmates in the community upon release" (Zellerer, 2003, p. 183).

The division of labour between the two groups is distinguishable by their job descriptions, goals, objectives and definitions of program success. The service provider's focus on the therapeutic delivery of the program content and individual rehabilitation, while the case managers are focused on offender supervision and any changes in an offender's dynamic factors to measure and document risk and security ratings. Furthermore, case managers are accountable for documentation and reporting on the correctional plan of all the offenders currently designated to their caseload, while program service providers report on program progress, which is then taken into account by the parole officer to determine if changes to the correctional plan are necessary. Thus, these two groups have been separated because of the significantly different roles or positions they have in relation to ISOYW and its participants.

The overall objective of the program is to target violent behaviour, with a component focusing on violence within the family. The expected outcome of this

program is the development of personal and social responsibility, interpersonal competence and personal control. This is a holistic program, with teachings from the Medicine Wheel which reflect the teachings and ceremonies of traditional Aboriginal culture (Trevethan, Moore & Allegri, 2005).

The ISOYW program manual contains information and guidelines for therapeutic sessions intended for Aboriginal offenders, and resources for facilitators to use over a four month period dealing specifically with issues related to violence (Native Counselling Service of Alberta, 1999). With the assistance of an Elder, the appropriate ceremonies are conducted and Aboriginal teachings are delivered in a group setting to allow for therapeutic intervention to take place. Emphasis is placed on self-awareness and developing the cognitive skills necessary to identify patterns of behaviour and strategies to manage aggression.

There have been three previous studies conducted on the ISOYW program. The first two studies were reviews of the program. The first review was completed in 1999 by Couture (as cited in Trevethan et al., 2005) for the Native Counselling Services of Alberta, which was an unpublished critical analysis of the program content. The review was based on program material and determined that Elder contact and ceremonies were very important if the program was to be successful. Furthermore, this study called for the restructuring of the facilitator's manual, pre- and post-testing of program participants and additional facilitator training. The second review was conducted in 2001 by Mason, Howell, Day and Hall (as cited in Trevethan et al., 2005) for the Correctional Service of Canada, and was based on interviews with program participants and institutional staff. They noted that positive changes in the participants were acknowledged, and

recommendations were made for pre-screening, assigning Elders full time and the development of a maintenance component for program graduates.

The third study was conducted in 2005 by Trevethan et al. It involved a preliminary study on the In Search of Your Warrior program, conducted on behalf of CSC to determine how the program operates, evaluate the offenders who completed the program versus a comparison group and determine areas for improvement. The data sources utilized were from program documentation, including the program manual and previous qualitative analyses, offender files retrieved from the Offender Management System (primarily through the Offender Intake Assessment), and interviews with program participants, facilitators, Elders and other key informants. The study consisted of 46 interviews with program participants, 17 interviews with program facilitators and 20 with correctional staff. As well, case files of the ISOYW participants were reviewed for information on their socio-demographic characteristics, current offence, criminal history, static and dynamic security factors and program participation. There were 136 offenders who successfully completed the program, and these were matched with a comparison group of offenders based on similarities in age, race and criminal history.

Using data collected up to February 2003, it was determined that of the 186 offenders who participated in the program, 87% completed it. Those who were unsuccessful did not fail or withdraw, but were released or transferred. The effectiveness of the program was determined by analyzing the differences in the dynamic factor and static factor ratings before and after the program. Static factors are based on historical information related to risk that is available at the time of the offender's admission to federal custody, including statistics on recidivism, criminal history record, offence

severity record and sex offence history domains. Dynamic factors are based on information related to needs at the time of the offender's admission to federal custody including employment, family/marital factors, associates and social interaction, substance abuse, community functioning and personal/emotional and attitude domains (Correctional Service of Canada, 2005). It was concluded by the researchers that participants had a lower need for further correctional programming, lower scores on all need domains (substance abuse, emotional orientation, social interaction, and attitudes), and had higher reintegration potential.

The outcomes of the analysis of matched comparison groups of those who had not taken the ISOYW program versus those who had, however, point to uniform significant differences between the groups. The two groups both appeared to have improved simultaneously. There were no differences between the groups on rates of readmission to federal custody, although the ISOYW participants were less likely to be readmitted for a violent offence (7% versus 57%). This suggests that the program was able to teach violence prevention skills to the offenders, and that this knowledge was retained after incarceration. Participants in the ISOYW program were also more likely to be released earlier than the comparison group. The researchers attribute this to the likelihood that they are assessed as ready for reintegration earlier than their non-program participant counterparts.

Overall, the researchers determined that there was a high level of satisfaction with the program for the offenders, Elders and CSC staff. The program helped offenders in areas of violence and addressed criminogenic needs. It was further determined that the ceremonies and spiritual content were essential in the success of the program.

Although the results of the ISOYW preliminary study seem positive, the post-program ratings and readmission rates were not significantly different from the comparison group. Therefore, the improvements in ratings for the program participants and comparison group may be due to factors other than the ISOYW program. Program satisfaction was expressed by the program participants, Elders, facilitators and CSC staff. However, this does not necessarily indicate program effectiveness, given that the results of the comparison group were very similar. More program evaluation and qualitative analysis is necessary to determine what the participants are learning and how this is affecting their reintegration ability.

The preliminary study of ISOYW was an internal review conducted by CSC to determine the effectiveness of the program delivery, content and staff members, to determine what improvements can be made for future programming. Emphasis in this study was placed on measuring changes to the offenders' criminogenic needs concerning matters such as further programming requirements, recidivism rates, reintegration potential and institutional incidents as well as the overall program satisfaction.

2.9 Significance of the study

It is quite clear that there is a need for more research on Aboriginal-specific programming to determine if the culturally relevant material is being internalized by the offenders and making positive changes to their daily lives. This is important if we are to understand how these programs may assist offenders in readiness for community reintegration. This qualitative analysis, using interview data from those individuals who have either completed the program or worked with those individuals, is intended to provide insight into the subjective experiences of participants and how the program may

have influenced their lives. Insight into the perceptions of how Aboriginal-focused programming relates to successful reintegration may further explain how ISOYW affects Aboriginal incarceration rates and whether it is perceived as an effective treatment model for correctional programming.

In the next chapter the methodology employed in this research will discussed and defended. The methodological approach used in this study is based on a qualitative research orientation using a phenomenological approach. Exactly why the researcher chose to use this method and how it was implemented will be explained in detail. Included in this discussion will be an explanation of the research methods, approach, interview, sampling, ethics and limitations of the study.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The current study of the ISOYW program is an analysis of the subjective experiences of program participants, Elders, facilitators and other CSC staff members in relation to the program. This study places importance on the commentaries of the participants and the individual perceptions of ISOYW. The researcher considered it imperative that individuals tell their stories and express what the program meant to them personally to an outside observer.

In order to answer the research questions related to the perceptions, observations and subjective experiences of the program participants, program service providers and case management officers involved with ISOYW with respect to the program's effectiveness, the researcher posed open-ended questions to the people who have had experiences with the program. This research attempts to understand how ISOYW impacts program participants, from their perspective as well as the perspective of those working with them; correctional staff, Elders and program administrators. The perspectives of these individuals, and self-reported changes with regard to themselves and other program participants, along with information provided by other individuals directly involved in the program and an analysis of previous research completed on the subject will be discussed to determine the impact of the program on those who have completed it.

This section discusses the methodological approach used in this study. What follows is a detailed explanation of the research method used during the collection and interpretation of the data, as well as the rationale for choosing this method. The suitability of the methodology and the format for the data results will also be discussed in this

chapter. A detailed account of the sampling, approach, method and ethics involved in the data collection process will further be explored.

The research is based on a constructivist ontological assumption. Wendt (1999) argues that social order is in constant change because of the negotiations between people in any given place. The meaning of social reality is constructed through everyday interaction. Therefore a person's social world does not pre-exist, but develops through a process of negotiation and evolution. In congruence with a constructivist ontological approach the researcher will engage an interpretivist epistemology to develop an understanding of the social reality of this human interaction by interpreting the meaning of the common-sense constructs (or worldview) from the participants' points of view. Schutz (1962) explains this as an attempt at understanding human behaviour from the perspective of those individuals who share a meaning system, and the knowledge about it is a matter of interpretation. The meaning that the participants attach to their reality will therefore emerge from the dialogue between the researcher and the participants as an interpretation of their experiences at the moment of the conversation. This interpretivist strategy will be utilized to gain an understanding of the participants' perceptions of the ISOYW program and the impact of culturally-specific correctional programs in their daily lives and experiences.

My epistemological position regarding this study is that the data necessary to answer my research questions are contained within the perspectives of people involved with the ISOYW program, primarily from program participants, and secondarily from program service providers and case management officers. The intent of this research is to gather data from the perspectives of these individuals on the impact of ISOYW as an

Aboriginal correctional program in the pursuit of violence prevention, the cultural inclusion in programming as well as its effect on successful reintegration. This data will be applied to the research question to determine how ISOYW is perceived by those individuals who have experience with it, and how this program may affect community reintegration. These individual experiences will be objectively analyzed (as much as possible with awareness of preconceived biases) by the researcher and considered in light of previous data and existing literature on cultural programs.

3.2 Methodological approach and method

This is a qualitative study of the cultural program ISOYW administered by the Correctional Service of Canada. Qualitative research is "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem" (Creswell, 1998, p. 15). The use of qualitative research techniques was necessary for the objectives of this research project, because they emphasize individual subjective experience, and its successive interpretation. These techniques were used to answer questions about the experiences of federal Aboriginal offenders in an institutional cultural program setting. This study is focused on how these individuals situate themselves within a federal correctional institution, and how they make sense of their surroundings and process of rehabilitation, by giving a descriptive account of their subjective experiences and perceptions.

According to Berg (2004), qualitative strategies are used in life-world cases where researchers focus on naturally emerging languages and the meaning individuals assign to their experiences. Life-worlds include the emotions, motivations, symbols, empathy, and other subjective aspects associated with the naturally evolving lives of individuals and

groups. These elements may also represent their behavioural rituals, experiences, and various conditions affecting these usual routines or natural settings. Nonetheless, certain elements of symbolism, meaning, or understanding usually require consideration of the individual's own perception and subjective apprehensions. Therefore, qualitative research is a suitable method for exploring the experiences and perceptions of individuals who are involved in cultural programming.

There are several qualitative research approaches within the social sciences with several techniques that could be utilized including participant observation, focus groups, documentary review, interviews, etc. The researcher has chosen to conduct interviews using a phenomenological orientation.

Creswell (1998) describes how the basis of phenomenology was developed by Edmund Husserl in the early twentieth century as a type of study to objectively analyze the subjective conscious experiences of each individual's judgments, perceptions, and emotions. The aim of this research is to describe the lived experiences for several individuals to determine a meaning of a particular phenomenon while exploring the structures of consciousness in human experiences.

Phenomenology is relevant to studying Aboriginal focused correctional programs within federal institutions because dialogue between the researcher and participants reveals the personal experiences and views of those taking part in programs, both the personal impact as well as the impact these individuals observe of other program participants. The setting is not conducive for focus groups because of the sensitive nature of the population. Some participants may be more timid while others may dominate the conversation because of institutionalized factors such as gang affiliation, inmate

hierarchy, and intimidation. Offenders may also fear reprisal from CSC or other inmates in disclosing sensitive information; as well staff and Elders may have differing viewpoints and may not want to reveal their perceptions in front of their co-workers. Federal correctional facilities are not suitable for intimate longitudinal observation by outsiders. However, persons working at the facilities who have made daily observations over a sustained period have been included in the participant pool to note any observed changes as a result of the ISOYW program.

The phenomenological report will provide a better understanding of essence (invariant structure) of the experience based on "the premise that human experience makes sense to those who live it, prior to all interpretations and theorizing" (Creswell, 1998, p. 86). Therefore, this study will provide accurate information about the perceived changes, if there are any, regarding the attitudes, behaviours, and lifestyles of offenders which would assist in healthy, law abiding living outside of the institution. Obtaining this information requires personal communication with the knowledgeable individuals involved in the program, which has been completed through a one-on-one interview process.

Following the phenomenological approach the research method that was employed is that of a focused-ethnography. Otterbein (1977) stated that, "a focused ethnography is usually said to be 'problem-oriented' in the sense that the ethnographer desires to explain the culture trait which he has been focused on" (p. 10). Additionally, according to Morse and Field (1995), "focused ethnographies are used primarily to improve practice and differ in important dimensions from the classical ethnography. For instance, rather than emerging during data collection and analysis, the topic is selected

before data collection commences" (p. 154). Congruent with a focused ethnography this study utilizes a structured interview guide to determine the unique perspectives and experiences regarding the ISOYW program and to determine the impact of culturally-specific correctional programs for Aboriginal men. These interviews cover a range of topics in a series of questions from a sequence of inquiry (Appendix 1), but with latitude given for additional questions in response to significant replies (Bryman & Teevan, 2005). These interviews provided commentaries about each respondent's personal experience within the program and the perceived changes in knowledge, behaviours and attitudes.

3.3 Sampling

The population for this study included ISOYW program participants (Aboriginal offenders) and non-program participants labelled as program service providers (Elders and facilitators) and case management officers (correctional and parole officers). Program participants provided personal accounts of the program's impact. Interviews with individuals other than the program participants provide additional insight into the program's effectiveness in the offenders' rehabilitation view. Program service providers and program participants presumably have a shared objective of holistic healing through traditional Aboriginal ceremonies and values, based on a common identity between the offender and staff. Case management officers and offenders do not necessarily share an Aboriginal commonality; rather, this relationship is based on case management goals, security control and institutional protocols.

This research used cumulative purposive sampling as a sampling method. Cumulative or snowball sampling is a non-random sampling technique where the

researcher solicits people with specific characteristics to participate in a study, and depends on initial participants to assist in recruiting subsequent participants (Creswell, 1998) This sampling method was chosen for three reasons. First, it seemed the most appropriate sampling method in gaining access to the sensitive participant population. It is difficult to gain access to the offender population as an outsider, as this population is constantly changing within and among several institutions, so reliance was dependent on referrals from initial contacts to generate additional participants. Second, there are several hurdles in research involving federally incarcerated offenders because of security protocols, limited recruitment options, limited accessible sites, availability for interviews, offender movement, lack of discretionary time and limited funding for travel. Individuals who have completed this program and are still under the supervision of CSC are spread out in institutions throughout the country, while those who are no longer under supervision are no longer in the database. Finally, program service providers and case management officers involved with or knowledgeable of ISOYW are limited. As a result of this the researcher was reliant on the Offender Management System (OMS) and CSC contacts to generate a list of potential participants.

There are inherent limitations to using cumulative purposive sampling. This technique does not guarantee a representative sample of the ISOYW program participants. Furthermore, the researcher was only able to speak to offenders who were willing to speak and who are presumably at a certain level of social functioning. In spite of these limitations, the researcher felt that the qualitative approach to this research would be informative with respect to the usefulness of cultural programming from the

perspectives of those who have been through it, teach it, supervise it and continue to live by traditional Aboriginal principles.

The participant pool for the program participants was limited to Aboriginal male offenders. However, there have been a few cases of non-Aboriginal offenders participating in the program, providing they met the CSC criteria for enrolment (practicing Aboriginal spirituality and culture, endorsed by an Elder, has a history of violence and that the program adheres to correctional plan), but these cases are rare. For CSC purposes, an offender is classified as an Aboriginal if they self-identify as being First Nations, Métis, or Inuit at the initial intake assessment. There is a similar program available to women called the Spirit of a Warrior program, which is also a culturally-specific program that uses cognitive behavioural rehabilitative strategies to explore how violence has shaped their lives. The women's program was not included in the study because of the practical limitations surrounding the access to and distance from women's correctional facilities, as well as the limited number of women who have completed the program and could have been included in the participant pool.

Direct interaction with the potential participants for purposes of selection was not possible because of the privacy, security and legal restrictions of federally supervised offenders. CSC facilitated the researcher's identification of participants through Aboriginal Liaison Officers (ALO), Aboriginal Community Development Officers (ACDO), Parole Officers (PO) and Program Facilitators (PF) as a first point of contact with potential interviewees. Additionally, offenders who have completed the program and are still under the supervision of CSC remain on file, whereas after warrant expiry the file is archived and no longer available to be in the pool for potential selection. Finally, due to

limitations in time and funding for travel the researcher was limited to institutions in Saskatchewan.

There was a practical advantage to having staff members as a first contact, because they were known to the offenders and presumably more likely to be trusted by the offenders and shared an Aboriginal identity. The researcher relied on CSC personnel to put potential program participant interviewees in touch with him, but emphasis was made in the discussions leading up to such contacts that participation was voluntary, confidential and focused on offenders' perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of the program (as opposed to the offenders' own psychological state or progress in rehabilitation). Program service providers and case management officers were contacted directly by phone, email or in person during initial visits to the correctional facilities.

The total population of possible participants for this study consisted of 30 program participants, 15 parole officers, 21 correctional officers, 3 program facilitators, and 10 Elders. These individuals were solicited by email, phone, and referral and in person. The program participant population was generated from a list of offenders who had completed the program which was available through the Offender Management System, a secure intranet service available to CSC staff to update and maintain information on all offenders currently under their supervision. The possible research participants selected from the group of ISOYW program participants met the following criteria: Aboriginal male and successful completion of ISOYW between 2002 and 2007. The pool of program service providers was generated from a list of Elders and facilitators who worked with program participants at federal correctional facilities. The pool of correctional management officers was generated from a list available on OMS of parole

and correctional officers, who at the time of data collection managed ISOYW program participants.

The sample of individuals drawn from the total population included the following breakdown. Thirteen program participants were interviewed who originated from First Nation communities, urban and rural areas throughout Canada. Five program service providers and four case management officers were also interviewed. The possible locations for all potential interview locations included Saskatchewan Penitentiary medium-security facility, Willow Cree Healing Lodge minimum-security facility, Riverbend Institution minimum-security institution, Regional Psychiatric Centre medium-security facility, Prince Albert Parole, Saskatoon Parole and Regina Parole.

3.4 Approach

The potential participants of this study were first notified of the researcher's desire to interview them through email notification to management within each correctional facility. A participant information sheet outlining the study was provided for each possible participant. An informal tour and luncheon at the Cultural Centre at Saskatchewan Penitentiary was provided to the researcher. During this luncheon, the researcher provided program facilitators, Elders and offenders with a brief description of the purpose and methodology of the study and outlined participants' rights in the event that they chose to participate. Potential participants were informed of the dates and times the researcher hoped to conduct confidential interviews on-site. Program participants were related the information through correctional staff. The participants were notified of an appointment schedule for each interview session. The timing of the interviews would be structured to work around any previously-scheduled programs or events in order to

cause as little disruption as possible. All non-program participant interviews were scheduled on dates other than those of program participant interviews, to provide some anonymity for the interviewees. All participants were advised of the nature of the information being gathered during the interview as well as how the researcher would use it. It was emphasized that participation was completely voluntary and confidential. The outcome of the data would be used in the thesis without the use of any participants' names or identifying information. The participants were notified that any digital voice recordings and transcripts of the interviews would be reviewed only by the researcher and not by CSC. It was also emphasized that any participation in this study would not affect their relationship with the University of Regina or Correctional Service Canada, nor would it have any impact on their employment status or the length of their sentence. Potential participants were asked to send the researcher any questions they had through their Aboriginal Liaison Officer or Aboriginal Community Development Officer prior to the interview appointment.

The participants in this study were approached and treated in a respectful and culturally appropriate manner. Participants were informed of their right to stop the interview at any point, to not allow their interview to be used in the study, to leave the interview at any time and to speak off the record. The interviewees were also notified of their options for support if they experienced any negative side-effects as a result of the interviews. Each morning before the interviews were conducted, the researcher participated in a smudge ceremony with an Elder and offenders from the cultural centre and, if requested by the participant, the interview room was smudged prior to the interview. Elders were offered tobacco as a gift from the Creator before being

interviewed and upon arrival into the correctional facility in exchange for their willingness to participate in the study. Upon completion of the interviews the researcher participated in a sweat ceremony at Saskatchewan Penitentiary, to be immersed in a traditional ceremony, to observe an important aspect of the participants' lives and to show thanks and respect for their time.

3.5 Interviews

The questions in the sequence of inquiry (Appendix 1) for the interviews were ordered so that questions pertaining to positive and negative experiences with the program led into more detailed examples of the personal impact and emotions experienced because of program participation. The initial portion of the interview asked participants about their community of origin, correctional program experiences, as well as extended and immediate family relationships. These questions were designed to elicit information about the individual's childhood history and connection with family. More recent information was collected through questions that related to the individuals' present family situations, including relationships with their spouse, if any, and any children.

The researcher sought information about the program participants' involvement with their culture, traditional knowledge, spirituality and participation in ceremonies. These questions pertained to how much affiliation the offender had with traditional Aboriginal culture, from whom and when they obtained this familiarity, and how they developed their belief system. Inquiries focused on how each individual thought of himself as an Aboriginal man, and how this understanding had shaped his personal identity. Personal belief questions were also designed to gather information about the offender's attitudes and behaviours with regard to violence and its effects on his life and

the lives of other people around him. These questions were integrated with inquiries concerning their knowledge of violence intervention and prevention strategies for living violence-free, revealed as a result of taking the ISOYW program. These questions were aimed at obtaining information about the how the offenders were going to use the knowledge and spirituality learned from the program, and its potential impact on their criminal behaviour.

Furthermore, questions about the offenders' plans for the future after incarceration were posed to determine the offenders' efforts to avoid re-incarceration. The interviews ended by asking offenders for their suggestions about possible changes they perceived to be desirable in the program, any questions or concerns about the research or the researcher, and the development of preventative and community programming.

3.6 Ethics

The researcher applied for and obtained approval of a Prairie Region Application for Research through the Correctional Service of Canada. The research application informed the CSC Prairie Region Research Review Committee, the National Review Committee as well as the employees' Public Service Alliance of Canada union about the research project being proposed and its intentions. Conducting research with CSC was subject to all three parties' approval. The researcher also received approval from each of the CSC correctional facilities to conduct interviews with offenders and staff on their premises. This approval process also included a memorandum of understanding between the University of Regina and CSC, notification to the Warden or director of the facility of when the researcher was onsite, security clearance while at each site and written approval permitting a voice recorder to be taken into the facilities.

At the pre-arranged time and date, the researcher met with the participants in a private room at each of the correctional facilities. Following CSC protocol, interviews with program participants were in a room restricted for privacy, but there were several precautions taken to ensure the safety of the researcher. These interviews took place in the cultural centre, a separate building from the main institution. There was a window in the door of the interview room that offered visibility for a prison guard at all times, although no prison guards were observed nor was there other interference during the interviews. The researcher was in vocal range of a staff member at all times, and the interviews took place in an area that was considered a safe place to talk by both the offender and the researcher. Non-program participant interviews took place in either this designated room at the cultural centre or in the individual's office.

To begin the interview, a short, unrecorded conversation took place and the participant was presented with a copy of the consent form, which described the procedure of the study, the procedures taken by the researcher to ensure confidentiality and the participants' rights in the study. The consent form was read aloud by the researcher to the offender before each interview to clarify any information that may not comprehensible due to language or literacy barriers. The participant was notified of their right to withdraw from the interview at any time without repercussion. Confidentiality of the participant's information gathered during the research was assured. The fact that an audio recording of the interview session would be made was mentioned verbally as well as in the consent form. The participants were notified that the tape recordings would be kept on a password-protected computer for five years at the University of Regina, after which time they would then be erased. It was emphasized that the collated and analyzed data

might assist in improving future programming and that the researcher did not work for CSC, in an attempt to insulate the researcher from any outstanding trust issues between offenders and correctional staff.

After reading the consent form aloud, the researcher asked participants if they had any questions or concerns before the interview started and the voice recorder was turned on. The researcher attempted to answer any questions, to make sure the participants were comfortable with the recorded interview and to obtain as much relevant and truthful information as possible.

If the participant agreed to the conditions of the research and wanted to participate in the interview, he was then asked to sign and date the consent form before the interview, with the researcher doing the same. The participant retained an exact copy of the consent form for future reference and contact information; the researcher retained a signed copy as well. After the consent form was signed, the interview process commenced and participants were notified that the recorder could be turned off at any time for a break or an off the record discussion. Following the interview the participants were debriefed and asked if they had any concerns or questions regarding the process; if so these issues were then addressed. Time was allotted for them to read the consent forms again and to bring up any further questions or concerns they may have had regarding participation in the study. Acknowledged voluntary consent was then requested with signatures on two copies of the consent form, one for the participant to keep and a copy for the researcher to maintain on file. It was noted that the consent form was approved by the Research Ethics Board at the University of Regina.

3.7 Data analysis

Each interview has been transcribed by the researcher to note the literal statements as well as the non-verbal communications. This ensures that the true meaning of what the interviewees conveyed can be portrayed as accurately as possible in the results. The units of the general meaning were derived and the presuppositions were bracketed using phenomenological reduction to determine its inherent meaningfulness.

Groenwald (2004) describes phenomenological reduction as a process of data analysis by which the researcher extrapolates the relevant information about the phenomenon from the participants. This is done without taking a position for or against, by acknowledgment of the presuppositions of the researcher, and by being as objective as possible toward the unique world of the participants. This means the researcher attempted to understand the interviewees' world-views and to understand and note the meaning of what the participants were saying relative to the ISOYW study. The narratives are then reduced (bracketed) into thematic categories and further organized into contextualized groups.

The initial stage of this process began by following a process outlined by Hycner (1985), by listening to the recordings of each interview to develop a holistic sense of what the participant is saying. The data collected from the digital voice recordings was transcribed onto a secured computer owned by the researcher, later to be transferred to a locked compartment at the University of Regina. During the dissemination of the results each individual was given a pseudonym to protect their anonymity.

The transcripts and voice recordings were then reviewed to get an overall understanding of each interview and to provide a context for the emergence of specific

units and themes. Subsequently, the units of the general meaning were derived by condensing what the person said; from every word, sentence, and paragraph, irrespective of the research question. The units of the general meaning are those words, phrases and non-verbal communications which express a unique and coherent meaning clearly differentiated from that which proceeds and follows.

Once these frames of reference had been determined, the units of relevant meaning were delineated for the essential components of the experience of the participants pertinent to the research question. Furthermore, redundant units of relevant meaning were eliminated to establish a list of non-redundant units to explain the subjective experiences of each participant in a concise and comprehensive manner. The list of non-redundant units was then clustered together to create a common theme or essence. Each of these clusters of meaning has a similar essence, which can be further grouped into one or more central themes in each of the interviews.

To conclude the data analysis, the researcher grouped together common themes applicable to most or all of the interviews for the emergence of the overall, general, specific and unique themes of the interviews. The general themes were identified by all, or almost all of the subjects, the specific themes were identified by either most or a significant minority of the subjects and the unique themes were identified by one or two participants. These themes are contextualized to further determine the meaning of the phenomenon encompassing all of the interview data as a whole.

3.8 Summary

This chapter details the research approach and methods used to carry out this study. The rationale for studying cultural programs, specifically ISOYW, using a

phenomenological approach was explained and defended. The motivation for using this research approach and method was to satisfy the researcher's desire to provide an understanding of how the ISOYW Aboriginal cultural program is perceived by those involved in the program and how this might make a difference in the lives of its participants. As well, this study aims to get a sense of the main issues in the ISOYW program according to both those who completed the program and those who worked with those individuals before and after program completion. The underlying purpose of this chapter was to prepare the reader for the following chapters by introducing the practical and philosophical foundation of the research undertaken for this thesis.

The next chapter presents an in-depth description of the findings from the data. Direct quotations from program participant interviews are used to illuminate the perceptions and experiences resulting from the ISOYW program. The data has been separated into three thematic categories: general themes derived from nine to thirteen of the program participants; specific themes derived from four to eight of the program participants; unique themes derived from three or less of the program participants.

4. PROGRAM PARTICIPANT ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The following section is an analysis of the data provided by the program participants' subjective experiences in the ISOYW program, a culturally-specific program adopted by CSC within a correctional institution setting. The evaluation does not focus on recidivism, but instead aims to understand the inmates' perspectives of the program with respect to expectations, satisfaction, effectiveness, applicability and cultural relevance. This ongoing and iterative data analysis process began with transcription and continued during inductive coding until the material was reviewed to the point of saturation.

The data analysis process began during the verbatim transcription of the interviews, when the researcher began to note reoccurring subject matter and similarities in the content. Once all of the interviews were transcribed, each transcript was reread to get an overall understanding of the essence of each interview. The researcher then reviewed each transcript from the beginning, word by word and sentence by sentence, delineating the relevant material in relation to the research questions. Paragraphs, sentences and words that were applicable to the research were highlighted using Microsoft Word, and a review comment was attached with a summation of the highlighted text used to describe the possible quote. All of the highlighted sections in the text were classified as pertinent information and considered possible quotations. This process was repeated for every transcript until all of the relevant data was reviewed, highlighted and summarized.

Table 4.1 Example of relevant data extraction

Original Sample Transcript	Highlighted Transcript	Classification	Review Comment/ Summation
"As my childhood and adolescence came about, you know, how I reacted and interacted and my upbringing" (Participant 5).	"As my **childhood and adolescence** came about, you know, **how I reacted and interacted and my upbringing**" (Participant 5).	*root of the problem*	*he talked about the effectiveness of the program to deal with core issues that happened during childhood*

Each transcript was reviewed again; this time focusing only on the highlighted text and attached comments to assign key words or phrases which best described the highlighted text and summation. These relevant key words or phrases were then extracted and organized onto a spreadsheet, and assigned a thematic title that would accurately reflect concurrent equivalent language used to describe the same meaning. These key words or phrases were then separated into appropriate thematic categories, with non-redundant themes being deleted from the list (Appendix 9). The highlighted text and comments in the transcripts were then organized according to their thematic category, including the key words or phrases. These key words or phrases were numbered and logged in the appropriate thematic category on the spreadsheet, tracking the number of participant responses. The thematic categories were tallied to determine which key words or phrases were applicable, based on how many interviewees responded in each of the categories.

The thematic categories are based on the following conditions: (1) general or general themes, which included those key words or phrases that all or almost all of the participants referred to (from 9 to all 13 participants), (2) specific themes, which included those key words or phrases that most or some of the participants referred to (from 4 to 8 participants), and (3) unique themes, which included those key words or phrases that were provided by one or more participants (from 1 to 3 participants) who had distinct yet relevant data to contribute to the research. Not all of the unique themes were included in this data analysis, since there were too many; therefore, only the most reoccurring and applicable were included. There were a total of 50 key words or phrase classifications generated from the transcripts, which were reduced into 17 themes: 5 general themes, 9 specific themes, and 4 unique themes.

The following table is an example of how the transcripts were coded to delineate the key words or phrases, quotes and thematic categories using the following general theme: *issues surrounding substance abuse.* This thematic category combined all of the data related to the participants' comments which were revealed during, or as a result of, the program as a means of dealing with substance abuse issues. Although participants may not have used the same wording, any reference to this issue was included. This general theme may in some way have contributed to their incarceration, violence, addictions, inadequacies or any other problems they may have. However, program involvement has allowed them to understand where and why these issues may have originated, and why they may still persist.

Table 4.2 Example of delineation of data from transcripts

	Emergent Theme	**Key Word/Phrase**	**# Of Participants Who Referred To This Theme**
General Themes			
3	issues surrounding substance abuse	(5) healing, (10) positive effects, (26) substance abuse/addiction, (36) respect self/others, (37) violence cycle/control	11

The sample quotes listed below were derived from the transcripts and organized under the theme *issues surrounding substance abuse;* identified in the above table. The direct quotes substantiate the "code" and make the link to the "theme" readily apparent.

(5) Healing:

> It (healing) is having an Elder sitting in there or something like that I think it would be helpful, because as native people we abused a lot of alcohol, our parents or grandparents whoever, we did it for a reason you know what I mean. It wasn't because we were bored you know what I mean we had a lot of problems. (Participant 6)

(10) Positive effects:

> I participate in all the sweats that even try and go to church, anywhere that's you know positive, where I can keep myself in a positive frame of mind. Always participating in programs that are going to help me out in a positive way. (Participant 3)

(26) Substance abuse/addiction:

> It's a high intensity program that dealt with lot of issues about upbringing and all that, alcohol abuse. It taught me to deal with a lot of stuff growing up where anger comes from and why. Stuff like that. (Participant 4)

(36) Respect self/others:

> So the teachings, you know, I'm quite fond of it and I understand them and I respect them. You know in here I respect them big time, because it's all we really got in here. It's a shame that I have to come back to jail for it, but I'm here. I'm trying to do something with my life instead of letting it wastes away, I'm in school daily from 830 to 430. I study a lot. Not wasting my time trying to use it productively. (Participant 7)

(37) Violence cycle/control:

> It's your background you knowing your family tree and history and things like that and how violence starts. You know how it all starts, and how it leads down to alcohol and drinking at that and whatever it's all basically your backgrounds and how you deal with anger and that, you know. It shows you how to deal with these things in a good way instead of using alcohol and drugs to cover up things and turning to alcohol and drugs every time something happens. (Participant 3)

Several of the codes developed to acquire thematic categories were co-occurring, having the same segment of text with more than one code attached to it. Based on thorough content analysis of the participants' narratives, the results are organized into the following intertwining but significant thematic domains: the central theme delineated from units of relevant meaning provides the essence of participants' experiences in

respect to the research question resulting from the participant commentaries and subsequent thematic categorization; the general themes are identified by all or almost all of the participants; the specific themes are identified by most or a significant minority of the participants; the unique themes are identified by one or two of the participants. These themes are not exclusive; rather, they are interconnected and represent the responses of the program participants. These themes were identified as being essential factors in successful completion of the program as well as in the participants' continual journey of healing and self-acceptance. Each of these themes was identified as being a particularly helpful aspect of the program unique to several of the participants. These themes may not be exemplified as being important to everyone who participated in the study, but for certain individuals these themes may be just as important as the aforementioned thematic categories.

The thematic categories of the program participants illustrate the important aspects of the program through the self-identified and observed changes in the participants and other former group members after completion. The general themes of the program participants' perceptual areas are defined as follows: determination of the core problems, changes in personal and observed attitudes, issues surrounding substance abuse, learning anger management techniques and regaining culture through practice and Elder guidance. The following specific thematic categories emerged from the narratives regarding the program participant involvement in the ISOYW program: culture in the community, healing, trust, after-program support, cultural settings, sharing similar experiences, personal responsibility, respect and the cycle of violence. The unique

thematic categories relevant to the research question emerged from the responses of one or a few of the participants: racism, confession, forgiveness and coping skills.

4.2 General themes

The general themes of the program participants' perceptual areas are defined as follows: determination of the core problems, changes in personal and observed attitudes, issues surrounding substance abuse, learning anger management techniques, and regaining culture through practice and Elder guidance. The general themes retrieved from the narratives focused on the insight of program participants into their perceptions of ISOYW, the program facilitators, Elders, and themselves and others. Almost all of the men repeatedly expressed the following themes as the most prevalent aspects of the program as well as reflected on how these thematic aspects of the program have affected them.

The general theme, labelled as the determination of the core problems, represents the program participants' explanations of how the ISOYW program enabled them to communicate about traumatic events which they perceive to be the root of their problems. Many of the participants explained how the program allowed them to divulge events and experiences which have impacted and shaped their lives, identities and senses of belonging. The past experiences of substance, physical, emotional, mental, and sexual abuse fostered dysfunction in their family life. Combined with the intergenerational impact of residential schools, deculturation, assimilation, foster care and reservation system, these experiences were identified by program participants as important areas that the program focused on. The program participants expressed the importance of talking about these issues in the group sessions in their understanding of who they are as

Aboriginals, and as contributing factors to their criminal behaviours. One of the men explains how sharing his upbringing has altered his mindset:

> It (ISOYW) was one of the first in-depth programs where it dealt with the root of the problem and it stuck with me while I was growing up, and I identified this as one of my problems. As my childhood and adolescence came about, you know, how I reacted and interacted and my upbringing...to understand the person and his dysfunctions it is a necessity to go back to the childhood where everything developed, what's in his childhood, or for those in his adult life or in his adolescence enough to find out where everything went wrong and see how things can be dealt with after. (Participant 5)

Another participant describes what he has learnt about violence and the multigenerational effects that may have contributed to his incarceration:

> They (facilitators and/or Elders) dug up the roots of your violent pattern and the violence patterns from generation to generation, it wasn't only like one pattern, and it was if it was physical abuse, emotional abuse, if it was sexual abuse, any kind of abuse you know. They were able to analyze those patterns and figure out where it came from. They dealt with violence in a way like, where you know you dug deep and you had one on ones with the Elders, they basically dug deep. (Participant 10)

One man explains his understanding that his upbringing and the violent behaviours that he learned were wrong, and why he needs to change these negative perceptions as a parent in order to stop the cycle. As a child, these negative learned behaviours were perceived by him as being normal, and now he is trying to change this sense of normalcy:

> I learnt that violence comes in a cycle. It was passed down to me, and I in turn passed it on down from being a victim to a perpetrator. In that sense, it needs to be broken and who needs to do it is right here, me, so that I can try and stop it before it affects my kids, before it blows up and before the cycle continues. (Participant 1)

Another participant explains how talking about and dealing with the accumulation of problems all the way from childhood to the present during ISOYW has given him an outlet which he never realized existed:

> Now beating up people and stuff was another way that I grew up. It is a learnt behaviour. I had to go right down to when I was a little kid and started packing away half the shit that I carried most of my life and then I started taking In Search of Your Warrior and started working on myself with the Elders. I always thought I had nobody to talk to until then. (Participant 9)

The self-reported changes in personal attitudes and observed attitudinal changes in former ISOYW group members suggests that the knowledge they have gained from the ISOYW program has enabled them to gain self-respect, the ability to deal with confrontation, stress, anxiety and grief without resorting to violence, alcohol or drugs. The positive changes in attitude were demonstrated by the participants' acknowledgement of a shift in cognition present in themselves and other group members. Attitudinal transformation was illustrated as an important consequence of program involvement by almost all of the participants. The following participant explains how the program taught him about self-respect and how he attributes it to rehabilitation, in this quote:

> The stuff that is inside the In Search of Your Warrior is very beneficial and needed for most of the people in here. You know, people with so much violence in their history it's just, it's a real beneficial program for anybody you know like because once you start caring for yourself and loving yourself you would want to stay out (of jail) more. (Participant 10)

The next narrative discusses the skills and abilities the participant learned in order to deal with issues from the past so that he could move forward, which requires dealing with people daily in a positive manner, without violence and in a respectful way:

> That (respect) is another thing that the program has taught me to do and how I carry myself in my day-to-day routines and stuff like that and how I talk to people, not to put them down and make them feel defensive. You know it was a real beneficial program for me anyways. So like, dealing with confrontations and stresses and anxieties and build-ups and how to release them and how to use the tools to, you know, to help me. (Participant 5)

Understanding violence and the acknowledging of their personal patterns of violent behaviour is evident in the changes in behaviour noticed by other former group members:

> I tell you there are a few guys I know that have taken this program. Like, they were, I don't know they were known as straight bad asses basically and after this program I've seen a big change in them. I don't know. It's weird. (Participant 12)

It was a common thread in the interviews for the program participants to bring up alcohol addiction as being influential in their criminal lifestyles, and a few mentioned the impact of drug abuse. For most, the abuse of alcohol was an escape from reality, and it was commonplace at their homes and reserves. They were aware of very few, if any,

therapeutic and positive resources for them to utilize in the community. Many acknowledged that they grew up without the culture and skills reflective of a healthy lifestyle and upbringing. One man recounts how, as a child, his parents' alcoholism affected him and his siblings:

> You know even the way my dad brought me up. My dad never gave me a hug until I came to jail. The only time my dad said he loved me was when he was drunk. Those are the things that I grew up with you know all-night parties in my house with people fighting, yelling. You know I used to take my brothers and sisters into the same bedroom and lock the door and I used to stay up all night hoping these guys would leave. Next day we had to clean up the house when it was dirty, that's how I grew up. That's one thing that I promised myself was that, and I was stuck to, was I would never drink in front of my own kids and I never did. (Participant 9)

Later in his narrative this man revealed that although he was never intoxicated in front of his children, he continuously struggles with alcoholism, which he stated had directly influenced his criminal behaviour. ISOYW helped him understand the impact alcohol has had in his life:

> When I took somebody's life there I don't even remember. I woke up in the morning and the cop said you killed somebody I said 'that's not fucking funny'...Yeah, I don't even remember. The last thing I remember I told them that, the last thing I remember I woke up in the jail cell. After awhile I was remembering some things but it wasn't making sense. You know that's one of the

> reasons why you got to be open minded to take In Search of Your Warrior. (Participant 2)

He later stated that the victim turned out to be his friend that he had been drinking with when the violent act was committed. This individual mentioned that before his incarceration he was a workaholic and would rarely get drunk until he went to his reserve, where alcohol abuse was seemingly unavoidable. The aforementioned and following quotes illustrate how many of the men in this study, and many Aboriginal people in general, struggle with alcohol addiction and its negative effects. Both men explained how the ISOYW program taught them how to cope with alcoholism by regaining pride and cultural awareness:

> It is having an Elder sitting in there or something like that I think it would be helpful, because as native people we abused a lot of alcohol, our parents or grandparents whoever, we did it for a reason you know what I mean. It wasn't because we were bored you know what I mean we had a lot of problems. It was the only way we knew how, that was available, that was just a way of dealing with the problem. We just fell apart and we're slowly regaining that, our pride again finding our culture and all that stuff... In the institution it's all about, it's all about our circle life and the medicine wheel, we go through childhood and dealing with our life, we have a healing plan for the things to take care of in life, like why we use alcohol and drugs, our anger. It is to reintegrate into society. We need to start learning why we were brought in here and working on those problems and slowly making changes ourselves to get out there by doing ETA's. Like right now

> I'm in the process of trying to talk to the youth at risk in the communities and surrounding reserves. (Participant 6)

One participant found that ISOYW was better-tailored for him as an Aboriginal man; that he could understand and learn about substance abuse more in ISOYW than from correctional programs which focus specifically on the topic:

> In Search of Your Warrior program has dealt with a lot of alcohol issues so when I took my NSAP (National Substance Abuse Program) it was just a refresher course they didn't even need to touch on half the stuff that In Search of Your Warrior did...I learnt more in the In Search of Your Warrior about substance abuse than I did in my substance abuse program. (Participant 9)

The emergence of the general theme *learning anger management techniques* illustrates the program's ability to provide the skills necessary to deal with anger before it turns into violence. Anger management focuses on reducing emotional feelings and physiological arousal so that reactions can be controlled. This requires making a choice to overcome anger and gain peace of mind. Anger management techniques acknowledged in ISOYW include: (1) taking time to think before reacting to a situation by remaining calm, (2) communicating your feelings to others when they upset you, (3) removing yourself from the situation, (4) taking time for yourself, and (5) forgiveness of oneself and others. ISOYW is a high-intensity violence prevention program, so one may expect the graduates to have acquired these skills; however, participation in therapeutic programming does not guarantee that participants have internalized the information or that they will use these techniques in future confrontations. The men were able to communicate their understanding of these techniques and how they have applied them in certain institutional

situations that have arisen since completion of the program; demonstrating that they have internalized and successfully applied the knowledge that ISOYW presented. When asked what ISOYW had taught them about violence, almost all were able to identify anger management techniques. Here are some narratives discussing these skills:

> Well thinking before I act and just trying not to get mad as much as I used to in the past and start causing fights for nothing. I just try talking to someone else and try and calm down or just go for a walk and think. I think about other things. (Participant 1)

> Just walk away you know, walk away, some say it's a passive thing, you could be positive, you could be assertive or passive depends on how you want to deal with it. I think a good way of dealing with things like that (anger) is to just basically walk away. (Participant 3)

> Yeah a lot of changes, I realized where my life was heading and how to deal with anger, I had a lot of anger and didn't know how to deal with. The program helped me. See, I don't keep it in now and I talk about it, before I wouldn't tell anyone and I think that's where, I think that's why I ended up in this place. (Participant 7)

> Just confront them in a good way open up and say 'hey man you hurt my feelings and I want you to know that' and stuff like that. Before I wasn't able to do that, I would keep it in and seeing this person would bother me. Now I can just tell the

guy I don't like what you're doing. That's in a good way. Just avoid the negative way, negative behaviour. (Participant 4)

Having an action plan I guess, there is an action plan for a cooling down session like how to cool yourself down, exercise you know, exercise takes away a lot of my anxiety and stress and makes that situation less volatile because if I'm getting rid of my stress and my anxiety and my anger and getting into another situation that is not escalating than I can deal with it then. Rather than bringing all the other junk to the table to the next one (situation). (Participant 5)

The first instant reaction is the most critical one because when we think about something and act on it right away it's not a good thing because of our anger and our past experiences. So having a little time out and having that perception check. How can this be dealt with in this situation? If you know what I mean, if you have those 10 to 15 minutes of a break it will actually cool us down and that perception will come clear, who's at fault and what happened and ways of not being assertive. Dealing with the problem of being assertive, not whereas you know trying to be passionate you know, I'm going to get stepped all over after a while. Or go in there and you know, address it, and take it in your hands and the consequences for those things. So thinking has a lot to do with it, its number one before a violent episode begins. (Participant 11)

These quotes illustrate that the program participants have acquired some effective anger management techniques; however, individual choice still influences whether or not they

will apply these techniques in future volatile situations during the rest of their incarceration and once they are in the community.

Many of the program participants expressed the importance of having Elders in the program teach them ceremonies and traditions that enable them to regain their culture and pride. Almost all of the program participants admitted to practicing Aboriginal traditions on a regular basis by attending sweats, morning pipe ceremony, praying, smudging and one-on-one counselling with Elders. For these individuals, regaining balance and culture provided empowerment, self confidence and identity as Aboriginal men. One man explains how he has now accepted his Aboriginal heritage, but previously, because of assimilation practices such as the residential school system he had been taught to abandon his culture:

> From the residential schools and stuff you know a lot of that stuff (culture) was taken away from people they were told that that was bad and that was the wrong way to do it. But obviously it's not, you know it's your culture you're allowed to believe in what you want. (Participant 7)

The following participant was adopted by a Caucasian family as a child. He expressed the difficulties growing up as an Aboriginal in a middle-class non-Aboriginal neighbourhood. The following quote illustrates how the ISOYW program taught him about the history of Aboriginal people, and how assimilation and deculturation has affected him and his family:

> This (ISOYW) is where I learnt a lot about the teachings and the values and everything that we have. So when I took this program it taught me a lot of things about what happened to us centuries ago and how we came to be and all the

> struggles that we faced. Learning about that stuff is really important to understand how we are the way we are today because this dates back to our ancestors. It builds up and I can see the pattern of the dysfunction and all the hardships that we went through; and how we were just basically put in a place not given the rights we are supposed to be given. And you know these residential schools it affected me indirectly because my mother went there and she didn't get a good education so she was illiterate, she doesn't know how to write or read you know what I mean. So it was hard for her to raise 10 kids on her own and be a parent and that affected me because of the residential schools that she was forced to be in right. And so it's just a lot of the things the cultural component of it all of what I learnt in there and a lot of the videos they showed and a lot of the teachings that our Elder was telling us and the facilitators from their point of view as native people. (Participant 6)

The next participant communicates how the program taught him about the medicine wheel, and how applying holistic teachings into his daily routine can change his attitudes:

> They taught me about the native medicine wheel. How it balances you out throughout the day mentally, emotionally, spiritually and physically. You have to have all four of those in balance, basically before you're balanced out. So when I wake up in the morning the first thing I'd do is pray, because that's spirituality and stuff like that. I'd pray and then I go through the rest of the day thinking how I can balance the rest of my day out with the medicine wheel and stuff like that...My attitude towards staff has changed a bit and my attitude towards other people. I'm not so negative or aggressive like I usually am, like I am more laid-

> back. And I think first and when I wake up in the morning now I say a quick prayer, before I never used to do that, I guess it kind of, I guess it kind of humbles me. (Participant 4)

The next quote reiterates the importance of holistic teachings and spirituality during ISOYW in his search for healing:

> It was a good program for me because it was, it helped me deal with my culture and helped me deal with my issues from a cultural perspective and also take the aboriginal teachings, and the aboriginal law, and because you connect yourself spiritually and mentally. Those other programs only dealing with stuff mentally and physically I guess. In this program you're touching base on all four aspects of life like mental, spiritual, emotional, and physical. So it's kind of like, you know, you deal with stuff from different angles. (Participant 10)

The presence of the Elders and the importance of regaining culture in light of multigenerational issues which have affected Aboriginal people, such as alcohol abuse, are illustrated by the following quote:

> It is having an Elder sitting in their or something like that I think it would be, because as native people we abused a lot of alcohol, our parents or grandparents or whoever we did it for a reason you know what I mean. It wasn't because we were bored you know what I mean we had a lot of problems and it was the only way we knew how and was available. That was just a way of dealing with the problem. We just fell apart and are slowly regaining that, our pride again, finding our culture again and all that stuff. (Participant 6)

4.3 Specific themes

The following specific thematic categories emerged from the narratives regarding the program participant involvement in the ISOYW program: (1) culture in the community, (2) healing, (3) trust, (4) after program support, (5) cultural setting, (6) sharing similar experiences, (7) personal responsibility, (8) respect, and (9) the cycle of violence. Each of these specific themes details many of the participants' perceptions of what was important to them in ISOYW. The co-occurrence of themes provides insight into the holistic nature of ISOYW and the worldview of Aboriginal culture regarding how all aspects of life are interconnected.

Many of the participants discussed the holistic techniques which stress the interconnectedness of emotional, spiritual, physical and mental healing as an important aspect of the program. Healing allows them to move forward from what has happened as much as possible and to bring some sense of normalcy and security back into their lives. With this healing emerges the ability to trust themselves and others. One participant illustrated the importance of holistic healing to alter his mindset now, as well as when he returns to the community, in this quote:

> It's just the way you heal. It's your own way of healing, like your steps could be, you know, changing your mentality, your attitude, your sobriety, things like that. It all goes out to the same thing you know it's all there for you. All you got to do, you know, if you want change you got to find it. So then you just got to go get it. It's all here you know just follow same thing out there you got to follow it in here. (Participant 3)

For this next participant, the most important part of ISOYW was gaining an ability to heal, which allowed him to deal with his issues and manage his anger:

> I think the most important thing in this program is the healing aspect of it. Because once you try and heal yourself and deal with these issues that do get you mad, that do build up. The anxiety and stress and everything like that, when you're trying to heal and deal with them, the rest of it is a cakewalk you know you can deal with it you know. If you know how to heal, if you're willing to heal and work on yourself and the extra tools that are given to you in this program, like I guess how to deal with and how to, I guess, give you the tools that are solutions for fighting. (Participant 5)

Being able to trust fellow group members, Elders and facilitators while in the ISOYW program gave many of the men the chance to tell their stories and deal with personal problems. Elders are able to establish a rapport and maintain a therapeutic relationship because of their trustworthiness and honesty. Trust was also established between the group members during the program despite institutional discrimination and histories of distrusting relationships. These trust-related issues were illuminated by the participants as being crucial for open and honest dialogue. Some of the participants suggested that sometimes this trust was broken when other group members were disrespectful or uncooperative. As well, several participants' perceptions of trust were dependant on similarities, such as being Aboriginal and having shared similar experiences, as noted in the following quote:

> We do a smudge ceremony to open up the program and we open up the class by talking about how our day went, to how we think and what we feel. From the

> beginning I felt really trustworthy of my peers in there, them being all native and them coming from the same struggles that I did. (Participant 6)

Sharing as a group benefits each individual by validating their experiences, and gives them a chance to explain themselves in a collaborative learning environment. Furthermore, it provides social and communication skills through the expression of their rightful position within the Aboriginal community and society, as well in their attempts to collectively regain their culture. Several participants expressed their revelation that some group members had had such familiar experiences that they had misconstrued others' stories as having been their own:

> This one guy, the second time I took it (ISOYW), I was sharing about my experiences and I had an opinion about something that came up in the program and I told him how I felt and you know I was using myself as an example and this person thought I was talking about him and he got pretty mad at me. And he just walked out of the program and he came up to me and he said 'are we still friends?' and I said to him 'what are you talking about?' He thought I was talking about him. But he realized that I wasn't and after the program was done you could see a big change in him. (Participant 4)

A leading premise in the criminal justice system is that an offender should assume accountability for their past and future actions. A persons' ability to act responsibly, without blaming others for their crimes and choices, enables ownership of their actions and acceptance, rather than avoidance of responsibility for their own behaviour. The following quote demonstrates one participant's ownership of his past behaviours:

> Before I used to blame my family and my friends because I didn't want to own up to the choices that I made, but now I realize that it was my fault. Taking responsibility for the choices that I made, I guess. (Participant 4)

Respect for themselves, the Elders, facilitators, group members and their culture were identified by several participants. Cultural respect of the sacredness involved in the ceremonies, medicines and presence of Elders was evident not only in the narratives, but also in observations of the interactions of Elders with the participants. Elders are people who consistently convey balance, harmony and wisdom in their teachings. Respect for Elders is demonstrated in the offering of tobacco for their time and assistance. The researcher also offered tobacco to each Elder that participated in the study, to show respect, and during the morning smudge several of the men offered tobacco as well. The following quotes discuss the acquisition of the participants' personal and cultural respect, gained from ISOYW:

> So the teachings, you know, I'm quite fond of it and I understand them and I respect them. You know in here I respect them big time, because it's always really hard in here. It's a shame that I have to come back to jail for it, but I'm here. I'm trying to do something with my life instead of letting it waste away. I'm in school daily from 8:30 to 4:30. I study a lot. Not wasting my time trying to use it productively. (Participant 7)

> Here (ISOYW) you don't see people swearing around, like in our class there is no disrespect because of the medicines. We learned to respect those things of our life and over there (other programs) guys are just kicked right back you know what I

> mean just swearing around you know what I mean. It was just totally different. (Participant 6)

ISOYW explains how anger and aggression can trigger violent behaviour, and discusses how the participants can effectively manage their emotions. Many of the participants discovered that victims of violence may become perpetrators of violence in the future, and that unless the cycle is stopped, children may adopt the violent tendencies demonstrated by their caregivers. The next participant discusses one of his violent experiences; and how he does not want to see his children make the same mistakes he did:

> I learnt that violence comes in a cycle. It was passed down to me, and I in turn passed it on down from being a victim to a perpetrator. In that sense, right it needs to be broken and who needs to do it is right here, me, so that I can try and stop it before it affects my kids, before it blows up, before the cycle continues. (Participant 1)

The following narrative discusses how violence was considered to be normal in his life and how it resulted in his incarceration:

> If you ever hurt someone real serious it's best to confront them. Otherwise it will just keep eating away and eating away at you. It will just destroy you, like, you know, there are so many times that I was in violent situations you know, I thought it was normal, you know someone stabbed me and honestly I'm going to stab them back. That's just the mentality I had, and I did, and I killed one of my friends. (Participant 6)

Several of the participants suggested that there should be more cultural ceremonies, resources and programming available to Aboriginal people in the community. Without elicitation, participants mentioned the need for programs like ISOYW to teach people about their culture and the positive alternatives to problems such as alcohol abuse. When many of the participants were young, their communities were not involved in Aboriginal cultural awareness. There is evidence that this is now changing, with the revitalization of ceremonies as well as cultural programs being introduced into the community, but according to the participants there is still a lot of work to be done. The need for more cultural awareness in the community is illustrated by the next participant's view; that elements of this program could be incorporated into the school curriculum:

> It is a good program I think everybody should take it. They should put it up in schools and high schools for kids that are kind of in trouble. But if you get the word out saying that this program helped me in this way and you take it home and you tell your mom and dad maybe they will look at you and say my son is probably doing something good or my daughter, maybe we should have a look at this. You know everything you and me as kids growing up what our parents did they we thought it was natural. (Participant 9)

The advantages of having the program in a culturally appropriate setting, supported by the presence of Elders, medicines and ceremonies, fostered trust and a sense of belonging, which was illustrated by several of the participants. A therapeutic group setting in a federal correctional facility makes it difficult to discuss sensitive issues unless trust is established. Disclosure of personal information in prison may leave a person as

being perceived as weak, and therefore vulnerable to exploitation or intimidation by other inmates. Several participants mentioned that this had been a concern for them at the beginning of the program and in other correctional programs. Though, over time, trust and respect were established in ISOYW, and the barriers to healing broken:

> It (ISOYW) is a lot easier to do it in a room with an Elder with the medicines and everything there instead of those other programs. You can't open up like that over there because you don't really want to stick your neck out. You know this guy is a pussy and stuff like that. But here I wasn't worried about that because of the medicines and because everybody understood that we were not supposed to, we are there for healing. So, the setting was right. It didn't push me into talking or speaking about stuff in the program, I did it on my own and after awhile listening to everybody and then it comes to me and I would pass. Like I told them I will speak some other time and alright they found it okay and stuff. I felt comfortable to talk there's no pressure to talk. (Participant 6)

4.4 Unique themes

The following unique thematic categories emerged from the responses of one or a few the participants relevant to the research question: (1)) racism, (2) confession, (3) forgiveness, (4) coping skills. Each participant in this study gave their perceptions of the program, and the following themes are examples unique to their own experiences. Although these unique themes cannot be generalized, they may have been just as important to each individual as the other themes.

One participant mentioned how racism affected him growing up in an adopted non-Aboriginal home, which lowered his self-esteem and pride as an Aboriginal person.

At the school he attended he was the only Aboriginal person, and he was constantly referred to as "the dirty little Indian". ISOYW taught him about Aboriginal pride and heritage and how systemic and personal racism has been entrenched in Canadian society. He stated, "this program is more comfortable for me to express how I felt in the changes in my life, learning about my culture, with my anger and the ties to racism" (Participant 6). Another participant mentioned how he was able to forgive himself and persons who have mistreated him in the past through prayer and with the guidance of the Elders and facilitators. "You know it is kind of stupid to pray for your enemies but you know it really helps, it really helps me anyways to do that, whereas I could find a little forgiveness for the actions they did and look at it as, why get myself into trouble for something like that" (Participant 5). Another participant described how he was able to grieve for family members who died during his incarceration by cutting off his ponytail to be buried alongside the deceased. His analogy was of how his braid was like the sweet grass, where every strand represents something, and how through prayer and reflection his culture helped him cope with the death of his relatives. "That has helped me grow a bit, mature a bit, because I did something that really took time and effort for me and put a lot of respect into making that" (Participant 7). One participant discussed how confession about his crime during the program relieved some of the guilt he had been carrying with him. This was something that he was never able to talk about before, and participation in the program relieved some of the associated stress that he carried with him. "so I just started speaking about my crime and I felt better about it after I started speaking more about it and talking more and more it kind of got better and better and better and better and that's when I felt good after" (Participant 8). These themes are significant because

they further exemplify the holistic nature of ISOYW. The participants were able to communicate personal issues and receive guidance and support to cope with and learn from others who have been in similar situations. The Aboriginal spirituality and culture taught in the program provides tools necessary to learn how to be positive and to be proud to be an Aboriginal person.

4.5 Program participant criticisms

There are several areas that the participants acknowledged were negative aspects of the program. As mentioned earlier, two of the thirteen participants did not perceive the program as being beneficial. One participant stated that he had only taken the program to prevent himself from being 'gated' (having to stay in prison until warrant expiry because of an incomplete correctional plan). He was not interested in Aboriginal culture and did not enjoy waking up early in the morning to attend the program. The other participant who did not perceive the program as a positive experience stated that ISOYW was based on Cree teachings, and that as a Dene Aboriginal it was not culturally relevant to him. Native spirituality does not coerce people to attend or participate based on an ethic of non-interference. He also mentioned that he took the program to avoid being 'gated'. He stated his belief that the program was another way to control inmates, whereby program incompletion would result in further confinement and completion could potentially be used against an individual after incarceration. "If you don't take it we're going to gate you, you got to take it. It's just another way of controlling you because now they can use it against you when you get out of here" (Participant 7).

Another issue raised was that group members who did not fully participate in the program, by either not showing up for sessions or lacking effort in group discussions,

made participants lose trust and question their own motives for participation. "Some wouldn't show up and they would show up anytime they wanted and it makes you wonder...they are not taking it seriously so you draw back a bit" (Participant 3). "You know I can say from my class that there are only about four of us putting effort into it" (Participant 6).

Some of the participants suggested that there was some deception by CSC, in perceived but sometimes unfulfilled implications that program completion would enable a person to move forward on their correctional plan by being moved to a minimum institution or healing lodge, or by being granted ETAs (Escorted Temporary Absences) to the community. "The whole image they are projecting out, you know you do this program you move on, but there is no moving on for a lot of the guys they are stuck where they are" (Participant 7).

4.6 Essence of ISOYW

After a lengthy and time-consuming process of examining the program participant data and separating the clusters of meaning into comprehensive groups, gradual awareness of the central theme came to light. This central, or main, theme captures the essence of the program participants' subjective viewpoints on ISOYW. The ISOYW program provides a means of discovery and assistance in each participant's development of healing techniques using culturally appropriate and relevant methods. This healing journey reflects the holistic Aboriginal worldview of restoring all aspects of life, including the harmony of the mind, body, spirit and emotions. For them, ISOYW taught holistic healing techniques while acknowledging the mental, physical, spiritual and emotional aspects of therapy and recovery. ISOYW provided education and support for

Aboriginal male inmates through knowledgeable Aboriginal Elders and facilitators, who understand them and can relate to their experiences.

Participants were generally highly satisfied with the program, and acknowledged it as being a positive experience. The majority of the men who took the program stated their desire to get help and learn about violence. Several participated in the program of their own accord, although for most, the program was recommended to them by their case management officer. The men had high expectations of the program's ability to help them with violence and they indicated that these were met. The group discussions allowed for talking and sharing amongst participants, facilitators and Elders, and were the most-liked component.

ISOYW blends Aboriginal culture with contemporary cognitive behavioural programming which fosters empowerment, trust and identity. The program was an introduction for those who had never been exposed to Aboriginal culture and spirituality to the practices and beliefs of traditional Aboriginal people, through aspects such as the medicine wheel, smudging, sweat ceremonies, and prayer. For those who may have started regaining their culture and understanding of their heritage prior to ISOYW, the program provided them with tools and resources not only to prevent violence in the future, but more importantly to learn how to heal damage from the past. ISOYW allowed the participants to converse with each other, Elders and facilitators in a culturally appropriate setting that was described as being sacred, trusting and sincere.

The program was more than a high-intensity correctional program for most of the participants. It was a place to speak openly and honestly about past and current problems with other Aboriginal people in a culturally appropriate setting. The sense of holistic

healing grew when I considered all of the narratives together and how they expressed this concept in a multidimensional way. The participants described healing as being a necessary part of their lives if they are to be successful in re-entry into the community and in remaining out of prison. Many understood the importance of changing their pro-criminal attitudes and the need for behavioural management skills developed through the encouragement of Elders in order to go through a healing process. This was also important for the relief of associated pain, in the hope that it would subside and allow the emergence of self-acceptance and ownership of personal responsibility. The program Elders were mentors, demonstrating their ability to humbly survive, which is rooted in their experience and compassion for others, and expression of their oral history through storytelling. The mentorship of Elders is critical to many Aboriginal people who choose to go on a healing journey for the development of commitment, and strength to see it through to the end.

The journey towards healing is illustrated by one man who spoke of how he relates the importance of Aboriginal spirituality to his ability to heal as a result of his experiences in the ISOYW program:

> It (healing) is the whole native spirituality of it you know. The teachings of the sweats, the camaraderie in the group and the trust that evolves because of the native spirituality of the group, you know, like, it's pretty amazing how, how cons in here can trust each other to say things that they wouldn't normally ever say anywhere else. And that speaks volumes for, for the Elders that work here, for the facilitators and the group, what they get from the group in return, to give their trust, to give their full everything to the group, and in return the group gives it

back. That's something that is essential in healing and getting to know yourself. (Participant 12)

Many of the participants illustrated that by sharing within the ISOYW group they were able to give voice to the painful life issues that they had carried alone for many years. This group experience also gave many of the men awareness of the parallels between their personal stories and those of other Aboriginal men, furthering their willingness to open up about issues believed to be at the root of their problems. The cultural setting was conducive with this self-reflection because they were comfortable in sharing personal issues with other Aboriginal people, in the presence of Elders and with the use of traditional medicines and rituals. They acknowledged a sense of trust within the group, which many expressed to be difficult to maintain in contemporary correctional programs.

The program, overall, was a positive experience for eleven of the thirteen respondents, resulting from the cultural teachings provided by the Elders as well as the sincerity and instruction of the program facilitators, all of whom were able to identify with and relate to the ISOYW group members. Of the thirteen program participants, eleven acknowledged the program as being helpful in some manner and affirmed that they would recommend it to others, not only for violence prevention, but also for the cultural education and healing that accompanied it.

Overall, the participants were satisfied with the program content and structure, the suitability of the facilitators and the guidance of the Elders. Several men reiterated the importance of the cultural component of the program, which facilitated a setting conducive with holistic healing. The acquisition of cultural tools such as prayer,

smudging and the medicine wheel assisted in their ability to alter their attitudes and behaviours in a constructive manner. The use of Aboriginal spirituality, ceremonies and medicines, integrated with therapeutic techniques designed to alter pro-criminal attitudes and behaviours appeared to be beneficial to the program participants.

4.7 Summary

The main theme that emerged from the commentaries provided by the program participants is that the ISOYW program provides a means of discovery and assistance in each participant's journey towards healing. The In Search of Your Warrior program allowed the men to converse with each other, Elders and facilitators in an emotional environment that was described as being sacred, trusting and nurturing within a physical setting that was conducive to healing and culturally appropriate.

The general themes of the program participants are: determination of the core problems, changes in personal and observed attitudes, issues surrounding substance abuse, learning anger management techniques and regaining culture through practice and Elder guidance. These themes are intertwined with one another and are represented by a majority of the program participant respondents. These themes were essential contributors toward the successful completion of the program as well as in the continuing journey of healing and self-acceptance.

The specific thematic subcategories which emerged from the data regarding the involvement in the ISOYW program were: culture in the community, healing, comfortable, trust, after program support, cultural setting, sharing similar experiences, personal responsibility, respect and the cycle of violence. Many of the respondents illustrated these thematic categories as being important aspects of the program, fostering

further change in their attitudes and behaviours while learning from group members, Elders and program facilitators.

The unique thematic subcategories which emerged from the responses of one or a few the participants relevant to the research question were: racism, confession, forgiveness and coping skills. Each of these themes was identified as a particularly helpful aspect of the program unique to several of the participants. All of these themes may not be exemplified as being important to everyone who participated in the study, but for certain individuals these themes may have been just as important as the aforementioned thematic categories.

Federal penitentiaries were never designed to rehabilitate, and as one participant put it, *"this has to be the hardest place in the world to heal"* (Participant 5). The prison culture is one of distrust of staff and other inmates, and there exists a code of silence among offenders (especially gang members) to deter them from being considered weak or a "rat". There is also a hierarchy of prisoner status (lifers and gang leaders at the top, pedophiles and newcomers at the bottom), and daily life becomes a struggle to survive, let alone heal. In the ISOYW program these barriers to rehabilitative therapy appear to be left at the door, and the participants are somehow able to speak openly about their struggles with the past and their healing journey. This may be very therapeutic, and may be why the program was highly praised by 11 of the 13 offenders.

Outside factors that could have influenced the perceptions about ISOYW may be a result of the participants' experiences in other correctional programs prior to the interview, since the researcher was unable to conduct pre and post interviews with the participants due to CSC restrictions. Similar to the CSC preliminary study on ISOYW,

non-CSC interviews before the program as well as after program completion, and follow up interviews during parole and after the warrant expiry date could shed further light on the program's ability to assist in successful participants' readiness for reintegration.

In the next chapter, there will be a review of the literature on culturally-focused correctional programming, overrepresentation and the effects of colonization will be discussed. An analysis of the data sources will present how the interviews confirm, modify or possibly contradict the findings from other studies and theoretical claims about Aboriginal justice issues, and specifically federal correctional programming.

5. NON-PROGRAM PARTICIPANT ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The following section presents the analysis of the narratives of the Program Service Providers (PSP) who are directly involved in program delivery (Elders and ISOYW Facilitators) and of the program participants' Case Management Officers (CMO) who are responsible for offender supervision (Parole and Correctional Officers). The case management officer updates the correctional plan upon program completion to determine if there have been any changes to each offender's risk analysis. The program service providers are Aboriginal professionals who make the group members aware of the different forms of violence (psychological, physical, sexual, and emotional) and the devastating consequences for individuals, families and communities. Aboriginal programs use holistic therapeutic techniques for psychological, physical, emotional and spiritual recovery which are flexible in addressing the needs of individuals, whereas conventional programs use clinically structured therapeutic techniques to address cognitive-behavioural issues. ISOYW uses cognitive-behavioural, psycho-educational and social learning approaches blended with cultural traditions and practices.

According to the non-program participant interviews, the program incorporates the multi-dynamic factors of education, counselling, healing and prevention with traditional teachings and practices as well as aid from the medicine wheel. The non-program participant general themes of ISOYW focused on: (1) the elimination of violence, (2) teaching the broader social causes of violence in Canadian Aboriginal heritage, (3) reclamation of Aboriginal values, (4) addressing root causes and (5) the acquisition of healing techniques. Addressing the underlying issues of self-esteem, trust,

stress, respect and responsibility in a culturally appropriate setting was stated to be of assistance.

The data analysis of the non-program participant participants provides secondary yet important information from individuals who have either been directly involved in the delivery of the ISOYW program or have had an ISOYW participant on their caseload. The narratives provide the subjective experiences and perceptions of these professionals to illuminate the observed effects of ISOYW on its participants.

The non-program participants have been divided into two groups for the purpose of this analysis: program service providers and case management officers. There were nine non-program participant interviews conducted. Three Elders and two Program Facilitators provided data from the perspective of the program service providers. Four Parole Officers from Saskatchewan Penitentiary Medium and Maximum Institutions, Riverbend Minimum Institution and Prince Albert Parole provided the perspective of the case management officers. Overall, the outcome of the program was perceived as being positive and effective in violence prevention by all of the Elders and facilitators and two of the parole officers interviewed. However, two of the case management officers were critical of the effectiveness and accountability of ISOYW. This will be discussed further in the case management officers' narrative analysis.

5.2 Program service providers

The thematic categories of the program service provider participants derived from the narratives illustrate the basis of ISOYW, their personal involvement in the program, the observed changes in attitudes and behaviours of program participants, the significance of Aboriginal specific programming and their recommendations for improvement.

The service providers gave several examples of observed changes in attitudes and behaviours during and after program delivery. The following quotation summarizes the overall narratives of the program service providers on how the program and holistic teachings of Elders are effective in addressing the issues of the program participants by using traditional healing methods:

> They learn everything about ceremonial life how to approach people, how to approach Elders, how to have the respect of life around you and these are the teachings of what we have given them. And yet it takes time, it takes time as you go, but it takes us many years back to when you were a small boy till the time that we are here today, as Elders it takes that lifetime to learn things as life goes on and on. Today the offenders here they take a program like In Search of Your Warrior, they have to learn sometimes a little bit of what we tell them and those are the things that they really get help from. But it takes work at that, you have to put your heart into everything and you have to be truthful in what you are doing. You have to respect the teachings and the respect has to come back, but it has to be stored in that offender himself, everything, love, care, respect, be truthful, to honour everything. (PSP 2)

Program service providers teach participants with traditional Aboriginal methods and teachings, about respect, communication skills, responsibility, patience, interpersonal relationships, cultural traditions, stress and anger management, abuse and self-confidence. Elders' and facilitators' sharing of personal experiences during delivery of the different modules from the ISOYW facilitator's manual was instrumental in demonstrating how they put into practice the methods that they provide the participants in

the program. The program service providers expressed their emotions and experiences in the hope that the group members will in turn share theirs.

> The teachings that I've helped out with you could see that the guys were serious about the program because it helped me, for myself to deal with some of my issues and when I opened up to the men in the program and they seen the way that I conduct myself in the program it wasn't hard for them to follow that same teaching. And what I am talking about is the real things that happened in the past, the real things that happened, and I talked about that healing part of it and when they seen my emotions come out, then they opened up themselves up and they really, really spoke from the heart. It's is a very intense program. (PSP 3)

The program adapts each session to the specific needs of each participant in the group and is flexible in the administration of the modules that are available in the manual. The service providers' ability to connect with the offenders as Aboriginal people by expressing their own challenges in life projects sincerity and appears to establish trust in the therapeutic alliance which is necessary for treatment effectiveness.

> Despite agreement that the therapeutic alliance (TA) is related to treatment effectiveness, there has been relatively little analysis of how it develops. Marshall et al. (2003) described the TA itself only as a product of the therapist's style and the client's perception of the therapist. Henry (1999) described its key characteristics as process variables such as empathy and flexibility. Yalom (1980) suggested that the relationship between client and therapist generates healing power. And Saunders (1999) related the effectiveness of the TA to the idea of reciprocal intimacy. (Ross & Ward, 2008, p. 463)

The positive influence of the Elders and facilitators as well as the respectful relationship offered based on empathy, flexibility and trust, suggests that the ISOYW may be more effective in rehabilitation for Aboriginal men than contemporary programs without an Aboriginal focus. The establishment of the bond between participants, Elders and facilitators was seen as developing as the men began to release emotions and confront their issues in a positive and nurturing setting. The following quote illustrates how the relationship between one Elder and several program participants grew over several years and the observed changes in resulting behaviours after involvement in ISOYW:

> They were angry at a lot of things, they were angry at the way that they were brought up as young people, being neglected, being shoved aside or being thrown into a foster home, and not being looked after like they are supposed to being looked after. When I first started working here as an Elder of these men I seen them before the program, I worked with them before the program for about a year, and sometimes they would get pretty mad at me and angry at me because I didn't want to go along with them in whatever it is that they wanted. So they would be upset and they would show their anger and they would yell, they would scream. They didn't know how to deal with that emotion, that anger emotion and I have seen that in a lot of these individuals that I have been working with over the past years. And after going through that program In Search of Your Warrior something took place in that program that they were calmer, they knew how to handle different situations. (PSP 1)

The service providers' stated that their humble temperaments, approach and heritage are the foundation for the trust bond deemed necessary for offenders to internalize what is being taught in ISOYW and for overall effective treatment.

> We have to time when we approach people like that, we have to approach people like that in a very calm way to make sure that he has a trust in you, make sure that you give him time to take those big breaths and calm himself down. That way once you have that trust he will listen. But you have to build up the calmness I mean we have to build trust up amongst each other. If he doesn't trust me he will always resists the things of what I'm trying to tell him. He wouldn't listen, he wouldn't hear me, he will block his ears, and his mind will be somewhere else. (PSP 3)

The program service providers gave several examples of observed changes in offenders who have completed ISOYW. These changes in attitudes and behaviours were exhibited in enhanced motivation, self-confidence, cultural knowledge, respect and commitment, trust, honesty, displays of emotion, disclosure, responsibility and participation in the cultural centre. "It's the ability to cry in front of their peers and in front of other people that says a lot for me, just hearing them talk about some of the things they weren't willing to before" (PSP 2). Another program service provider gave an example of one particular participant.

> This one guy came into the program with his head down and didn't really want to talk, had his head down the whole time, talked really low and then by three-quarters through the program he was associating with everyone and shaking hands

> and always wanting to take part in whatever was going on in here, sweat ceremony or pipe, he was always in here, a total change. (PSP 1)

Fewer institutional charges and confrontations with correctional officers after program completion were also noted as an outcome by several of the program service providers.

There are several recommendations by the service providers for improvements to the ISOYW program and for the overall wellness of Aboriginal people, including: (1) a continuum of care with Elder assistance during parole and follow up after warrant expiry, (2) greater cross cultural training, (3) increased case management collaboration, (4) cultural programming in Aboriginal communities and (5) healing circles during incarceration.

The need for a continuum of care for Aboriginal men on and after parole was indicated as a way to address social and personal issues that arise in the community to ensure there is positive support available. "We don't have anything especially for the guys that are out on parole. I think for a lot of the parole officers their focus is on supervising them and catching them when they do something wrong, it's not what helps them" (PSP 4). There was a concern that after release there may not be access to the Elders and ceremonies which had been readily available in prison. There is a need to, "find out how they can continue with healing and feeling accepted after they have finished their time.... or even with family sometimes you might have some healing needed to be done" (PSP 3).

Having greater cross-cultural training and awareness was suggested as a way to inform CSC staff about Aboriginal issues and programs as well to improve relationships between CSC staff, offenders and the community. The input of Elders in future policy

developments and research would be beneficial to "see our view of how life is in the First Nations and how our teachings improve the programs...in a balanced way" (PSP 3).

The need for more collaboration between CSC case managers and front-line correctional workers (specifically CO2s also known as CXs) and program service providers arose because of the lack of willingness of correctional officers to participate in case conferences with the case management team after ISOYW completion. "I invite CO2s and Parole Officers to every case conference we've had since starting programs and I've only had one show up" (PSP 4). Working together as a team may provide information, from all of the individuals from different aspects of the institution who have worked with the offenders, to allow for more informed decision making.

The program service providers recognized the need for more culturally-specific programs in Aboriginal communities. Having programs such as ISOYW available in the community may assist former inmates as well as the greater community with respect to violence prevention and cultural awareness. "In Search of Your Warrior should be taught at the community level. A lot of men don't know how to treat women. They only look at women as sex objects and that way of thinking has to stop" (PSP 1). Having these programs and positive role models available in the Aboriginal community was thought to reduce prevalent issues of substance and interpersonal abuse and thereby reduce incarceration rates.

A recommendation for the implementation of healing circles in prison between offenders and victims was suggested, to allow anyone affected by the crime to heal and for the offender to demonstrate to their victims that they are taking responsibility for their actions. Healing circles were also suggested as a requirement for completion of ISOYW

so that individuals affected by the offence may also confront their emotions and close their associated wounds.

5.3 Case management officers

The following themes based on the case management officers' narratives have been divided into two groups: (1) from those who perceived ISOYW to be beneficial and (2) from those who were critical. These narratives are discussed separately in the following analysis.

Two of the four case management officers reported issues with the accountability and effectiveness of ISOYW; specifically, in relation to security, leniency, participant selection and measurability:

> Some guys do benefit from some spirituality some guys really do benefit from that and you can't downgrade that at all, but some guys do it just because they want to hang out at the cultural center. The rules are less, the rules aren't as strict nobody really bothers them there to just go hang out and hang out and talk with their buddies and hold down a picnic table. (CMO 4)

There is a contrast in the different perceptions of the program by these officers; therefore the contrasting thematic groups will be discussed separately. Two case management officers were critical of ISOYW and correctional measures designed specifically for Aboriginal offenders. One offender on the case management officer's caseload was identified as a known gang member, who was transferred from the Pathways range into segregation and afterward allowed to continue to participate in ISOYW. During earlier programming he was caught smuggling items onto his range and was suspended from the program. The participants discussed two other participants who

resided in segregation and were able to complete ISOYW. The ability to attend programs from segregation was perceived as a security concern. There was a gap in "the bridge between Aboriginal programs, behaviour expectations and risk management, a lot of the times I don't think that risk is accurately assessed throughout the ISOYW program because those relationships are a little bit swayed" (CMO 1). Security concerns were thought to take a back seat to program involvement, which presented problems with individuals who were not committed to the program. "I think it is 90% up to the guy and 10% of what we teach. I mean, he is going to make that choice" (CMO 1). Aboriginal programs were perceived as being more lenient with respect to program attendance protocols and completion requirements: "I don't know what a person would have to do to fail this program" (CMO 2). The lack of CSC conventional standards, testing and security protocols resulted in negative perceptions of Aboriginal-specific initiatives by these participants and, according to them, by other correctional staff. "Phantom reports" were used to describe documents such as the Aboriginal Healing plan and Elder Assessment, which had been implemented by the CSC to address Aboriginal issues in corrections but were seemingly unavailable to officers.

The case management officers stated concerns about security in the cultural centre at Saskatchewan Penitentiary because of the lack of permanent surveillance by correctional officers. This is a designated area and building for Aboriginal programs, ceremonies, crafts and Elder assistance. The case management officer stated that while previously engaged at the cultural centre it was difficult to enforce and maintain security because of the informal organizational structure of the centre. It was perceived that inmates have had too much control, because it was a situation established by offenders

who had been involved with the centre long before many of the staff members had begun to work there. "It was a cultural centre first and a prison second and it needs to be the other way around" (CMO 1).

The other two case management officers perceived the program to be positive and beneficial for the participants. The following themes illuminate the program and service providers' effectiveness, (1) culturally-specific techniques and setting, (2) disclosure of the offenders' lifecycles, (3) positive changes in participants and (4) appearance of lower needs and risk. As well, the divulgence of information during program completion that had been previously unavailable to case management officers assisted in effective case management.

> What I really appreciate from Warrior is the inmate sharing their lifecycle, their life's journey and I find that's quite a dramatic event. It can be very emotional. They are sharing basically their life story from the time they first remember and going through the traditional Aboriginal circle, revealing the hurts, the pains, the abuse, the good things, the teachings of the good and the bad and about their upbringing. It's extremely beneficial to me as a parole officer doing risk analysis to sit in with these guys and have them share their life story. Often, because they're dealing with an Elder and they're working with (facilitators)...they open up to these guys. (CMO 2)

ISOYW was perceived as being more effective because of the cultural component of the program. The officers perceived that the sacredness of the teachings and ceremonies presented by the Elders enabled trust, improved participation, and fostered disclosure and understanding of attitudes and behaviours among participating offenders. This allows

group members to challenge their own and each other's thinking, thereby altering misconceptions, attitudes and behaviours together as Aboriginal people.

> I think it's very effective from the standpoint that it's just focused more towards Aboriginal offenders. It is couched in language that they understand, it is couched in ceremonies so there is some sacredness, some seriousness to it. They are not just sitting around with their caps on backwards…there are actually some sacred teachings and some parenting that they might have missed in their lives. (CMO 2)

The officers gave examples of how ISOYW participants demonstrated their internalization of the program content in their interactions and behaviours with fellow inmates and other CSC staff.

> Before the program I noticed that many of the offenders are irritable, they are very short in their conversations with the parole officer, so they lack social skills and understanding of themselves. Many of the offenders have been abused as children so they are products of their environment and after the program they are much more relaxed and they have learnt to manage their emotions. For example if I had said something that may irritate them, they will take a step back and take a few breaths and try and remember the skills that they have learnt in the program and manage that emotion…I am seeing a noticeable difference in attitude and behaviour, as opposed to other programs. That's the main difference that I see in their presentation after the program, as I say they have got a different attitude and behaviour. They generally shy away from gang activity and negative institutional behaviour and it seems to me they are more at peace with themselves. (CMO 3)

The narratives of the correctional management officers identified several positive changes correlated to the themes provided by the participants. These included attainment of motivational skills, self confidence, changes to attitudes and behaviours, cultural knowledge and increased reintegration potential through the use of the contemporary and traditional Aboriginal therapeutic techniques. The narratives reiterated that most Aboriginal offenders had not been exposed to their culture before incarceration, and most afterward gravitated towards Aboriginal programs:

> They can identify with their Aboriginal culture, however many of the offenders who come into prison learn about their culture in prison. They have actually come to prison to learn about their culture. Once they have got a grasp of it they tend to want to take those types of programs that have an Aboriginal flavour. (CMO 3)

The following quote is an example of how the cultural awareness provided by ISOYW and the disclosure of abuse assisted one participant in the process of reconciliation with his victims and the community. As a result, this offender adopted cultural traditions, altered his negative behaviour and took responsibility for his actions.

> ISOYW revealed some abuse that happened to him. Some sexual abuse that happened to him as a child and nobody had known about this and he had never shared that with anybody. We were able to take that information and have an intervention and take him to his home community and have him go through some ceremonies because the result of this appears to be that he had blamed his mother for the abuse. She had left him with a babysitter that had sexually assaulted him and he beat his mother up. So what he did was, he went back and went through an Aboriginal ceremony and went and made amends and that was terrific. It gave me

> a feeling of that we are actually doing something that was worthwhile...What this guy did was he made amends to his parents, for being a stain, how can I put this, for his behaviour in the community, his alcohol abuse, his disrespect, his violence against his mother. So he made amends for those things. He was actually on the way back from that ETA (Escorted Temporary Absence) and he ran into the police officer that had arrested him too, and this inmate had threatened this police officer and he was able to go to the police officer and shake his hand and actually talked for a good ten minutes and apologized for his behaviour. (CMO 2)

The participants recognized that ISOYW is only one factor in an offender's ability to successfully reintegrate back into the community. Individual choice, addiction, links to the community and their associates after incarceration were identified in the narratives as influential factors affecting reintegration.

> The difficulty is that afterwards upon release is being able to maintain that success in follow up and in the community for years afterwards. Yet we can make gains, they can be squeaky clean in here, they can get down to minimum but let them out on their own and it is a whole new ballgame. You know you are not forced to come to pipe in the morning but it is better for you if you do and everybody is going to have to get up anyway so you might as well go to pipe. While the sweat is on Thursday and it is something to do and I might as well go. Or I'm in the community now I'm on my release - I don't have to go to a sweat, I don't have to go to the pipe, so I will just stay home or I will go hang with my bros or whatever. So the transition to the community is a tough one. (CMO 2)

The recommendation from these case managers is for program service providers to assist case management officers in the risk assessment of participants in the program performance report, by stating how risk has or has not been reduced. Having documented knowledge of positive family relationships, substance abuse, violence, and changes in attitudes and behaviours would assist officers in framing their correctional plans. One case management officer stated that risk ratings are completed by psychologists in conventional programs but are "assumable" in ISOYW. This means that during the case conference regarding an offender's ISOYW program completion involving parole officers (sometimes Elders and facilitators attend) and offenders; "if it is determined that they have got something out of the program then the risk is assumable, meaning that risk is likely reduced" (CMO 3). This recommendation would require changes to the job description and reporting requirements of these ISOYW service providers and would increase accountability for their evaluations, as parole officers are accountable for theirs. This is reflected in the recommendations by all of the case management officers to have measurable testing done upon ISOYW completion.

5.4 Summary

The narratives of the non-program participants for the most part reflect the views expressed by the program participants; that ISOYW is a positive and effective rehabilitative correctional program. The cultural component and Elder involvement were stated as key factors in the transformation of attitudes and behaviours necessary to assist offenders' rehabilitation. Examples of individuals who have made such positive changes after program completion were given as illustrations by program service providers and correctional management officers. The effectiveness of ISOYW in assisting the

offenders' readiness for reintegration was expressed by most of the participants, as a result of their institutional observations and experiences. The integration of culture and spirituality, which is available to all inmates practicing Aboriginal spirituality in the correctional institution, is evident in several aspects other than that of ISOYW. These include the cultural centre, Elder guidance, other cultural programs, the Pathways range, sweats and pipe ceremonies. Therefore, ISOYW may be perceived as an integral aspect of the holistic rehabilitation and attainment of cultural knowledge by Aboriginal offenders, but may not be considered as being exclusively responsible for positive changes in the offenders.

The final chapter is the summary and conclusions of the research. The research questions will be addressed, followed by the major findings and conclusions delineated by the researcher. Finally, there will be some suggestions offered for future research endeavours on culturally-focused correctional programming and improving attempts at understanding the high Aboriginal overrepresentation and recidivism rates.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to document the perceived effects of In Search of Your Warrior Program. This is a high-intensity, culturally-specific violence prevention program, implemented by the Correctional Service of Canada, designed for federally incarcerated Aboriginal men. The study examined the perceptions, observations and subjective experiences of the cultural program, its role in providing rehabilitative correctional programming and how it may address the issue of overrepresentation through the use of Aboriginal justice techniques. Interviews were conducted with ISOYW participants, program service providers and case management officers in Saskatchewan federal correctional institutions. Several specific issues were addressed, including the effects of a culturally specific correctional program, the restoration of culture for offenders within correctional facilities, changes experienced by program participants after completion, recommendations for program enhancement and increases in community support.

This study reviewed the previous literature regarding the social and historical impacts of government policies on Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan and the restorative justice measures which are in place at CSC to address these issues. The correctional violence prevention program In Search of Your Warrior is one such measure that focuses on a variety of social and personal issues which have contributed to the offenders' anti-social and violent behaviour. ISOYW combines the use of cognitive-behavioural therapeutic techniques used in contemporary violence prevention programs within a framework of Aboriginal traditions and values facilitated by the assistance of Elders.

Overall, the program was viewed as a positive experience by most of the participants, who indicated that they would recommend it to other Aboriginal offenders, and some of whom indicated that they would recommend implementation in the community. A central premise regarding the perceived benefits of ISOYW was healing from past experiences within group discussions facilitated by Elders in a culturally appropriate setting. As a result of program involvement positive changes in behaviours and attitudes of program participants were observed by several case management officers and program service providers. These changes were evident in the self-acknowledged and observed use of anger management skills to deal with inmate confrontations and observations of fewer disagreements with staff members, calmer temperament, willingness to share information, participation in cultural activities and continuance of their spiritual journeys.

The Aboriginal program service providers' methods and techniques of therapeutic intervention, intertwined with Aboriginal traditions such as sweats, pipe ceremonies, smudging, praying and Elder guidance were thought by most of the program participants to enable trust in the counsellor-client relationship. The renewal of cultural pride as a result of the correctional program was focused on healing and restoration of traditional values to assist in participants' wellness and reintegration. Most of the participants indicated that the cultural component and the work of the Elders were important in addressing various social and interpersonal problems related to the offenders' incarceration. Furthermore, most participants indicated that regaining culture contributed to positive changes in offenders' attitudes and behaviours.

6.2 Results in relation to previous research and literature

The results of this study support findings from previous studies and literature which suggest that Aboriginal-specific correctional programs assist in readiness for community reintegration. Waldram and Wong (1995) found that traditional teachings and beliefs may instil a sense of identity, increasing the offenders' self-worth, self-efficacy and interest in participation in the program. Greater acceptance of oneself as an Aboriginal person may also increase positive long-term effects by integrating the cultural knowledge into one's daily life. The narratives of the research participants support these findings in the emergent thematic categories expressed by both the participants in the ISOYW program and those who worked with them. It was found that program participants identified with the Aboriginal facilitators and Elders, making it easier for them to listen and participate in the group sessions. Their shared experiences helped them to form a bond of trust and respect while validating their life experiences. Proulx and Perrault (2000) stated that this bond forms the basis of two features necessary for successful treatment and healing; trust in others and improved self-esteem.

Many participants indicated that the correctional system is where they were first exposed to their culture, affirming similar findings by Sinclair (1997) and Heckbert and Turkington (2001). The participants acknowledged that ISOYW was necessary because most of them had never been involved in their culture prior to incarceration, and they saw this involvement as instrumental in their healing and rehabilitation. Many participants suggested that more cultural awareness, programs and ceremonies in the community would be beneficial in facilitating their transition back to the community.

The participants stated that they placed a significant value on their traditions and culture, participation in cultural activities and Elder assistance during and after the program. This reaffirms similar findings of Johnston (1997) who conducted Aboriginal offender surveys, file reviews and interviews. As well, the program participants and non-program participants suggested that after completion there were positive changes in attitudes and reduction in the offenders' level of risk and that there was a need for further programming, similar to the findings by Trevethan, Moore and Naqitarvik (2004) in research conducted on the Aboriginal specific program *Tupiq*, designed for Inuit sex offenders.

The perceptions of the program were positive for most of the correctional staff and almost all of the participants. The program participants stated that their expectations from the program for help with violence were met, and most of the non-program participants observed positive changes in attitudes and behaviours. Talking and sharing in group discussions, as well as the cultural ceremonies, were the most-liked components. Most of the participants believed that ISOYW helped them understand and control their violence, and enhanced cultural knowledge. Staff within the correctional institutions confirmed that changes had occurred, with decreases in confrontations and improvements in interpersonal relationships.

This study supports the findings in the ISOYW preliminary study by Trevethan, Moore and Allegri (2005). In both of the studies the following results were similar. There was a high level of satisfaction with the program among offenders, Elders and CSC staff, and ISOYW was viewed as a positive experience. The program helped offenders in areas of violence and cultural needs, and the participants determined that the Aboriginal

ceremonies and spiritual content were essential to the program. The majority of the men who took the program stated their desire to get help and learn about violence. Several participated in the program on their own initiative, while most entered the program on the recommendation of their case management officers. These findings suggest that ISOYW has a positive impact for Aboriginal offender rehabilitation. However, there is more research needed to determine how these positive results can be carried forward after CSC supervision and during community living.

6.3 Culturally-specific correctional programs

ISOYW combined Aboriginal culture with contemporary cognitive behavioural programming, in order to foster empowerment, trust and identity. The program introduced those participants who had not previously been exposed to Aboriginal culture and spirituality prior to incarceration, the program introduced them to practices and beliefs of traditional Aboriginal people, such as the medicine wheel, smudging, sweat ceremonies and prayer. The program also provided those who may have begun regaining their culture and understanding of their heritage with tools and resources, to prevent violence in the future as well as, but learn how to heal the damage from the past. ISOYW allowed the participants to converse with each other, Elders and facilitators in a culturally appropriate setting that was described as being sacred, trusting, and sincere.

The program was more than just a high-intensity correctional program for most of the participants. It provided a place to speak openly and honestly about past and current problems with other Aboriginal people in a culturally appropriate setting. They described healing as being a necessary part of their lives if they were to be successful in re-entry into the community and in remaining out of prison. Many understood the importance of

changing their pro-criminal attitudes and the need for behavioural management skills, which were developed through the encouragement of Elders as part of the healing process. The mentorship of Elders was critical for many of the participants who chose a healing path in order to develop the commitment and strength needed to follow this path. Overall, the program participants were satisfied with the program content and structure, the suitability of the facilitators and the guidance of the Elders.

The program reflects the holistic Aboriginal worldview and philosophy of restoring all aspects of life, including the harmony of the mind, body, spirit and emotions. Learning about culture is a lifelong endeavour. For participants, ISOYW taught holistic healing techniques while acknowledging the mental, physical, spiritual and emotional aspects of therapy and recovery. The findings reaffirm that ISOYW provided education and support for Aboriginal male inmates by knowledgeable Aboriginal Elders and facilitators who understood and could relate to inmates' experiences as Aboriginal people.

6.4 Thematic results

The general themes articulated by eleven program participants were defined as follows: (1) determination of the core problems, (2) changes in personal and observed attitudes, issues surrounding substance abuse, (3) learning anger management techniques and (4) regaining culture through practice and Elder guidance. The specific thematic categories which emerged from the narratives regarding the program participant involvement in the ISOYW program are: (1) culture in the community, (2) healing, (3) trust, (4) after program support, (5) cultural setting, (6) sharing similar experiences, (7) personal responsibility, (8) respect and (9) the cycle of violence. The unique themes that

emerged from the responses of one or a few the participants relevant to the research question were: (1) are: racism, (2) confession, (3) forgiveness and (4) coping skills.

The thematic categories of the program service providers, as derived from their narratives, illustrated the basis of ISOYW, their personal involvement in the program, the observed changes in attitudes and behaviours of program participants, the significance of Aboriginal-specific programming and their recommendations for improvement. The service providers gave several examples of observed changes in attitudes and behaviours of inmates during and after program delivery. The program service providers facilitated a respectful relationship based on empathy, flexibility and trust. This type of relationship was seen as making ISOYW more effective in rehabilitation for Aboriginal men. They taught participants about respect, communication skills, responsibility, patience, interpersonal relationships, cultural traditions, stress and anger management, abuse and self-confidence with traditional Aboriginal methods and teachings. There were recommendations for more cultural awareness in communities and institutions, more Elder input in future policy developments, and greater collaboration between program service providers and case management officers.

Two of the four case management officers expressed concerns about the accountability and effectiveness of ISOYW; specifically in relation to security, leniency, participant selection and measurability. The other two case management officers found that the culturally-specific techniques and setting used in ISOYW made clear the offenders' life-cycles, and they observed positive changes in the participants' interactions after program completion. In their view, ISOYW appeared to be beneficial for the participants and appeared to reduce both the need for further programming and the level

of risk presented by the offenders. The divulgence of information assisted in effective case management, and the amount of divulged information increased because of the cultural component of the program. Positive changes included the attainment of motivational skills, self-confidence, changes to attitudes and behaviours, cultural knowledge and increased reintegration potential, through the use of both contemporary and traditional Aboriginal therapeutic techniques. There were recommendations for the measurability and completion requirements of the program to include facilitator risk assessments, standardized testing and increasing the use of Elder assessments and healing plans among inmates. There were also concerns about leniency in program involvement, completion and cultural centre security expressed by the two critical case management officers.

Most of the participant and non-program participant themes confirmed that the culturally appropriate methods and program service providers' holistic approach focused on healing rather than punishment. Those who provide the service must be healed themselves, as well as be knowledgeable of and trained in violence prevention. There are differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal worldviews, which are exemplified in ISOYW by the combination of contemporary methods with traditional Aboriginal approaches. Disappointingly, however, while the researcher had anticipated interviewing correctional officers as well to provide additional observations, none agreed to participate in the study. These individuals may well have provided useful information in the observed changes of ISOYW participants in their daily routines, behaviours and attitudes after program completion while still being incarcerate.

6.5 Conclusions

For programming to be successful in the short term during incarceration, there must be demonstrable changes in the attitudes, beliefs and lifestyles of the offenders. Long-term success would require the skills and knowledge attained during programming to be demonstrated during and after CSC supervision, in the community. Aboriginal programs attempt to teach Aboriginal offenders these skills according to the values and traditions of their ancestors, encouraging pride in their Aboriginal heritage through the application of Aboriginal spirituality and knowledge to everyday life. Shared experiences of intergenerational abuse and colonialism among Aboriginal people cannot be separated from the abuse they experience or perpetuate now. Teaching and acknowledging the historical Aboriginal experiences which resulted from social policies, assimilation and colonization has enabled indigenous peoples to regain a sense of identity, self-worth, language, culture and community. ISOYW is one example of the cultural reclamation and renewal processes taking place among various Aboriginal populations, including those in correctional institutions. However, the continued overrepresentation of Aboriginal people involved in the criminal justice system, and more specifically the federal correctional system, suggests that more research and inquiry is necessary. The history of colonization combined with intergenerational cycles of violence contributes to, and intensifies, the intergenerational violence occurring today.

The results of this research cannot provide definitive conclusions regarding the effectiveness of Aboriginal-specific programming in reducing recidivism and overrepresentation. These are complex and multifaceted issues, intertwined with not only the criminal justice system but also with Canadian socio-economic structures, differing

worldviews, historical oppression and continued racism. There are several measures and analytical tools which may be used to analyze quantitative and/or qualitative data to determine what is considered to be effective correctional programming. However, defining "program success" is also a contentious process. For instance, one participant suggested that employment skills training was more relevant than cognitive development programs in reducing recidivism, since the former provides job specific skills which can be directly transferable into the community. Other participants suggested that recidivism rates for violent offences after completion are reduced, and most re-offences are for violations of the conditions of release to abstain from alcohol and drug use. Therefore, violence prevention is only one aspect of the difficulties of reintegration, further confirming the need for holistic endeavours throughout offenders' lives to provide sustainable solutions in their recovery. Furthermore, fostering positive relationships, cultural development and use of traditions during formative years to cultivate a positive Aboriginal identity would assist future generations in reconciliation and relationships.

6.6 Implications

The implications of the present findings suggest that culturally-specific programming is beneficial for offenders who are interested in learning about traditional Aboriginal culture. It would appear that ISOYW is one way of introducing and teaching offenders during incarceration about Aboriginal values, worldview, history and ways of living. This is complemented by contemporary and Aboriginal therapeutic methods of violence prevention to address the variety of treatment needs from one individual to the next. It is intended that the morals and values of the Aboriginal community will be internalized by the program participants, resulting in reduced recidivism rates and

successful reintegration into the community. Incorporating the involvement of the Aboriginal community in the treatment of Aboriginal offenders may allow them to identify and embrace their Aboriginal responsibilities, duties and roles, thereby giving them purpose and direction in their lives.

The final section below will discuss suggestions and recommendations for further research on culturally appropriate programs. It will illuminate how further qualitative analyses conducted by outside observers, before, during and a significant time after program completion may provide useful information on program effectiveness and the ability to improve reintegration rates and reduce overrepresentation. As well, there will be discussion of how cultural competency in correctional and community programs needs to be further explored by government institutions and non-government organizations, from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities.

6.7 Suggestions for further research

This research recognized factors identified by participants as being of significance in relation to ISOYW. These factors were considered as to whether they confirmed, modified or possibly contradicted existing research and thinking in the field of cultural programming for Aboriginal offenders. This study confirmed many of the findings of existing research conducted on culturally appropriate programs. As well as identifying such factors, this study thematically analyzed the subjective experiences relative to the program. The subjectively-grounded data may have the capacity to impact and influence the development of new strategies for the treatment of Aboriginal offenders. Research conducted in this area may have the ability to positively influence existing programs, and policies that are developed in the future. However, it is clear that further research is

necessary on culturally-specific correctional programs, with emphasis on longitudinal qualitative analysis to determine the extent of the perceived benefits.

The most pertinent issues illustrated in this research study suggest an apparent need for greater cultural competency, training, and evaluation. It is therefore recommended that there be increased efforts to provide cultural sensitivity training for CSC staff, especially in the Prairie Region where the Aboriginal population is high. It is additionally recommended that further qualitative research be conducted over an extended period of time by outside observers including government organizations, educational institutions, restorative justice researchers and communities, to determine how cultural competency assists in reintegration. Internal research is also imperative in quantifying program effectiveness and improvements; therefore, CSC should continue to explore how traditional Aboriginal spirituality impacts healing, reintegration and recidivism.

There were several identified issues relating to the evaluation standards of program participation and completion. The inherently flexible nature of the program seeks to address the individualistic needs of the participants. The implication of this is that each participant extracts pertinent information from the program specific to his own circumstances, and that the program modifies its content accordingly. Therefore, conventional standardized testing may be difficult to administer. However, it would be possible to include some accountability measures for the ISOYW program, such as the number of disciplinary actions resulting from institutional incidents before, during and after program implementation. Research should also be carried out before-program, after-program and in cohort analytical studies. Primary data should be obtained from

questionnaires and surveys at all of the appropriate institutions. This can then be supplemented by personal testimonies concerning the effectiveness of culturally appropriate programs by offenders, staff, Elders, facilitators, and case managers. It is also recommended that case conferences after program completion include the entire case management team, program service providers and the participant to collectively determine the changes, gains and reduction of needs that have resulted from program completion.

The further utilization of escorted and unescorted temporary passes to bring men from within the prison together with men from the community for guidance in community and cultural events should also be considered. Community contacts and support could facilitate a smoother transition from the institution, thereby promoting a true continuum-of-care network that provides readily available services and resources to support offender reintegration. Aboriginal tradition places great importance on community; therefore, increased partnerships between CSC and the Aboriginal community during sentence management should be considered. Section 81 and 84 of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act should be utilized to its fullest extent to achieve the objective of effective rehabilitation and reintegration. Section 84 states that an inmate who is applying for a conditional release may ask to be released into an Aboriginal community. It is the responsibility of the CSC to inform the community of this and for the community to have a chance to plan for the release. Section 81 gives the Aboriginal community the authority, responsibility and accountability for the care and custody of inmates. This gives the Aboriginal community the opportunity to carry out the sentence imposed with provisions for services that respects the culture and traditions of Aboriginal

people (Correctional Service of Canada, 2003). More extensive use of this legislation would reflect the program participant recommendations for more cultural teaching and involvement in the community. The findings of this research suggest that the culturally specific program ISOYW may assist in the readiness of Aboriginal offenders to reintegrate into their communities through the assistance of Elders and cultural teachings. This program enables an offender to get in touch with, and learn from respected members of Aboriginal communities. ISOYW prepares inmates for the next step in their healing plan towards community re-entry with the administration of Section 81 and 84 in the use of escorted temporary releases, unescorted temporary releases, day parole, full parole, or statutory release into Aboriginal communities. By giving inmates the tools and resources necessary to participate with Aboriginal community members while still incarcerated may improve the chances of both the community and inmate becoming accountable and responsible for each other because of traditional Aboriginal communal values.

It is important to remember that Aboriginal people have a special status that is recognized by government, law, treaties and in the Constitution. They are a distinct group of people who have suffered from the colonization and assimilation processes expressed through social policy and government interference, as is evident in the after-effects of residential schools, the 60s "scoop" of Aboriginal children by child welfare officials and decades of attempts at deculturation. Education is a key component in revitalizing the social and interpersonal relationships between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people in Canada, and in the elimination of discrimination, racism and second-class citizenship. Aboriginal people must have opportunities for input and decision-making in correctional programs that acknowledge their perspectives and that mobilize their cultural expertise in

regard to the assessment of offender needs, personal and social development of offenders and implementation of effective programs and evaluation methods.

In recent years CSC has developed several initiatives that have focused on addressing the unique needs of the Aboriginal community, including healing lodges, Aboriginal-focused institutional departments, locations and programs, implementation of Elders' and helpers' assistance in correctional facilities, creation of the positions of Aboriginal Liaison Officer and Aboriginal Community Development Officer and cultural awareness training. However, the overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in correctional facilities is still prevalent and an issue that must be addressed. Furthermore it is evidently rising along with the Aboriginal population. Therefore, proposed solutions and research in this area have yet to adequately address this issue. There is a need for greater fiscal and social responsibility of government, and of Aboriginal communities and non-Aboriginal communities, to deal with this problem before it worsens.

The contributions of the existing ISOYW program in addressing overrepresentation and recidivism appear to be positive, by re-educating Aboriginal men socially, morally and behaviourally while instilling culturally appropriate values, goals and motivation. This program attempts to bridge the gap between traditional correctional programs and Aboriginal methods of justice and reconciliation by linking the values and traditions of the Aboriginal community, through the use of Elders and Aboriginal facilitators within the institution, to the offenders. If recidivism and overrepresentation rates are to be lowered, the needs of Aboriginal people in conflict with the law need to be met. Culturally-specific programs such as ISOYW appear to be meeting these needs; however, overrepresentation and recidivism rates are not decreasing. Therefore, the

potentially enhanced contributions of culturally-specific programming could result through wider use of Aboriginal justice techniques administered by Aboriginal communities in collaboration with CSC, as an alternative to incarceration. If the goal of correctional programming is to provide the skills and knowledge necessary for the successful reintegration of Aboriginal offenders into the community, therefore reducing recidivism, then the process of achieving this goal must reflect the needs of each particular community. It is time to stop forcing European ethnocentric ideologies on Aboriginal people; rather, we must recognize and accept all cultural differences, even in the criminal justice system. The ISOYW is one particular but significant step that has been taken by the Correctional Service of Canada toward full recognition of Aboriginal justice principles for Aboriginal people.

REFERENCES

Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission. (1999). *Report of the Aboriginal justice inquiry of Manitoba.* Retrieved July 24, 2009, from http://www.ajic.mb.ca/volume.html.

Berg, B.L. (2004). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston: Pearson Education Inc.

Bernburg, J.G. (2002). Anomie, social change and crime: A theoretical examination of institutional-anomie theory. *British Journal of Criminology,* 42, 729-742.

Birkenmeyer, A. & Jolly, S. (1981). *The native inmate in Ontario*. Toronto, Ontario: Ministry of Correctional Service and Ontario Native Council on Justice.

Bjerregaar, B. & Cochran, K. (2008). A cross-national test of institutional anomie theory: Do strangers of other social institutions mediate or moderate the effects of the economy on the rate of crime? *Western Criminology Review*, 9(1), 31-48.

Bryman, B. & Teevan, J. (2005). *Social research methods: Canadian edition*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brzozowski, J., Taylor-Butts, A., & Johnson, S. (2006). *Victimization and offending among the Aboriginal population in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (2001). *A profile of criminal victimization: Results of the 1999 general social survey.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (2000). *Police reported Aboriginal crime in Saskatchewan.* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Canadian Council on Social Development. (2000). *Unequal access: A Canadian profile of racial differences in education, employment and income.* Ottawa: Canadian Race Relations.

Commission on First Nations and Métis Peoples Justice Reform. (2004). *Restorative Justice: Restoring justice in Saskatchewan.* Regina, Saskatchewan: Author.

Correctional Investigator of Canada. (2007). *Annual report of the office of the correctional investigator 2006-2007.* Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Correctional Service Canada. (1995, September 6). *Commissioner's Directive 702: Aboriginal programming.* Retrieved November 27, 2008, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/plcy/cdshtm/702-cde-eng.shtml.

Correctional Service Canada. (2000, November 23). *Questions on sections 84 and 81.* Retrieved June 22, 2009, from http://www.fsin.com/justice/corrections.html.

Correctional Service Canada. (2005, October 7). *Performance assurance measures.* Retrieved January 21, 2009, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pa/ev-sdhc-394-2-30/1-3-eng.shtml#_ftn31.

Correctional Service Canada. (2006). *Strategic plan for Aboriginal corrections: Innovations, learning and adjustment 2006-07 to 2010-11.* Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Couture, J. (1983). *Traditional Aboriginal spirituality and religious practice in federal prisons.* Ottawa: Corrections of Canada.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among the five traditions.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

Daly, K. (2002). Restorative justice: The real story. *Punishment and Society,* 4, 55-79.

Day, A., Wilson, C. & Howells, K. (2008). Promoting forgiveness in violent offenders: A more positive approach to offender rehabilitation. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour.* 13(3), 195-200.

Department of Justice. (1992). *Corrections and conditional release act.* Ottawa: Government of Canada.

Dickenson-Gilmore, J., & La Prairie, C. (2005). *Will the circle be unbroken?: Aboriginal communities, restorative justice, and the challenges of conflict and change.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Hawthorn, H.B., Cairns, H.C., Jamieson, S. M. & Lysyk, K. (1966). *A survey of the contemporary Indians of Canada: A report on economic, political, educational needs and policies in two volumes [Part I].* Retrieved March 5, 2009, from http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/pub/srvy/sci_e.html.

Ellerby, L., & MacPherson, P. (2002). *Exploring the profiles of Aboriginal sex offenders: Contrasting Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sexual offenders to determine unique client characteristics and potential implications for sexual offender assessment and treatment strategies.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Epprecht, N. (2000). Programs for Aboriginal offenders: A national survey. *Forum on Corrections Research,* 12(1), 45-47.

Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations Justice Secretariat. (2000). *Basic information on government departments related to corrections.* Retrieved July 23, 2009, from http://www.fsin.com/justice/downloads/basic_info_corrections.pdf.

Freeman-Longo, R. (1986). The impact of sexual victimization on males. *Child Abuse and Neglect,* 10, 411-414.

Frideres, J. & Gadacz, R. (2008). *Aboriginal peoples in Canada.* (8th ed.). Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Furio, Jennifer. (2002). *Restorative Justice: Prison as Hell or a Chance for Redemption?* New York: Algora Publishing.

Goss, G. & Associates. (1992). *Evaluation strategy for Aboriginal initiatives.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Government of Saskatchewan. (2004, January 1). *Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan.* Retrieved November 18, 2008, from http://www.fnmr.gov.sk.ca/demographics/.

Guest, J. (1999). Aboriginal legal theory and restorative justice. In W. McCaslin (Ed.) *Justice as Healing: Indigenous ways*. St. Paul, Minn: Living Justice Press (2005).

Hamiliton, A., & Sinclair, C. (1991). *Report of the Aboriginal justice inquiry of Manitoba.* Winnipeg: Queen's Printer.

Harding, J. (1992). *Overcoming systemic discrimination against Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan.* Regina: University of Regina.

Harris, M. (2003). *Con game: The truth about Canada's prisons.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Heckbert, D., & Turkington, D. (2001). *Turning points: A study of the factors related to the successful reintegration of Aboriginal offenders.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Hurlbert, M. & McKenzie, J. (2008). The criminal justice system and aboriginal people. In J. Whyte (Ed.), *Moving toward justice: Legal traditions and Aboriginal justice.* (pp. 142-159). Saskatoon: Purich Publishing.

Hycner, R. H. (1985). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. *Human Studies,* 8(3), 279-303.

Irwin, L. (2006). Walking the line: Pipe and sweat ceremonies in prison. *Nova Religio,* 9(3), 39-60.

Johnston, J. (1997). *Aboriginal offender survey: Case files and interview samples.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

LaPrairie, C. (1992). *Dimensions of overrepresentation in correctional institutions and implications for crime prevention.* Ottawa: Solicitor General Canada.

LaPrairie, C. (1996). *Examining Aboriginal corrections in Canada: Aboriginal peoples collection.* Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

LaPrairie, C., & Stenning, P. (2002). Exile on main street: some thoughts on Aboriginal over-representation. In P. Newhouse, & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not strangers in these parts: Urban Aboriginal peoples* (pp. 179-193). Policy Research Initiative.

McGillivray, A. (1997). Therapies of freedom: The colonization of Aboriginal childhood. In A. McGillivray, *Governing childhood* (pp. 135-199). Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Merton, R.K. (1938). Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review* 3, 672-682.

Messner, S. & Rosenfeld, R. (2001). *Crime and the American dream* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Milloy, J. (1999). *A national crime.* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Milner, J., Robertson, K., & Rogers, D. (1990). Childhood history of abuse and adult child abuse potential. *Journal of Family Violence* 5, 15-34.

Morse, J.M. & Field, P. A. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for health professionals, second edition.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Mulvale, J. P. (2007). Justice and human rights for Aboriginal peoples in Saskatchewan: Mapping the road ahead. In S. Permentier, & E. Weitekamp (Eds.), *Crime and human rights [Sociology of Crime, law and deviance, volume 9]* (pp. 219-242). Oxford UK, Burlington Mass: Elsevier.

Native Counselling Services of Alberta. (1999). *The in search of your warrior program manual.* Native Counselling Services of Alberta Publications.

Office of the Prime Minister. (2008, June 11). *PM offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian residential schools system.* Retrieved January 21, 2009, from http://pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2146.

Otterbein, K.F. (1977). *Comparative cultural analysis: An introduction to anthropology.* (2nd ed.). New York, New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston.

Proulx, J., & Perrault, S. (2000). The Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itala Stony Mountain project: Blending contemporary and traditional approaches for male family violence offenders. In J. Proulx, & S. Perrault, *No place for violence: Canadian Aboriginal alternatives* (pp. 99-118). Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Reasons, C. (1975). Native offenders and correctional policy. *Crime and Justice,* 4(4), 255-276.

Roberts, J., & Doob, A. (1994). Race, ethnicity and criminal justice. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and ethnicity, crime and justice* (Vol. 21). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Ross, E. C., & Ward, T. (2008). The therapeutic alliance: A theoretical revision for offender rehabilitation. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour,* 13, 462-480.

Ross, R. (1992). *Dancing with a ghost: Exploring Indian reality.* Markham, Ont.: Reed Books

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. (1996b). *Bridging the cultural divide: A report on Aboriginal people and criminal justice in Canada.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Satzewich, V. (Ed.). (1998). *Racism and social inequality in Canada: Concepts, controversies, & strategies of resistance.* Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing Inc.

Sinclair, M. (1997). Aboriginal Justice Learning Network. Transcript of presentation to Elders - Policy Makers - Academics Constituency Group Meeting, Aylmer, Quebec, April 16-18. Retrieved January 13, 2009, from http://www.nanlegal.on.ca/article/transcript-of-presentation-115.asp.

Sioui, R., & Thibault, J. (2001). *The relevance of a cultural adaptation for Aboriginals of the reintegration potential reassessment scale (RPRS).* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Trevethan, S. (1991). *Police reported Aboriginal crime in Calgary, Regina, and Saskatoon.* Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Trevethan, S., Auger, S., & Moore, J. (2001). *The effects of family disruption on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal inmates.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Trevethan, S., Moore, J., & Allegri, N. (2005). *The "in search of your warrior" program for Aboriginal offenders: A preliminary evaluation.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Trevethan, S., Moore, J., & Naqitarvik, L. (2004). *The tupiq program for Inuit sexual offenders: A preliminary investigation.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (2008, July 6). *Overview of the Indian residential school legacy and settlement agreement.* Retrieved January 21, 2009, from http://www.trc-cvr.ca/historicalintroen.html.

Schutz, A. (1962). Collected Papers, Volume 1, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff. *See in particular*: "Commonsense and scientific interpretations of human action" pp. 3-47; "Concept and theory formation in the social sciences" pp. 48-66; "On multiple realities" pp. 207-259.

Van Loon, R. & Whittington, M. (1976). *The Canadian system environment, structure & process* (2nd ed.). New York: Mcgraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Waldram, J. (1997). *The way of the pipe: Aboriginal spirituality and symbolic healing in Canadian prisons.* Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Waldram, J., & Wong, S. (1995). Group therapy of Aboriginal offenders in a Canadian forensic psychiatric facility. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research,* 6(2), 34-56.

Weekes, J., & Milson, W. (1994). *The Native offender substance abuse pre-treatment program: Intermediate measures of program effectiveness.* Ottawa: Correctional Service Canada.

Weitekamp, E. (1999). The history of restorative justice. In G. Bazemore and L. Walgrave (Eds.). *Restorative juvenile justice: Repairing the harm of youth crime.* Pp. 75-102. Monsey, New York: Criminal Justice Press.

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Williams III, F.P., and McShane, M.D. (2003). *Criminological theory,* (4th ed.). Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson–Prentice Hall.

Wilson, G. (2007, December 27). *Working together: Enhancing the role of Aboriginal communities in federal corrections.* Retrieved November 18, 2008, from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/prgm/abinit/ab6-eng.shtml.

Wotherspoon, T., & Satzewich, V. (1993). *Race, class, and gender relations.* Ontario: Nelson Canada.

York, G. (1990). *The dispossessed.* Toronto: Little, Brown, and Company.

Zellerer, E. (2003). Culturally competent programs: The first family violence program for Aboriginal men in prison. *The Prison Journal,* 83(2), 171-190.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Sequence of inquiry: questions for program participants

1. What community are you from? Are you planning on returning there after your sentence is served?
2. What programs have you taken in jail? What did you gain from them, if anything?
3. How might have these programs been more helpful?
4. When did you start to learn about your culture? How has this affected your life?
5. Do you have regular contact with an Elder? Family? Friends? Children?
6. Do you have an Aboriginal Healing Plan, if so where are you on your journey? Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern Doorway.
7. Have you adopted Aboriginal cultural practices as a result of your participation in the ISOYW program?
8. What changes have you made in your life since taking the ISOYW program?
8. Did you enjoy the program? Were your expectations met in the program?
9. Was it easier to participate in ISOYW versus mainstream programs? Do you remember more from this program versus mainstream programs? Why?
9. Do you recommend this program to others?
10. Was the program just another hurdle to jump to get out or were the teachings useful?
11. Did the program help you in any way? How?
12. How will you use this information in the community and continue to practice traditional Aboriginal values, culture, and history?
14. What were the core values of In Search of Your Warrior?
15. What did you learn about violence?
16. How do you deal with anger issues now?
17. Are there any questions you have for me about the research or anything else?
18. Where do you see yourself after incarceration?
19. Do you have any questions or concerns about the research before we finish?

Appendix B. Sequence of inquiry: questions for Correctional Service Canada staff

1. What is your knowledge of the In Search of Your Warrior program?
2. What is your experience with this program, either directly or indirectly?
3. To the best of your knowledge, how do offenders adopt and practice the traditional beliefs they have learned?
4. What do you think is the most important change in the offender's attitude towards violence that occurs after completion of the program?
5. Is there an overall shift in offender attitudes, beliefs, practices, after program completion? Explain?
6. What are the changes to the offender's correctional plan after programming?
7. Is there a change in their reintegration potential or recidivism risk status.
8. What is the perception of the In Search of Your Warrior program for those who deal with the offenders daily, is it helpful or part of the routine?
9. Do you believe this program reduces the recidivism rates for readmissions of violent offences? Why?
10. What follow up is done to determine if the program is working for the offender or if program maintenance is required?
11. What is the difference between this program and other violence programs in the penitentiary, other than the cultural aspect?
12. Are there improvements in offender attitudes and changes in offender behaviour that are noticeable by others when offenders take the In Search of Your Warrior program?
13. According to the preliminary study on ISOYW after program completion participants demonstrated lower need for interventions on several dynamic factors. (personal distress, family issues, substance abuse, community functioning, employment, social interactions and pro-criminal attitudes).
14. How is this demonstrated in the reports?
15. What changes would you like to see to the program?
16. In your opinion, how does an offender demonstrate 'success' in the program? (continues learning about culture, changes attitude, no new violent offences, deals with inner issues appropriately)
17. What changes to the ISOYW manual necessary?
18. In your professional opinion, are Aboriginals more likely to complete culturally appropriate and relevant programming versus mainstream programming? Explain.
19. Has there been a pre and post-test analyses published that you are aware of? Native Counselling Services of Alberta (NCSA) have developed pre- and post-test measures for participants. Would this be useful?
20. Would an ISOYW Maintenance program offered in the community for individuals on parole be useful in their reintegration?
21. Do you believe this program is taken seriously by the offenders? Explain.
22. Do you have any questions or concerns about the research before we finish?

Appendix C. Sequence of inquiry: questions for Elders

1. What is your knowledge of the In Search of Your Warrior program?
2. What is your experience with this program, either directly or indirectly?
3. What ceremonies do you provide and what teachings do you give to the offenders during your sessions?
4. Do most Aboriginal offenders who take ISOYW have a healing plan? When do they start one?
5. Must an offender make it through the Northern Doorway of his Healing Journey before being released? Explain?
6. Are there improvements in offender attitudes and changes in behaviour that are noticeable by others after offenders take the In Search of Your Warrior program?
7. To the best of your knowledge, how do many offenders adopt and practice the traditional teaching and values after incarceration?
8. What do you think is the most important change in the offender that occurs after completion of the program?
9. What do traditional Aboriginal teachings tell us about how to deal with violence?
10. What is the most important thing that you stress to the offenders?
11. Do most offenders change behavioural patterns after the program is over? What are they?
12. Do most of the offenders talk to you regularly before/after programming?
13. Do offenders stay in regular contact with an Elder once they are in the community?
14. What are the changes to the offender's correctional and healing plan after taking this program?
15. What follow up is done to determine if the offender has internalized the information or if they would benefit from a maintenance course?
16. What changes would you like to see in the program?
17. Would an ISOYW Maintenance program offered for individuals in the institution or on parole be useful for re-entry into the community?
18. In your opinion, how do you know if the offender has adopted the values and principles that were learned in the program?
19. Do differences in Aboriginal cultures make this program difficult to deliver?
20. Do you have any questions or concerns about the research before we finish?

Appendix D. Consent form: program participants

A study on the In Search of Your Warrior CSC program
ISOYW Program Participants

You are invited to participate in a research study on the cultural program *In Search of Your Warrior.* You were selected as a possible participant because you have completed this CSC program in the past 1-5 years. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by Kris Naclia who is a University of Regina student completing his Master of Arts in Justice Studies. This is independent research for the University of Regina with cooperation of Aboriginal Initiatives of the Correctional Service of Canada for background information on the study and its participants.

Background Information
The purpose of this study is find out if the CSC program In Search of Your Warrior is beneficial for the participants' re-entry into the community through Aboriginal teachings and values. Each participant in the study will take part in a taped interview. There will also be interviews with program facilitators, correctional staff, and Elders about the program and participants of In Search of Your Warrior program. The researcher will also have access to the participants' CSC files and will use all of this data to determine if the program is considered to be meeting its objectives.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

- Participate in a taped interview with the researcher Kris Naclia
- Allow the researcher access to use your information anonymously in the study
- Sign this Consent form

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study
The study has several risks: The researcher may ask questions that are uncomfortable for you and may bring back negative memories. If you feel uncomfortable at any time during or after the interview please advise Kris Naclia, the University of Regina or your Aboriginal Community Development/Liaison Officer. Second, the researcher will have access to your CSC files. This information will not be shared with anyone and will not be identifiable in the research findings.

The benefits to participation are: The benefits are enjoying an interesting conversation with the researcher and providing useful information about you and your experience with the In Search of Your Warrior program. As well, this research may provide useful information to enhance future programming.

Confidentiality and Anonymity:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research

records will be stored securely at the University of Regina and only researchers will have access to the records. Tape recording will be kept in a locked drawer at the University of Regina. It will remain there for 5 years and will then be erased. Your name or any identifiable information will not be used in the research results and all data will remain anonymous.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:
Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Correctional Service of Canada and the University of Regina. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:
The researcher conducting this study is Kris Naclia. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact him through the Justice Studies Department at the University of Regina at 306-585-4779 or through his advisor Jim Mulvale at 306-585-4237 or by mail to: Jim Mulvale Department of Justice Studies University of Regina 3737 Wascana Parkway Regina SK S4S 0A2.

This research has been approved by the Research Ethics Board, University of Regina. If you have any concerns about my rights or treatment as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at 306-585-4775 or by mail to Research Ethics Board University of Regina 3737 Wascana Parkway Regina SK S4S 0A2.
You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix E. Consent form: correctional workers and Elders

A study on the In Search of Your Warrior CSC program

Corrections Workers and Elders

You are invited to participate in a research study on the cultural program *In Search of Your Warrior*. You were selected as a possible participant because you work with individuals who have participated in this CSC program. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by Kris Naclia who is a University of Regina student completing his Master of Arts in Justice Studies. The researcher is also working with Aboriginal Initiatives of the Correctional Service of Canada for background information in the study and its participants.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is find out if the CSC program In Search of Your Warrior is beneficial for the participants re-entry into the community through Aboriginal teachings and values. Each correctional worker or Elder participant in the study will be interviewed by the researcher about their knowledge, views, and recommendations for the program and its participants. There will also be interviews with former program participants who have completed the program in the last 1-5 years. The researcher will also have access to the participating inmates' CSC files and will use all of this data to determine if the program is considered to be meeting its objectives.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:

- participate in a taped interview with the researcher about In Search of Your Warrior program and its participants
- communicate any relevant information about the program, participants, recommendations, and how 'success' is measured
- sign this consent form

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

The risks to participation are: Correctional staff and Elder participants is that anonymity cannot be assured. The data collected from these participants will be kept confidential, but the offender participants will be aware that correctional staff and Elders are being interviewed. Since there are a limited number of correctional staff and Elders who work with the offenders, those individuals may be identifiable to the offenders.

The benefits to participation are: The benefits are enjoying an interesting conversation with researcher and providing useful information about their experiences with and

knowledge of the In Search of Your Warrior program. As well, the research may provide useful information to enhance future programming.

Confidentiality:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely at the University of Regina and only researchers will have access to the records. Tape recording will be kept in a locked drawer at the University of Regina. It will remain there for 5 years and will then be erased.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:
Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Correctional Service of Canada or the University of Regina. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:
The researcher conducting this study is Kris Naclia. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact him through the Justice Studies Department at the University of Regina at 306-585-4779 or through his advisor Jim Mulvale at 306-585-4237 or by mail to: Jim Mulvale Department of Justice Studies University of Regina 3737 Wascana Parkway Regina SK S4S 0A2.

This research has been approved by the Research Ethics Board, University of Regina. If you have any concerns about my rights or treatment as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the Research Ethics Board at 306-585-4775 or by mail to Research Ethics Board University of Regina 3737 Wascana Parkway Regina SK S4S 0A2.
You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:
I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix H. Analytical reduction of key words and phrases

Number	Key Word/Phrase	# of Participants
(1)	Become role model	2
(2)	Community culture	6
(3)	Sincerity	2
(4)	Root of problem	10
(5)	Healing	7
(6)	Desire to change	2
(7)	Attitude change	9
(8)	Spirituality	1
(9)	Cultural tools	2
(10)	Positive effects	2
(11)	Loving yourself	1
(12)	Consequences	3
(13)	Comfortable	5
(14)	Racism	2
(15)	Healing	7
(16)	Nurturing	1
(17)	Trust	7
(18)	Communication skills	1
(19)	Sharing	2
(20)	After program support	3
(21)	Leadership	1
(22)	Setting	5
(23)	Holistic	2
(24)	Confession	2
(25)	No pressure to participate	1
(26)	Substance abuse/ addiction	11
(27)	Observed change	2
(28)	Shared similar/ group experiences	6
(29)	Responsibility	4
(30)	Coping	2
(31)	Anger management	9
(32)	Abuse mental/ physical/ emotional	3
(33)	Have a choice	1
(34)	Forgiveness	2
(35)	Grieving	1
(36)	Respect self/ others	5
(37)	Cycle of violence	5
(38)	Feel normal	2
(39)	Regaining culture	9
(40)	Humble	1
(41)	Medicine wheel	1

(42)	Different approach	2
(43)	Jumping through hoops	1
(44)	Bush setting better	1
(45)	Just didn't like it	2
(46)	Others not as serious	2
(47)	Forced participation	2
(48)	Lack of trust	1
(49)	Waiting list to get in	1
(50)	Differing aboriginal language/traditions	1

Appendix I. Emergent themes and the key words/phrases

	Emergent Theme	Key Word/Phrase	# Of Participants Who Referred To This Theme
General Themes			
1.	determination of the core problems	(4) root of problem, (24) confession, (26) substance abuse/addiction, (32) abuse: physical/mental/emotional, (37) violence: cycle/control	10
2.	changes in personal and observed attitudes	(7) Attitude change, (10) positive effects, (31) anger management, (36) respect: self/others	9
3.	issues surrounding substance abuse	(5) healing, (10) positive effects, (26) substance abuse/addiction, (36) respect self/others, (37) violence cycle/control	11
4.	learning anger management techniques	(12) consequences, (29) responsibility, (31) anger management, (40) humble	9
5.	regaining culture	(39) regaining culture, (2) community culture, (8) spirituality, (23) holistic, (41) medicine wheel	9
Specific Themes			
1.	culture in the community	(2) community culture, (42) different approach, (5) healing	6
2.	healing	(5) healing, (15) holistic, (31) anger management,	7
3.	trust	(17) trust, (28) shared similar experiences, (36) respect	7
4.	after program support	(12) consequences, (20) after program support, (42) different approach	6
5.	cultural setting	(3) sincerity, (13) comfortable, (16)	5

		nurturing, (17) trust, (22) setting, (25) no pressure to participate	
6.	sharing similar experiences	(27) observed changed, (28) shared similar/group experiences, (38) feel normal, (46) others not as serious	6
7.	personal responsibility	(1) role model, (6) desire to change, (29) responsibility, (33) have a choice	4
8.	respect	(11) loving yourself, (19) sharing, (36) respect yourself/others	5
9.	the cycle of violence	(1) become role model, (31) anger management, (37) violence cycle/control	5
Unique Themes			
1.	racism	(9) cultural tools, (14) racism	2
2.	confession	(24) confession, (40) humble	2
3.	forgiveness	(9) cultural tools, (34) forgiveness	2
4.	coping skills	(30) coping, (35) grieving	2