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Parole Officers' Perspective on the Needs of Indigenous Offenders on Conditional Release

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Ritesh Dalip Narayan

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Walden University
2021

Abstract

Parole Officers' Perspective on the Needs of Indigenous Offenders on Conditional
Release

by

Ritesh Dalip Narayan

MA, Brunel University, 2006

BA, University of the Fraser Valley, 2004

Dip, Kwantlen Polytechnique University 2001

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Human and Social Services (Criminal Justice)

Walden University

May 2021

Abstract

Indigenous offenders are overrepresented in all aspects of the Canadian criminal justice system, including corrections. Indigenous offenders are overrepresented in the prison population and are least likely to be granted an early release from prison. Indigenous offenders also disproportionately breach their conditional release orders and consequently spend more time incarcerated than non-Indigenous offenders. To understand the reasons behind the breaches, a need-based theoretical lens was used to analyze data. Sixteen parole officers were interviewed using a narrative design where participants shared their accounts on supervising Indigenous offenders while highlighting the needs which they felt were not being met by their Indigenous clients. Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory was used to understand the different levels of need, and upon analyzing data, eight themes emerged in the study. These themes reflected the unmet needs that parole officers identified which were putting Indigenous offenders at a higher risk to breach their conditional release orders. Recommendations include addressing systemic discrimination, helping Indigenous offenders gain social stability through resources that are accessible, the need to indigenize the criminal justice system through change in policies and practice, adequate funding for stakeholders to provide support to Indigenous offenders, and the need for Indigenous offenders to heal. Adopting the outcomes of this research has implications for social change by reducing breaches and recidivism among Indigenous offenders in Canada.

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Dedication

I dedicate this to my first gurus, my parents and to my wife Anshu, for their endless support, and to my sons, Rithik and Rineet, who are my pride and joy. I also thank all my friends and family for believing in me and for their prayers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system is a phenomenon that is well-known, not only amongst legal scholars and learners, but the general public as well (Public Safety Canada, 2017; Reid, 2017). Indigenous people in Canada make 3% of the adult population, while Indigenous men make 28%, women 43 %, and youth 46% of those convicted of a crime (Department of Justice, 2017). Although researchers use different research methodologies to learn why Indigenous people are overrepresented in the criminal justice system in Canada, they all agree that not only is deviance a problem in the Indigenous community, but that to address this issue researchers need to continue studying this area (Cesaroni et al., 2018; Rudin, 2016; Wormith et al., 2015). This phenomenon has led to researchers conducting studies to learn what characteristics make Indigenous people more susceptible to crime and more likely to spend considerable time in prison than the general population (Cesaroni et al., 2015; Spivakovsky, 2016).

In the study of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system, research can be divided into the following categories: discrimination against Indigenous people, problems with substance abuse and addiction, health, and mental health issues facing Indigenous offenders, intergenerational trauma, and recidivism. My research looked at Indigenous offenders who are incarcerated in federal prisons. More specifically, I studied why Indigenous offenders are likely to spend more time in prison than their counterparts. Reports by Public Safety Canada (2017, 2018, 2019) indicate that

Indigenous offenders are less likely to be released on parole, but when released, they are also at a high risk of breaching their conditional release orders.

In my literature review, I have found extensive work looking at risk assessment amongst Indigenous offenders (Hart, 2016; Shepherd et al., 2014; Wilson & Gutierrez, 2014; Wormith et al., 2015). The authors of these studies have presented significant findings which include the overemphasis of risk-assessment as a tool (Hart, 2016), the cultural biases in risk-assessment (Hart, 2016; Shepard & Lewis-Fernandez, 2016), and the validity of risk-assessment tools in determining recidivism (Helmus, 2015). Information that is mostly missing in the literature is on offender needs and the role they may play in recidivism and breaching of conditional release orders. There is an absence of understanding of how offenders' unmet needs may create life barriers and delayed release back in the community. An understanding of this phenomenon has implications for change in policy and practice in the corrections branch of the criminal justice system, which would, in turn, bring about positive social change.

Background of the Study

Parole is described as a “carefully constructed bridge” by the Parole Board of Canada (n.d) to describe transitioning from incarceration back to the community. According to Mooney and Daffern (2014), parole's goal is to allow incarcerated offenders to re-enter the community as good civilians and become contributing members of society. Parole by no account means that the offender is free of all conditions and restrictions. It is designed to get offenders to serve their sentence in the community as opposed to being incarcerated. While different countries may have their iteration of rules

around parole, Canada's rules on parole are enshrined in the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992).

Parole in Canada

Parole in Canada is referred to as the federal program where offenders are released with conditions back into the community to live as law-abiding citizens (Parole Board of Canada, n.d). Parole eligibility may be set at the time of sentencing by a judge, and the Corrections and Conditional Release Act (1992) also gives further provision on when a person may be eligible for parole. Parole also applies to those individuals who are in federal custody (Parole Board of Canada, n.d). Individuals 18 years and older and sentenced to 2 years or more are housed in the federal penitentiary in Canada, while those serving less than 2 years are held in provincial prisons (Wormith et al., 2015). Parole applies to those inmates who are serving their sentence in a federal prison system.

There are two types of parole in Canada, day and full parole. Day parole is designed to help offenders gradually re-enter the community by participating in work and other activities that may contribute to society (Parole Board of Canada, n.d). During day parole, an offender is released in public, with conditions, and they must return every night to a halfway house or a provincial jail or a location as agreed by the Parole Board of Canada. This type of parole continues until the offender has completed their sentence or full parole has been granted.

Full parole allows offenders to serve the remainder of their sentence in the community. However, even when on full parole, the offender must be under the supervision of a parole officer. Full parole in Canada may be applied after completing

one-third of the sentence. The parole board is tasked with determining whether an inmate will be suitable to re-enter the community. Some factors that the board takes into consideration are social and criminal history, remorse, acknowledgment of wrongdoing, behavior when serving time in the institution, type and number of programs completed while in incarceration, their release plan, and most importantly, the protection of society (Parole Board of Canada, n.d).

Prison and Parole Population

According to Statistics Canada (2019), in 2017/2018, there were 14,129 inmates in federal custody. Canada has seen a 4% decline in offenders sentenced to federal prisons compared to 2016/2017 (Statistics Canada, 2019). In 2017/2018, there was an average of 94,904 adult offenders under some form of community supervision. Also, an average of 9,043 offenders was either on a day or full parole during this period (Statistics Canada, 2019). This figure also includes those offenders who were on statutory release. Statutory release is when offenders are released back into the community with supervision upon completing two-thirds of their sentence (Parole Canada, n.d). This is a presumptive release by law and applies in situations where parole is not granted earlier. Statutory release is not afforded to offenders serving a life or indeterminate sentence (Parole Canada, n.d). Adults who identify as Aboriginal are overrepresented in the Canadian correctional system (Cesaroni et al., 2015; Public Safety Canada, 2019; Reid, 2017; Spivakovsky, 2016).

Statistics on Indigenous Incarceration

According to Statistics Canada, between 2013-2014 and 2017-2018, the total federal population representing Indigenous offenders increased by 14.7%. Indigenous offenders represent 24% of the federal offender population and 26.3% warrant of committal admissions to federal jurisdiction (Statistics Canada, 2019). The average age at admission is lower for Indigenous offenders than for non-Indigenous offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2019). Also, the proportion of Indigenous offenders in custody is higher than for non-Indigenous offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2019). In the 2017-2018 fiscal year, the proportion of Indigenous offenders in federal custody was 70.3% compared to 57.6% for non-Indigenous offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2019). Overall, Indigenous offenders are also classified as having a higher security risk than non-Indigenous inmates (Statistics Canada, 2019). At the end of the fiscal year 2017-2018, Indigenous offenders were also more likely to be serving a sentence for a violent offense (79% for Indigenous offenders and 67% for non-Indigenous offenders).

Compared to the 2008-2009 to 2017-2018 reports, the in-custody of Indigenous offenders has increased by 43.3%, and the total offender population has increased by 45.7% over the same period (Public Safety Canada, 2019). During this same period, the number of Indigenous offenders on community supervision increased by 51.6%. Also, Indigenous offenders were more likely to be released on statutory release at 74.4% compared to non-Indigenous offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2019). This can be easily interpreted as that Indigenous offenders are less likely to get paroled and spend more extended periods incarcerated and only to be released on statutory releases. This assertion

is further substantiated by the Statistics Canada report (2018) that 24.4% of Indigenous offenders were released on day parole and 1.2% on full parole compared to 40.7% and 3.5% respectively for non-Indigenous offenders. According to a Public Safety Canada report (2019), over the past 10 years, Indigenous offenders have seen a decrease in those that are granted day and full parole, 66.7%; 18.9%, compared to non-Indigenous offenders 72.3%; 30.3%. A crucial finding on which my problem statement is based is that when compared to non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous offenders serve higher proportions of their sentence before being released in the community, 41.3% for day parole, and 47.8% of their sentence before being granted full parole (Public Safety Canada, 2019).

A study by Stewart et al. (2019) on recidivism rates in Canada found that male and female Indigenous offenders were more likely to breach their conditional release orders due to a breach or new crime than non-Indigenous offenders. They reported that between 2011-2017, the recidivism rate of Indigenous men was 38% and 20% for Indigenous women compared to 21% for non-Indigenous men and 9% for non-Indigenous women (Steward et al., 2019). When looking at the revocation of parole rates, Stewart et al. further found that 42.8% of non-Indigenous offenders had their parole revoked compared to 64% of Indigenous offenders. Stewart et al. also found that the recidivism rate was higher for Indigenous offenders than non-Indigenous offenders for every index offense except for homicide.

Legislative Provisions and Court Decisions

As a result of several inquiries and reports showing the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders in prison and being supervised in the community, there have been legislative changes as well as landmark court decisions to address this issue. The introduction of Bill C-41 in 1995 was instrumental in sentencing considerations for Indigenous offenders in Canada. The bill added a specific provision in Section 781.2(e) of the Canadian Criminal Code which stipulated that “all available sanctions other than imprisonment that are reasonable in the circumstances should be considered for all offenders, with particular attention to the circumstances of aboriginal offenders” (Jeffries & Stenning, 2014, p.451). The addition of this clause to section 781.2 of the Canadian Criminal Code was fueled by the government’s desire to resolve the problem of overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders in federal and provincial custody (Jeffries & Stenning, 2014). However, while the amendments to the legislation were prompted by the House of Commons in Canada, the interpretation of the legislation was left to the judiciary, which eventually took place in the form of court decisions in *R v. Gladue* (1999) and *R v. Wells* (2000).

The decision in the *R v. Gladue* (1999) and *R v. Wells* (2000) acknowledged the following: that there is evidence of systematic discrimination across the criminal justice system against Indigenous offenders; the overrepresentation is a result of factors such as poverty, substance abuse, lack of education/social skills, employment and marginalization; that the intention behind amendment to section 781.2 of the criminal code was for judges to deliver a fit sentence, not just a different sentence; Indigenous

offenders are more adversely affected by prison and the western rehabilitation programs are not culturally appropriate and may further the discrimination; the importance of taking historical background into consideration in every case when sentencing Indigenous offenders; restorative justice principals must be considered where appropriate when sentencing Indigenous offenders; that the Gladue principals are not to be applied universally as severe and violent crimes are to be dealt for Indigenous offenders the same way it is dealt with non-Indigenous offenders; and that the Gladue principals are to be applied to Indigenous offenders regardless of where they live (Jefferies & Stenning, 2014).

Discrimination, Substance Abuse, Intergenerational Trauma, and Health

Some factors attributed to the high incarceration rate and revocation of conditional release orders among Indigenous are due to discrimination (Currie et al., 2012; Delic, 2008; Jefferies & Stenning, 2014). Discrimination is described as being institutionalized at every level of the criminal justice system and particularly in the correctional policies (Jefferies & Stenning, 2014).

According to Kunic and Varis (2019), 90% of Indigenous inmates in federal prisons suffer from some substance abuse problems. They found that substance abuse is usually the precursor to the crimes they commit to support their habit. Kunic and Varis also reported that substance abuse problems among Indigenous offenders, if untreated, put them at a higher risk to breach their release orders when on parole and gravely affects their social life and health. In their study, Kunic and Varis found that

substance abuse problems among Indigenous offenders are generally why they are not employable and functional members of society.

According to Marsh et al. (2015), intergenerational trauma is trauma passed down by parents and grandparents who have experienced trauma. In the case of Indigenous people, this trauma stemmed from the harsh experiences of residential schools, abuse, stripping away of their culture and identity by colonizers, and displacement (Menziez, 2007). Intergenerational trauma has resulted in an array of mental health problems, including self-destructive behaviors, anxiety, depression, family violence, and homicidal and suicidal thoughts (Menziez, 2007). Intergenerational trauma is also attributed to the overrepresentation of Indigenous people among the homeless across Canada, the overrepresentation in the criminal justice system, and the breach of their conditional release orders (Marsh, 2015; Menziez, 2007; Rand, 2011).

The health of the Indigenous people in Canada has been a long-standing concern (Beavis et al., 2015; Cameron et al., 2014; Carriere et al., 2018). Indigenous people in Canada are seen as marginalized populations, and they have been inundated by challenges of proper medical care, living conditions, and even clean drinking water (Carriere et al., 2018). When untreated, these health issues have shown to trigger other types of complexities such as not being able to function well in society, poor health leading to poor performance in school and work, substance abuse issues as a result of unhealthy coping methods used to address health problems, and a higher chance of committing a crime and breaching conditional release orders (Beavis et al., 2015; Cameron et al., 2014; Carriere et al., 2018; Evans et al., 2014).

Any one of these factors, discrimination, substance abuse, intergenerational trauma, or health issues, is by itself sufficient to affect an offender's chance of successful reentry into the community. Many Indigenous offenders are faced with all these challenges, which may explain why they are at a high risk of breaching their conditional release orders (Hart, 2016; Shepherd et al., 2014; Wilson & Gutierrez, 2014; Wormith et al., 2015). The lack of acknowledgment of these challenges faced by Indigenous people in Canada speaks to their unmet needs. These needs could be related to their mental health, addiction, trauma, lack of social skills, lack of identity, and purpose. These needs can be summarized by using Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory where needs are presented in a hierarchy as physiological, safety, love and belonging, esteem, and self-actualization needs (Maslow, 1946).

Problem Statement

Reitmanova and Henderson (2016) state that most research has focused on the biopsychosocial aspects of Indigenous offenders to understand why they pose such a high risk of offending and re-offending. More specifically, it has been reported by Lockwood et al. (2018) and Public Safety Canada (2017) that Indigenous offenders are more likely to have their conditional release revoked by their parole officers compared to the general offender population. Correctional Service of Canada has been incorporating mechanisms in rehabilitation programs to identify and address some of the biopsychosocial needs of Indigenous offenders (Roberts & Reid, 2017). One insight that has been gained as a result of policy changes and research is that the Canadian criminal justice system puts a significant amount of emphasis on risk assessment and relatively little emphasis on needs

assessment when dealing with Indigenous offenders (Cesaroni et al., 2018; Rudin, 2016, Wormith et al., 2015). Therefore, the efforts made by Correctional Service of Canada to address criminal behavior amongst Indigenous have had a minimal effect (Spivakovsky, 2016).

The inability to reduce the high number of conditional release orders being revoked for Indigenous offenders may be grounded in the approach in understanding re-offending and breaches among this demographic (Holmes, 2017; Pfeifer et al., 2018). More specifically, most of the research on understanding why Indigenous offenders are more likely to have their conditional release orders revoked by parole officers has been done by surveying and sometimes talking with them (Cunneen & Tauri, 2019).

Although the aforementioned research regarding Canadian community parole officers' perspective on the needs of Indigenous offenders illuminates important findings, I have found no research that has studied parole officers' perspective on these needs. Given such, further research was warranted that could examine the needs of Indigenous offenders by interviewing parole officers to address the documented problem, the high rate of parole revocation among Indigenous offenders (Lockwood et al., 2018; Public Safety Canada, 2017; Reitmanova & Henderson, 2016).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative narrative design study was to, through the interviewing of parole officers, learn about the needs of Indigenous offenders that put them at a high risk of breaching their release conditions. Through research, it is known that Indigenous offenders are over-represented among those parolees that breach their

conditional release orders (Public Safety Canada, 2017). Data were collected by interviewing parole officers who work with Indigenous offenders. These officers had extensive knowledge of their clients' challenges and circumstances. Through interviews, a narrative of what parole officers saw as the unmet needs of Indigenous offenders provided a significant understanding of the high parole revocation amongst this population.

Research Question

What unmet needs do Canadian community parole officers narrate as leading to the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching their conditional release orders?

Theoretical Framework

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a motivational theory in psychology, comprising a five-tier model of human needs, often depicted as hierarchical levels within a pyramid (Taromina & Gao, 2013). The needs that are lower down in the hierarchy must be satisfied before individuals can attend to needs higher up (Taromina & Gao, 2013). Also, from the bottom of the hierarchy upwards, the needs as postulated by Maslow (1943) are physiological, safety, love and belonging, esteem, and self-actualization (Taromina & Gao, 2013). Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory has been used in social, psychological, and medical sciences to understand the role of needs in human development and behavior (Compton, 2018; Sutterland & Adams, 2019). Maslow's hierarchy of needs has been used as a theoretical framework of human motivation or behavior (Jae & Hanna, 2015). The theory has also been used as a framework to understand the behavior of the elderly population in the Indigenous community (Blackstock, 2011).

Maslow (1946) postulated that there are two groups of needs. He grouped physiological, safety, love/belonging, and esteem all as deficiency needs. Further, Maslow argued that individuals will achieve self-actualization only after satisfying all of their deficiency needs. According to Maslow, self-actualization is a growing need, and attaining this is the most significant and essential goal. Maslow described deficiency needs as basic needs (food, shelter, and water) and growth needs (goal attainment and personal growth.)

Indigenous offenders in Canada have special needs due to colonization, which puts them in an unusual circumstance relative to their non-Indigenous counterparts (Adjin-Tettey, 2007; Dowden et al., 2000). When these needs are not fulfilled in the community, it increases the chance of an Indigenous offender to re-offend (Dowden, Serin, & Motiuk, 2000). Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory presented a good framework to understand the unmet needs of Indigenous offenders in Canada and how they may be contributing to the breaches committed by them.

Nature of the Study

This was a qualitative study using a narrative design. This approach typically focuses on individuals' lives, as told through their own stories (Patton, 2015). The emphasis in such an approach is on the story, typically both what and how it is narrated. This approach also has much value in that it allows the subjects to discuss the issues without the constraints of interviewer restrictions (Patton, 2015; Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007). The narrative approach was able to flush-out important nuances on my research problem which I was not aware of. I also felt that narrative approach gave

subjects more autonomy and control during the interview (Patton, 2015). Narrative interviews also have better response rates than surveys, which is another reason why I chose this design (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007).

The purpose of my research was to hear parole officers' narratives on their perception of Indigenous offender needs. Through the interviews, I was able to ask participants probing questions to get a better understanding of my research problem. Parole officers conduct semi-structured daily interviews with parolees and have a first-hand account of offender needs. Therefore, they also have useful insight on how unmet needs affect breaches. Any other approach, such as survey questionnaires or observing parole officers interact with offenders, would not have provided the data I was looking for to address my research question. Secondary data, such as case files of offenders, would have been difficult to access due to privacy laws, and interviewing Indigenous offenders would also have been difficult given their classification as a vulnerable population. The COVID-19 restrictions also added to the difficulty in accessing Indigenous offenders.

I live in the province of Alberta, and therefore chose to interview parole officers in that region. My request to interview parole officers was approved by Union of Safety and Justice Employees. The main criteria for participants was experienced officers that have supervised Indigenous offenders for at least 1 year.

Upon receiving approval from the host and Institution Review Board (IRB) at Walden University (Approval #01-11-21-0293576), my posters were circulated on notice boards where parole officers worked. Sixteen parole officers reached out to express

interest in participating in my study. I used data saturation, and after interviewing 16 parole officers, I felt I had enough data. The interviews were conducted virtually using Google Meet, and privacy and confidentiality was maintained throughout. Consent to interview and record the meeting was obtained prior to the meeting via email. During the interviews, I also took down notes. Data saturation was organically reached upon interviewing 16 parole officers. Upon reaching data saturation, I used Otter ai, an online transcribing company, to transcribe the interviews and NVivo 1.0 software for coding and thematic exercise to analyze the results. At the end of the interviews, I debriefed the participants.

I adopted a non-probabilistic, purposive sampling method where my sample size was determined through data saturation. Nonprobability sampling is where samples are not randomly selected (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Purposive sampling is where the researcher knows the type of subjects they want in their study pool due to their nature and purpose (Saunders et al., 2017).

Inclusion, according to Patton (2015), is elements that participants in the research sample must possess to ensure that the data being collected are provided by individuals who have the information desired and that the individuals also are in a legal position to share that information. On the other hand, the exclusion is the characteristics that makes individuals ineligible to participate in the study (Patton, 2015). For my research, the criteria I adopted was as follows: parole officers who were currently employed for at least 1 full year that had Indigenous offenders on their caseload.

Saturation is how much data is enough to do meaningful analysis (Patton, 2015). Data saturation is when the new data collected are similar to that previously collected from other subjects (Saunders et al., 2017). For my research, this occurred when I heard the same thing repeatedly from different parole officers during the interviews.

Another approach to determining sample size is theoretical saturation, derived from Glaser and Strauss (1967). This is the process where the researcher continues sampling subjects until new theoretical insight is seen emerging during the interviews (Bryman, 2012). The researcher, in this case, repeatedly provides evidence for their conceptual categories through data collection (Guest et al., 2006). For my study, I did not use this approach and chose data saturation instead. This is because the purpose of my research primarily focused on understanding a problem through parole officers. Using data saturation for my study was also supported by a study by Heaman et al. (2015), where this approach was used using purposive sampling to learn about the perception of women living in Winnipeg regarding their access to prenatal care. This study had many similarities to my proposed study because it also used narrative inquiry to understand participants' lived experiences and employed data saturation to determine sample size. In total, the Winnipeg study used a sample size of 15 participants.

Definition of Terms

Conditional release orders: Conditional release orders allow offenders in Canada to serve part of their sentence in the community. Offenders are not entirely free and are being supervised by parole officers in the community and bound by conditions (Public Safety Canada, 2018).

Indigenous: The word Indigenous mirrors the term Aboriginal in Canada that refers to the natives and first people in Canada (Bullen & Roberts, 2019).

Needs: These are necessary for humans to develop and function normally (Lederer, 1980). Needs are created by something that is lacking and creates a state of “disequilibrium” (Doyal & Gough, 1991) According to Alderfer (1972), needs are required to be met for the “maintenance of homeostasis” (p.56).

Recidivism: Recidivism refers to the relapse of offenders into criminal activity upon release from custody and is usually measured by a new arrest and conviction (Usher & Stewart, 2014).

Assumptions

One assumption for my study was that the participants had a good understanding of offender needs. Also, I assumed that the participants would narrate their views on offender needs in an unbiased and unfiltered way. It was also assumed that the participants of my study would understand that they can opt-out of this study at any point and even ask me not to include their data at the end of the interview or anytime soon after. I notified the participants of this option at the beginning and end of the interview. It was also assumed that the parole officers were truthful in their responses.

Limitations

A limitation of my study was the design I chose for my research. While there are several advantages to using narrative inquiry (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Paton, 2015; Rubin & Rubin, 2012), there are also some limitations to this design. According to Polkinghorne (2007), an issue with narratives is the authenticity of the story being shared

by the participants. Also, because I was interviewing federal employees, the participants may have held back information that may portray their organization negatively. Another limitation to narrative inquiries is that the understanding of data can be influenced by biases, manipulation, self-selection, or target audience and the generalization of results (Polkinghorne, 2007). I did my best to maintain objectivity during the interview and data analysis through member checking.

Another limitation of my study was that I only interviewed parole officers about Indigenous offender needs and did not speaking with Indigenous offenders themselves. Therefore, I had to rely on the parole officers' perspectives for my study. My study was not meant to be doing a needs assessment on Indigenous offenders directly, which is why interviewing parole officers was chosen.

Scope and Delimitations

The scope of my study was limited to parole officers working in the province of Alberta. Indigenous offenders make 45% of all people in Alberta's federal prisons and, therefore, it was relatively less challenging to find participants that fitted my criteria (Public Safety Canada, 2018).

Significance of the Study

This research fills a gap in the understanding of offender needs and how unmet needs could make Indigenous offenders more susceptible to breach their release orders. The study explained how the needs of the Indigenous offenders are unique and how those unmet needs may contribute to the breaches. According to Ireland and Prause (2012), offenders are more likely to breach their release conditions due to the lack of social skills,

family support, employment, and stable accommodation. These can be categorized as biopsychosocial needs, which many offenders lack (Ireland & Prause, 2012). It was found in this research that there are other needs that Indigenous offenders lack that drive them towards deviance and breaches.

This research also demonstrated the need to reassess policies, practices, and tools used when dealing with Indigenous offenders in the Canadian criminal justice system. This research also identified institutional and systemic discrimination within the Canadian criminal justice system, which has been found to disproportionately target Indigenous offenders (Currie et al., 2012).

This study shed light on the needs of Indigenous offenders, which can help the Correctional Service of Canada, Union for Safety and Justice employees, and other stakeholders to target those needs and develop their programs centered around these needs. The key players that will benefit from my study will be Correction Service Canada, Union for Safety and Justice Employees, parole officers around the country, organizations responsible for the reintegration and rehabilitation of offenders, and the Canadian criminal justice system as a whole. The findings of this study have the potential to reduce the recidivism rate among Indigenous offenders and lower the amount of time they spend incarcerated. All this will trigger a social change that will see fewer Indigenous offenders re-offending and breaching their release conditions.

Summary

In this chapter, the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders in the Canadian criminal justice system was discussed. Of particular interest was how Indigenous

offenders are more likely to have their conditional release orders revoked. They were also more likely to be paroled only after completing a long period of incarceration compared to non-Indigenous offenders. The problem statement and research question were presented with the significance of my study and its implications for social change.

Chapter 2 contains a literature review that contains a foundation of the theoretical framework introduced in Chapter 1. It also contains themes arising from research conducted on the needs and challenges faced by Indigenous people in Canada.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Indigenous offenders are overrepresented in the Canadian criminal justice system (Neil and Carmichael, 2015; Public Safety Canada, 2019; Rudin, 2018). They are more likely to be denied bail (Public Safety Canada, 2019), more likely to spend more time incarcerated (Corrado et al., 2014), less likely to be granted parole (Rudin, 2018), and more likely to have their temporary release orders revoked (Public Safety Canada, 2019; Rudin, 2018). Using a qualitative narrative design and by interviewing parole officers, I learned about the needs of indigenous offenders that may be putting them at high risk of breaching their release conditions. For this literature review, I conceptualized needs using Maslow's theory on the hierarchy of needs. In this study, I interviewed parole officers to learn about their perceptions of unmet needs among Indigenous offenders, which may explain why they experience a higher rate of temporary release order revocations than non-Indigenous offenders.

In Chapter 2, I searched peer-reviewed articles, government and organizational reports, and textbooks to learn more about my topic. A preliminary review of the literature made me realize that my research question overlaps with the research on overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system. I then organized these concepts under separate headings to demonstrate the breadth and depth of the phenomenon. My literature review begins with discussing the theoretical framework I will be using and why I felt it would be an appropriate theory. The literature then supports the discussion between Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Indigenous offenders. I

will then discuss the effect systematic and everyday discrimination has on Indigenous people and how it may contribute to the overrepresentation. Next, I will be reviewing literature demonstrating how lack of social stability in the lives of Indigenous people leads to their social problems. Components of social stability that I will be discussing are unemployment, lack of education, and homelessness. I will then be looking at literature on the physiological and psychological needs of Indigenous offenders. My literature review has led me to studies on addictions, substance abuse, intergenerational trauma, fetal alcohol spectrum disorder (FASD), and other health issues faced by the Indigenous community. The authors of these studies discussed show the possible link between unmet physiological and psychological needs and crime and deviance in the Indigenous community. Chapter 2 ends with a review of the literature on the sentencing and recidivism rates among Indigenous offenders. The literature review corresponds to my research question, which is as follows: What unmet needs do Canadian community parole officers narrate as leading to the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching their conditional release orders?

Research Strategy

For this review, I primarily looked at literature published between 2015 and 2020 from several disciplines, including social work, human services, sociology, criminology, and psychology. During the research, I discovered that some older research was highly cited and made essential contributions to my area of study. Therefore, I expanded the period of research to 2005. My research included quantitative, qualitative, and meta-analytical approaches. I also used doctoral dissertations during my review, as well as

official reports. The search engines used in this process were EBSCOhost, SocINDEX, PsycINFO, SAGE journals, and Criminal Justice Database. The following search terms were used in my research: Aboriginal offenders, Indigenous offenders, revocation of parole, temporary release breaches, offender reentry barriers, transition programs, intergenerational trauma, successful re-entry, Maslow's hierarchy of needs, discrimination in the Canadian justice system, offender reintegration, offender resiliency, recidivism statistics, needs, and social stability.

Theoretical Framework

Maslow (1943) stated that “man is a perpetually wanting animal” (p.370).

According to Maslow, individuals are always in search of ways to satisfy their needs. He arranged these needs in a hierarchy and maintained that the lower needs would have to be satisfied to meet the higher-level needs. Maslow arranged these needs into five tiers: physiological, safety, love, belongingness, and esteem needs. Maslow (1946) classified safety and physiological needs as basic needs; love, belongingness, and esteem need as psychological needs; and self-actualization as self-fulfillment needs. Self-actualization, that is, the need to become all of what we are capable of being, was placed on top of the hierarchy of needs. To attain self-actualization, Maslow maintained that the lower needs' satisfaction would be necessary but not sufficient (Winston et al., 2017).

Winston et al. (2017) investigated the relationship between individuals' needs and values. Four different assessments were administered using a sample of 200 young adults. These assessments were the Deficiency-Need Preoccupation Checklist, Satisfaction with Life Scale, Short Index of Self-Actualization, and Portrait of Values Questionnaire-

Revised. Winston et al. (2017) reported correlations between deficiency needs and self-actualization. The more content individuals were with their basic needs based on their values, the more likely they experienced self-actualization. They also reported that some individuals who experienced unmet lower needs sometimes thrived at self-actualization. Individuals who experienced adequate lower needs continued to be preoccupied with those basic needs rather than aspiring for self-actualization (Winston et al., 2017). These findings are consistent with Maslow's (1987) work on the limitations of his motivation theory. Tay and Diener (2011) derived similar findings when they reported that satisfaction of needs must be met at the societal level, not just at an individual level. In a cross-cultural study, Ivtzan (2008) reported that individuals in an economically advanced group scored higher in self-actualization than individuals who came from less economically advanced groups.

Maslow (1987) asserted that the hierarchy of needs was grounded in the "relative unity behind the superficial differences" in behavior across cultures (p. 70). Different cultures may have different means to attain their needs; however, they all aspire to similar ends, which is self-actualization. This theory was tested by Christopher et al. (2014), where they reported that the significance of basic needs might be perceived differently in cultures. However, the underlying importance of those needs is similar in all cultures. These findings are similar to Tay and Diener (2011). They reported that Maslow's hierarchy of needs is universally essential, just as it is crucial to gratify higher needs, self-actualization.

Tang and West (1997) also used Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory to test to see an association between needs and well-being. They reported that individuals' perception of how satisfied they are depended mostly on environmental factors. This is because the possibility of deprivation is mostly contingent on a person's environment. The environment determines the availability of goods and services to satisfy the needs (Tang & West, 1997). Although Tang and West looked at the relationship between needs and a personal environment, Oishi et al. (1999) discovered that people in developing countries perceived reaching the highest level of need was attaining wealth. Conversely, people in more affluent countries perceived homelife as the ultimate goal.

Brown (2014) contended that Maslow's hierarchy of needs was deeply rooted in Native American teachings, especially regarding health and wellness. According to Brown, Maslow refined some of the fundamentals of values and beliefs in a way so that it could be conceptualized in the study of psychology. Brown used the Native Self-Actualization tool to understand Indigenous people's lives and struggles. She stated that the assessment is a useful tool in understanding the effects of colonization on Native Americans and how the impact has been passed on to generations. Further, Brown stated that Native Americans' self-actualization becomes especially hard because they find it relatively more challenging to meet their basic and psychological needs. Brown's arguments are closely related to this study because they capture the two main premises of my research: Indigenous people and their unmet needs. Brown's work in this area also further justifies the theoretical framework adopted in this study.

Wolfe (2015) used relation theory and Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory to examine predictors of community supervision failures among female offenders in the United States. Secondary data from various agencies were used, examining 1,085 female offenders who had served at least 1 year on probation or temporary release orders such as parole (Wolfe, 2015). Hierarchical logistic regression was used to examine childhood trauma, adult substance use, and substance use and mental health treatments received for subjects being studied. Wolfe reported that factors such as age, marital status, and caregiving for dependent children were significant predictors of community supervision failures. She further stated that relational activities played an instrumental role in predicting breach of conditions when on temporary release orders.

The study by Wolfe (2015) has a few parallels with my research. Both the studies are focused on understanding why the targeted population breaches their temporary release conditions. While my study looks at the Indigenous population, Wolfe focused on female offenders. Interestingly, both studies identified Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory as an essential framework for understanding the phenomenon. Like Wolfe, Maxwell et al. (2013) recognized that there are essential differences between groups within the general prison population. However, Maxwell et al. focused on the social and emotional well-being of the prisoners. They stated that different groups of prisoners had different needs to address their overall well-being. Studying prisoners in Australia, Maxwell et al. reported that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and those prisoners in protective units and those suffering from mental health issues all face challenges in

maintaining social and emotional well-being. The challenges may be mitigated by helping this group of prisoners satisfy their unmet needs (Maxwell et al., 2013).

Ricciardelli et al.'s (2019) study added great value in understanding why some offenders were more likely to breach their release conditions than others. While other research has explained this phenomenon by attributing the problem to the unmet needs of these individuals, Ricciardelli et al. focused on how risk and needs assessments determine the number of conditions placed on an inmate's release. They reported that the increased number of conditions placed on inmates also led to an increased chance of breaching them (Ricciardelli et al., 2019). The authors cited that the dynamics risk factors assessed during the intake usually determined the type and number of conditions placed on inmates. This study is complemented by Public Safety Canada (2017, 2018, 2019) that Indigenous offenders are more likely to have more conditions placed on their release than non-Indigenous offenders.

Systemic and Everyday Discrimination

Discrimination is the unequal and different treatment of groups or individuals based on their physical and or behavioral characteristics (Anzivino et al., 2018). Research on discrimination and its consequences against the Indigenous population in former British colonies is well documented (Delic, 2008; Jefferies & Bond, 2012). These consequences usually take the form of mental health and addiction issues, marginalization, poverty, and overrepresentation in the criminal justice system. To understand the discrimination faced by Indigenous people in Canada, it will be essential

to understand that discrimination can occur at two at different levels: systematic and everyday discrimination.

Systemic discrimination is unfair and oppressive policies and practices embedded within society's institutions (Weinarth, 2007). These policies can be found in our laws, institutions, schools, and criminal justice system. In a study of female inmates in Canadian prisons, Webster and Doob (2004) reported that female Indigenous offenders were usually over-classified, that is assessing them as higher risk than they usually were, in institutions. They reported that the tool used by Corrections Services of Canada to assess risk, the custody rating scale (CRS), was invalid because it produced inconsistent results and lacked equity and validity. Using data from CRS, Webster and Doob tested for this tool's predictive powers, which showed very weak to no relationship between the classification and the actual risk displayed amongst Indigenous offenders. However, these findings were contradicted by Barnum and Gobeil (2012). In their study of female offenders, they also used the CRS to analyze predictability of risk. Barnum and Gobeil reported that the reason why Indigenous offenders usually ranked high on chance was due to their difficulty to adjust to the institutionalization. While there are contradictions in findings of biases in the CRS mechanism, studies analyzing the CRS show overwhelming evidence that it was developed for White men only (Webster & Doob, 2004).

In a study of incarcerated youth in British Columbia between 2005-2009, Corrado et al. (2014) analyzed correctional data to see if Indigenous youth offenders' risk profiles were overclassified compared to non-Indigenous offenders. They did find that Indigenous

youth offenders were more likely to be classified as high risk using the risk assessment tool used by the correction officers. Corrado et al. also stated that even though their study's scope was not to identify whether systemic discrimination existed in the practice of risk assessment, it was apparent that assessment tools were insensitive to the culture or social reality of Indigenous people. Similar findings were reported by Rudin (2018) in their study on the relationship between Indigenous people and Ontario's criminal justice system. In his analysis, Rudin stated that culture clash, colonialism, and the socioeconomic status of Indigenous people all play an essential role in the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system. According to Rudin, policies and practice of over-policing members of the Indigenous community have systemic discrimination. Over-policing Indigenous people is the process of zealous enforcement of law which may take the form of police exercising less discretion, laying multiple charges, and having excess presence in areas occupied by Indigenous people (Rudin, 2018).

Consequently, this has led to a fractured relationship between the police and the community in Ontario. There was evidence of over-policing the Indigenous communities on many occasions; Rudin also reported evidence of under-policing instances. Under-policing may take the form of delayed response to calls, allocating fewer resources and time investigating complaints, and treating complaints as trivial (Rudin, 2018). He reported that when Indigenous people were victims of a crime, their claims were perceived as trivial, and comparatively fewer resources were allocated to their cases. In both these studies, Corrado et al. (2014) and Rudin (2018), evidence of culturally biased

tools and practices has contributed to the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system. These tools come in the form of risk assessment inventories, police priorities that target Indigenous people, and rigid enforcement of those laws where Indigenous people are most vulnerable to break. Corrado et al. also reported evidence of over-policing (2014) discussed above in their study of youth in British Columbia.

Systemic discrimination against the Indigenous people is also reflected in the judiciary. Tomm (2013) embarked on case studies using Rawl's theory of public reason and justification, where he looked at decisions by judges. Tomm raised the question of "how can a law be justified to all citizens if they have different and incompatible beliefs about morality?" (p.298). In his review of court decisions, Tomm reported that Indigenous worldviews are mostly missing in the judiciary, even where judges try to treat Indigenous offenders as unique populations meriting special considerations.

This finding is complemented by Wortley's (2003) study, which looked at pre-trial release statistics. Wortley reported that Indigenous offenders were more likely to have conditions placed on their pre-trial release, and subsequently, this population was also more likely to breach them. The breaches would ultimately be reflected in the pre-sentencing report, resulting in harsher punishments (Wortley, 2003).

Similarly, Switllo (2002), in his study of historical laws in Canada, reported that there is overwhelming evidence of laws ignoring Indigenous rights and went as far as calling it a "rape of Aboriginal people" (p. 103). Laws were enacted subtly and sometimes blatantly, showing a gross disregard of cultural significance, directly or

indirectly impacting Indigenous people in Canada (Switlo, 2002; Tomm; 2013). Switlo further asserts that this form of rape is still present today, where the state continues to control Indigenous people, even after colonialism.

Neil and Carmichael (2015) analyzed incarceration rates across Canadian provinces from 2001-2010. They reported that ethnic threat plays a significant role in incarceration rates in Canada. They further stated that the magnitude of the visible minorities and Indigenous people in prison are the most significant factors explaining variation in sentencing, controlling other variables. Whereas systemic discrimination against Indigenous people in Canada is embedded within policy and practice, everyday discrimination takes a more personal form. In a study on discrimination against Indigenous men and women in Canada, Morrison et al. (2014) used two sample groups 280 and 163 undergraduate students to learn about old and modern-day prejudice. They reported that there was a significant level of modern discrimination against Indigenous people. Morrison et al. discovered that the respondents demonstrated less empathy when it came to Indigenous people and showed social dominance and right-wing authoritarianism towards stigmatized groups.

Similar findings were discussed by Haddock et al. (1994), in their study on trait-laden stereotypes. The study was particularly interested in attitudes towards Indigenous people and the stereotypes attributed to this population. Haddock et al. reported that respondents most often described the Indigenous population as alcoholic, lazy, and uneducated. These stereotypes then would form their attitudes towards the Indigenous

population, leading to prejudicial attitudes and subtle or blatant discrimination (Haddock et al., 1994; Morrison et al., 2014).

Everyday discrimination experienced by Indigenous people in Canada is also seen in the health care sector. Horill et al. (2018) reported the difficulty of accessing health care among Indigenous groups in Canada. They reported that a lack of education and personal hygiene often played an essential role in Indigenous communities' overall health. Although Horill et al. (2018) looked at the challenges Indigenous people face regarding accessing health care, their scope of the study did not include the quality of service provided to them by healthcare professionals. Wylie and McConkey (2018), in their research, looked at discrimination against Indigenous people from health care professionals. In their qualitative study where they interviewed participants, it was reported that perception directly impacts the health and well-being of Indigenous people. They further attributed discrimination to the root causes of inequality among Indigenous people face when seeking health care. Wylie and McConkey reported abusive and substandard care provided to Indigenous people due to stereotypical attitudes held by many health care professionals. They reported that an "unwelcoming environment, stereotyping and stigma, and practice informed by racism" were reasons why many Indigenous people avoided accessing health care when needed (p. 37).

Using the 2002 and 2004 election surveys in Canada, Delic (2008) took an empirical look at racial prejudice against Indigenous people in Canada. Delic reported that the discrimination against Indigenous people in Canada was mainly due to economic reasons whereby corporations and individuals felt that Indigenous communities impede

economic growth in Canada. In a similar study, Godley (2018), using the 2013 Canadian Community Health Survey, explored the pattern and prevalence of self-reported experience of everyday discrimination. The Everyday Discrimination Scale was administered on approximately 15,000 people, all of whom were at least 25 years old. Godley reported that about 23 percent of participants reported facing discrimination every day. Blacks, Asians, and Indigenous participants reported the highest level of racial discrimination. Indigenous people also cited the highest level of discrimination based on religion (Godley, 2018). Although the Delic (2008) study was done ten years before the survey by Godley, and they both utilized different types of data, both these studies show that discrimination in Canada, and especially against the Indigenous population, is still prevalent.

Media is also attributed to perpetuating everyday discrimination faced by Indigenous people in Canada. While recently, the media's depiction of the Indigenous population has become more accurate and inclusive of Indigenous worldviews, they continue to misrepresent, tokenize, and fail to provide culturally relevant content (Harding, 2006). Harding further reported that Indigenous people increasingly internalize the stereotypes they are depicted as which results in the perpetuation of feelings of helplessness among Indigenous people.

Both systematic and everyday discrimination has continued the marginalization and oppression of Indigenous people in Canada. There is evidence of systemic biases built-in and embedded within the criminal justice system (Harding, 2006; Swittlo, 2006; Weinhart 2007; Webster & Doob, 2004). Evidence reported in these studies shows that

systematic discriminatory practices are deeply rooted in the Canadian criminal justice system. There is also evidence that many of the policies made for the citizens of Canada are not culturally sensitive and designed for the white population. Analysis of using survey data by Godley (2018) and Delic (2008) shows that Canada's everyday discrimination is alive and well. Indigenous people experience the brunt of this discrimination by non-Indigenous people due to the widely held stereotypes and prejudices against Indigenous people. Understanding systematic and everyday discrimination is instrumental in the study of why Indigenous inmates spend more time in prison, are less likely to be released on parole, and, when released, are more likely to have their temporary release order revoked by a parole officer.

Lack of Social Stability Among Indigenous People

Temporary release order is a way for inmates to reintegrate into society in proper and meaningful ways gradually. The release orders are almost always accompanied by several conditions to keep inmates in-check to reintegrate successfully at the end of their sentences. In Canada, there is evidence that when compared to non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous offenders are more likely to have their conditional release orders revoked (Public Safety Canada, 2017, 2018, 2019; Stewart et al., 2019). While systemic and everyday discrimination has been shown to play a role in the revocation of conditional release orders and denial of parole to Indigenous offenders (Harding, 2006; Swittlo, 2006; Weinhart 2007; Webster & Doob, 2004), other factors that appear to contribute to this problem can be coined as lacking social stability. Social stability is referred to as an existing structure where individuals have the essential resources and routine that can

protect them from situational threats and help them maintain a healthy connection with society and societal expectations (German & Latkin, 2012). Employment, education, and housing are some of the few essential elements to maintain social stability. In the absence of these, offenders on conditional release orders may be more susceptible to committing a breach and revoked their orders.

Unemployment

Successful reintegration is contingent on how often an offender was released on temporary release orders (Helmus & Ternes, 2017). A study using 27,098 offenders on temporary absences, escorted and unescorted, reported a strong association between the frequency an offender is released on temporary release orders and their gradual reintegration (Helmus & Ternes, 2017). The authors used offenders' data on temporary absences to explore the impact of their release to community outcomes. Helmus and Ternes reported that greater participation in the temporary release programs was significantly associated with higher employability in the community and ultimately reduced recidivism. These findings are consistent with studies by Baumer et al., 2009; Harer, 1994; & LeClair, 1978 where it was shown that the frequency of escorted and unescorted absences from prison reduced recidivism and increased the chance of the offender finding meaningful employment.

Similar findings were discussed by Johnson and Grant (2001), where they compared inmates participating in the temporary absence programs and recidivism rates. They also matched the offenders to variables associated with the risk of recidivism. In their study, Johnson and Grant stated that those offenders who participated in temporary

absence programs reported reduced readmission to prison for neither breaches nor new charges. With evidence that when compared to non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous offenders are less likely to be granted parole or conditional release orders (Public Safety Canada, 2017, 2018, 2019; Stewart et al., 2019), studies discussed above would suggest that Indigenous offenders are more likely to be readmitted to prison after being released. This also affects their chance of maintaining stable employment and, thus, their social stability.

Using data from the Canadian Labor Force Survey for 2007-2012, Lamb (2015) studied the Great Recession of 2008 on Indigenous people in Canada. Lamb reported that Indigenous people were disproportionately burdened with economic setbacks and consistently showed higher rates of unemployment. Lamb further reported that Indigenous people living on reserves were especially vulnerable to the economic downturn. Similarly, Sharpe and Gee (2012) also derived the same conclusion as Lamb (2015). However, Sharpe and Gee also reported that non-Indigenous people showed better economic recovery signs than Indigenous people. They also stated that education levels and geographic considerations also might play a role in economic recovery.

White et al. (2003) reported that unemployment among the Indigenous population in Canada is a long-seeded problem. Their study reported that Indigenous people are restricted to lower entry jobs due to their race and small human capital. Therefore, entry-level jobs make them susceptible to employment insecurity, irregular hours of work, low pay, and little hope of being promoted. All these factors lead Indigenous people to feel discouraged from being involved in the workforce (White et al., 2003). Indigenous

employees were reported to be the group who felt most disadvantaged and depressed in the workplace, according to a study conducted by Usalcas, (2012). Usalcas cited that while there was an increase in 2% of temporary employment among Indigenous workers in 2010, the increase among non-Indigenous workers was only 0.7%. Usalcas stated that this was a sign that more Indigenous people are more successful in securing temporary and low paying employment rather than something more meaningful and enduring.

According to the National Indigenous Economic Board (NIEB) annual report, Indigenous people have gradually decreased the gap between them and non-Indigenous people (2019). The report states that Indigenous people's median income is now 73.8% of the median income of non-Indigenous people. Also, Indigenous men's unemployment rate is slightly higher, 53.2%, than Indigenous women, 51.1% (NIEB, 2019). Indigenous people living on reserves also reported lower levels of employment than those living off the reserves. Compared to the non-Indigenous workforce, Indigenous workers are 8.4 percent points below them when measuring employment rates, 4.0 percent point below them when measuring labor force participation rate, and 7.8 percent above when measuring the unemployment rate (NIEB, 2019). Indigenous people are more likely to find it challenging to get meaningful employment. This difficulty is further exacerbated when they have a criminal record, or when they are faced with other challenges to gain social stability. When released on parole or conditional release, it would be advantageous to find employment for economic, social, and self-growth. The failure to find work exacerbates an offender's chance to breach their conditions and be readmitted to prison.

Education

One thing that most of society would agree to is the importance of education. Education often paves the way for excellence, steady employment, and social stability. The dropout rate among Indigenous youth in Canada exemplifies the conflict between institutions and the Indigenous people (Reimer, 2013). According to the Statistics Canada report, the dropout rate for Indigenous students is 43% compared to 15% for non-Indigenous (2017). There has been some improvement in Indigenous education because, in 2011, Statistics Canada reported Indigenous dropout rates as 70%. The number of Indigenous students graduating from post-secondary institutions is also slowly increasing. In 2016, the overall Indigenous population share with some form of post-secondary education was 13.6%, which still fell short of 32.4% for the non-Indigenous population (NIEB, 2019).

Reimer (2013) exploring the narratives of Indigenous people in a Manitoba community reported that the high dropout rate among Indigenous students could be because the content is usually very Eurocentric. This is where the content is inspired by European culture and worldview. Reimer also reported that remnants of colonialism and intergenerational trauma have taken away Indigenous people's sense of identity, contributing to losing education motivation. Furthermore, Reimer reported that the school curriculum is not culturally sensitive to Indigenous people, and therefore they do not appeal to these students. Other reasons attributed to the high dropout rate among Indigenous students is a lack of necessary resources and social stability (Reimer, 2013).

Conflict transformational theory has also been used to explain the dropout rate among Indigenous students in Canada (Lederach, 2003; Ryan, 2009). This theory reframes peacebuilding narrative and practices mainly in the context of Indigenous people and other visible minorities (Reimer, 2013). Lederach and Ryan reported that dropout rates among Indigenous students could be explained as several events leading to the phenomenon. In their research, both Lederach and Ryan reported that structural, cultural, personal, and relational factors all contributed to staying in or returning to school.

Burton (1990), Volkan (1998), and Zartman (1995) also reported that fears of being judged, expectations, attitudes, and perceptions of teachers and peers also play an essential role in dropout rates among Indigenous students. In these studies, Indigenous students were interviewed to understand why some students were reluctant to attend school. Some other reasons cited were lack of social stability and also a lack of social safety net for these students (Burton, 1990; Volkan, 1998; & Zartman, 1995).

Silver and Mallet (2002) studied Indigenous education in inner-city high schools in Winnipeg. They reported cultural, class, and experiential divide between the Indigenous students, their families, and the school system. They reported marked differences in the life experiences and world view between Indigenous students and their school experiences. The school system plays an essential role in further marginalizing Indigenous people due to the lack of culturally relevant curriculums and values being pushed in schools consistent with the dominant, non-Indigenous, culture (Silver &

Mallet, 2002). They also reported a shortage of Indigenous teachers and non-Indigenous teachers lacked the cultural competence to work with the Indigenous students.

There seems to be a recurring theme in research looking at understanding the high dropout rate among Indigenous students. These seem to be a lack of culturally relevant school content, teachers that are not trained well to work with Indigenous students. Indigenous students also experience fear of being judged, lack of social stability, and social safety net all are reasons widely cited in research.

Homelessness

According to Alberton et al. (2020), Canada's child welfare system has had a significant impact on the visible and hidden homelessness among Indigenous people. Visible homeless is characterized by people sleeping in parks, under the bridge, and on the streets. In contrast, hidden homelessness is characterized by continually moving from one family or friend to another to spend the night (Alberton et al.). Indigenous people are overrepresented as homeless, visible, and hidden, across Canada (Alberton et al.; Anderson & Collins, 2012). Indigenous people are also overrepresented at every child welfare system (Alberton et al., Anderson & Collins, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Alberton et al. (2014) used a panel of Canada's General Social Survey, which consisted of 1081 Indigenous peoples and 23,052 non-Indigenous white participants. They reported a significant association between Indigenous people coming into contact with the child welfare system and both types of homelessness. Alberton et al. (2020) also reported that having a university education significantly reduced their chance of

becoming homeless. Also, Alberon et al. reported that Indigenous participants were nearly four times more likely to contact the child welfare system than non-Indigenous participants.

Similarly, Anderson and Collions (2014), in their study of 13 cities across Canada, reported that Indigenous people in the homeless population were about five times greater than the geriatric population. In Toronto, where the people of Indigenous people make about 0.5% of the total population, they represent 15-16 percent of the city's homeless population (Anderson & Collins, 2014). They further reported that nationally Indigenous people are 10 times more likely to be homeless than non-Indigenous people. Both the Alberton et al. (2020) and Anderson and Collins's (2014) study show Indigenous people's preponderance as facing, both visible and hidden, homelessness.

Peters and Robillard (2007) and Thurston et al., 2013) reported the association between the lower levels of education, unemployment, and homelessness. Both variables in of itself showed a strong correlation between homelessness and unemployment and a lower level of education. Thurston et al. stated that education should be seen as a protective factor against homelessness and unemployment. These sentiments were also shared by Reimer (2013), and Ryan (2009) above in their discussion of the role education plays in determining social stability. A fixed address is usually considered when determining bail, early release from custody, and parole (Brunt & Bowman, 2018). Indigenous offenders who are homeless are naturally more likely to be denied bail and also be denied parole and conditional release due to their housing situation. This was also reported by studies done by Public Safety Canada (2017, 2018, 2019), that Indigenous

inmates spent more time incarcerated than non-Indigenous in part because of lack of social stability in their lives.

Social stability is beyond education, employment, and having a stable home. Another factor impeding the way of stability is poverty. It is argued that education and jobs ultimately play an essential role in addressing poverty and homelessness. The lack of stability in the lives of Indigenous inmates is a testament to the fact that many of their needs are not being met. These are, as postulated by Maslow (1943), described as physiological and safety needs. My present study looks at how these unmet needs may be contributing to the revocation of conditional release orders among Indigenous offenders.

Psychological and Physiological Factors Affecting Indigenous Offenders

Mental health issues, addiction, and poor physiological health have become increasingly prevalent among many Indigenous communities across Canada (Firestone et al., 2015). Anyone of these issues, if not addressed, can contribute to how successful an inmate will be reintegrated back into society after prison (Samaroden, 2018). Literature in this area is divided into addictions and substance abuse, intergenerational trauma, and physiological health challenges faced by Indigenous people.

Addictions and Substance Abuse

According to Amlung et al. (2018), about 70-80 percent of offenders in Canada suffer from substance abuse disorder. Stewart et al. (2017) looked at the Dynamic Factors Identification and Analysis-Revised (DFIA-R) tool, which is used to assess inmates during their intake. This tool, among other things, accounts for whether the inmate suffers from substance abuse problems. Stewart et al. (2017) used DFIA-R reports of 24,978 men

and 1368 women to measure against community outcomes. The study was conducted to validate the DFIA-R and look for alternative calculation methods. They reported that the need level for every outcome was highest for Indigenous offenders. Stewart et al. (2017) also reported that Indigenous offenders scored especially highest in substance abuse and personal/emotional domain. More than 80% of the Indigenous offenders showed a need for help with substance abuse problems.

Similar findings were derived by Firestone et al. (2015), who researched using public data and literature published between 2000-2014. Upon analyzing more than 100 documents, they reported that Indigenous youth are disproportionately represented as those who engage in and are harmed by substance abuse. Although the methodology between Firestone et al. (2015) was significantly different from the study conducted by Stewart et al. (2017), both the studies derive to some conclusion highlighting substance abuse being a significant issue facing Indigenous people in Canada.

Indigenous communities across Canada reported alcohol and drug abuse as the topmost health priority faced by them (Firestone et al., 2015). The First Nations Regional Health Survey (2018) was conducted using 24,000 surveys in more than 250 First Nations. It was reported that a vast majority of those individuals who are identified as being heavy users of alcohol and drugs do not seek treatment. So not only substance abuse is a problem in many Indigenous communities, but there is also a reluctance to seek help.

Substance abuse among Indigenous people in Canada is sad, not a new phenomenon. A study where 202 Indigenous people were interviewed in the Montreal

area, Jacobs and Gill (2002) reported a higher prevalence of substance abuse among the participants. Furthermore, in their study, it was reported that substance abuse complicated existing mental health issues, which often led to attempting suicide. In their research, Jacobs and Gill also asserted that many participants who exhibited a substance abuse problem, also cohabited with someone who also suffered from substance abuse problems, had legal issues, had prior convictions, and were on parole. Earlier studies also showed that the leading cause of death among Indigenous people was poisoning and injury (Aboriginal Health in Canada, 1992). Indigenous people were at a higher risk of dying due to pneumonia, suicide, alcoholism, and suicide (MacMillan et al., 1996).

While the above studies show that alcohol and illicit drug abuse has been a persistent problem faced in Indigenous communities, prescribed opioids have also been attributed as a growing problem.

In their review of data sources, Russel et al. (2016) reported that the use and misuse of prescribed opioids among Indigenous people is high and increasing in many places across Canada compared to non-Indigenous people. They also saw an increase in mortality rates among Indigenous people due to prescribed dependence and abuse. Further, Russel et al. reported discrepancy inaccessibility to programs to help address prescribed opioid addiction for many Indigenous people. The Russel et al. (2016) study expands research done by (Milloy et al., 2010), which reported that Indigenous people were two to five times more likely to overdose on prescribed opioids than the general population. Their study further reported that four in five First Nations living on reserves

reported that alcohol and drugs were the most significant challenges being experienced in their communities (Milloy et al.).

Currie et al. (2015) study added to the understanding of addiction and substance abuse by looking at whether there was a correlation between racial discrimination, post-traumatic stress, and prescription drug problems among Indigenous people. Using a community-based sample in a mid-sized city in western Canada, they administered a survey with 372 participants. It was reported that there was a significant relationship between racial discrimination and substance abuse. Also, even though the relationship between other psychological stresses and substance abuse was weak, a strong correlation between post-traumatic disorder and substance abuse was revealed (Currie et al., 2015). The need to do this study by Currie et al. (2015) was as a result of previous research done by these researchers in 2013. In that study, Currie et al., (2013) looked at the role Indigenous cultures played in building resilience against using illicit and prescription drugs. They reported that culturalization played an essential role in protecting youth from substance abuse. Increased self-esteem was present among participants with cultural backing, which Currie et al.,(2013) stated could be a reason for the resilience against abusing drugs. In both their studies, Currie et al. (2013, 2015), indicated the importance of culturally appropriate programming for Indigenous living in inner cities.

Mullins and Farrell (2012) looked at the Computerized Assessment of Substance Abuse (CASA) results of 15,164 offenders' first use, level of substance use severity, the drug of choice, and poly-substance use for the 12-months before the arrest. They reported that Indigenous offenders' first use of alcohol was at a younger age, 13 years old,

compared to non-Indigenous offenders, 15. Indigenous offenders also started taking drugs at a young age of 15 versus 16 years for non-Indigenous offenders. Mullins and Farrell (2012) also reported that 86% of Indigenous offenders had identified substance abuse needs compared to 68% for non-Indigenous offenders.

Cram and MacDonald (2019) replicated the study by Mullins and Farrell, but instead of looking at male offenders, their focus was women offenders. Their sample was composed of 908 participants, 35% of whom were Indigenous females. Similar to the previous study, it was reported that 98% of Indigenous offenders reported having a substance abuse problem, compared to 71% of non-Indigenous women (Cram & MacDonald, 2019). Indigenous women were at least twice as likely to report using prescription opioids, alcohol, and other substance use than non-Indigenous women. Also, criminality was linked to substance abuse in 78% of the cases for Indigenous women, compared to 48% for non-Indigenous women (Cram & MacDonald, 2019). The substance abuse problem is not restricted to Indigenous males, and in some cases, it appears that the problem is more prominent for Indigenous women than men. Nevertheless, the problem is prevalent and well documented across Indigenous communities.

Intergenerational Trauma

Residential schools were created and run in Canada between 1879-1996 due to a policy known as aggressive civilization (Rand, 2011). Aggressive civilization was a policy to assimilate Indigenous people of Canada into European ways (Rand, 2011). This usually meant discouraging and punishing Indigenous people for practicing their culture,

religion, language, and custom (Menzies, 2007). This practice also entailed shaming Indigenous people from engaging in any behavior that was not central to European culture. One way to accomplish the goal of assimilation was to forcefully remove children from their families and put in residential schools where they were faced with rigid rules so the Indigenous children would emulate European ways (Menzies, 2011). Residential schools are now described as the epicenter for generations; Indigenous children experienced religious indoctrination and were made victims of sexual, physical, emotional, and spiritual abuse (Rand, 2011). The disenfranchisement experienced by the Indigenous people in Canada has left many parents lacking the knowledge on proper parenting which has resulted in not being able to instill proper social and cultural skills, and the fundamentals of family and community to their children (Payukotayno, 1988; van de Sande, 1995). As a result of the residential schools, the bonds between Indigenous families and their communities have deteriorated, leaving many Indigenous people suffering from a lack of identity and experiencing a lack of belonging (Menzies, 2007).

Intergenerational trauma has been attributed to alcohol and substance abuse, homelessness, mental/physical health issues, lack of social stability, and the reason for criminality among Indigenous people (Menzies, 2007; Payukotayno, 1998; Rand, 2011; van de Sande, 1995). In a study conducted by Menzies (2007), where participants from the Emergency Center for Men in Toronto were used, it was reported that the homelessness experienced by Indigenous people in this study was due to the effects of colonization. Bombay et al. (2013) looked at more variables, including intergenerational trauma and homelessness. They reported that colonization results were not limited to

those who experienced it but their offspring's as well. Studying 397 Indigenous subjects, Bombay et al. (2013) reported that every generation has been affected by the struggle to find their identity and has faced discrimination contributing to the increased psychological distress experienced by the Indigenous community members. The psychological distress has then contributed to losing social stability, such as employment and housing. It has also added to the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system (Bombay et al., 2013).

Roach (2014) looked at how the courts have looked at the effect of colonization. He stated that courts in tort cases have recognized that Indigenous plaintiffs do not need to prove the effects of Indian Residential Schools on them. Also, he noted that the Supreme Court of Canada has ruled that the Indian Residential Schools' impact is generational and should be considered in sentencing when dealing with Indigenous offenders. There are no such regulations that parole officers have to follow when working with Indigenous offenders (Roach, 2014).

Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD)

The prevalence of alcohol and substance abuse by Indigenous people has affected them socially, psychologically, and physically. FASD is a brain injury sustained to an unborn child exposed to alcohol (Samaroden, 2018). The disorder is lifelong and affects a person's physical, mental, behavioral, and learning disabilities (Samaroden, 2018). The symptoms may vary from mild to severe, which is why the disorder works on a spectrum. In Canada, FASD is more prevalent among the Indigenous population than the non-Indigenous population (Burnside & Fuchs, 2013; Eni & Senecal, 2009; Milward,

2014; Shankar, 2015; Tait, 2009). According to Popova et al. (2017), about 10% of women in Canada consume alcohol during pregnancy. Indigenous women are four times more likely than non-Indigenous women to engage in this behavior.

Samaroden (2018) was prompted due to many Indigenous academics being critical of research done on FASD by non-Indigenous scholars. It was argued that those research lacked the worldviews of Indigenous people, which was influential in understanding FASD. Samaroden reported that individuals with FASD dealt with several life-long challenges, but most reported ways to cope. Like Tait (2009), Samaroden also stated that FASD among Indigenous people could be attributed to colonization's intergenerational trauma. It was also stated that the stigma of mothers consuming alcohol and having diagnosed with FASD discouraged people from seeking professional help (Samaroden, 2018). The rate of FASD among Indigenous offenders is exceptionally high, which may explain the recidivism, parole revocation, and renovation of temporary release orders (Samaroden, 2018; Tait, 2009). Samaroden, in the study, highlighted how Indigenous people living with FASD build resiliency, which is evidence that with the proper support, they can live meaningful lives.

Bracken (2008), in his study on FASD in Indigenous communities, stated that the overrepresentation of Indigenous people could not be explained as only being the result of colonization and stereotypical views of alcoholism. He stated an association between the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system and the broader health and social development issues. McLachlan et al. (2019) also studied offenders' prevalence and characteristics with FASD and shared similar findings.

McLachlan et al. collected data from 80 adult offenders who went through clinical assessments for 18 months. They stated that participants with FASD showed significant neurodevelopmental and cognitive deficits, which may explain the offending and the violations committed when on parole or during conditional releases (McLachlan et al., 2019). The research on FASD among Indigenous offenders yields similar findings, highlighting the substantial prevalence and the connection between the disorder and criminal behavior (Bracken, 2008; McLachlan et al. 2019; Samaroden, 2018).

Physical Health Issues

According to the Indigenous Economic Progress Report (2019), there is a significant gap in the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people's physical well-being in Canada. The report stated that Indigenous people's life expectancy could be up to 10 years shorter than non-Indigenous people. Also, the First Nations and Inuit communities' infant mortality rates are two to three times higher than the general population (Indigenous Economic Progress Report, 2019). The report also stated that the diabetes rate among First Nations is four times higher, and the tuberculosis rate for Inuit is over 290 times higher than the general population (Indigenous Economic Progress Report, 2019). Research in this area has revealed that Indigenous people's health care needs go primarily ignored, which may explain the concerning statistics (Wilk et al., 2017).

Wilk et al. (2017), using Aboriginal Peoples Surveys, looked at self-reported unmet healthcare needs. They reported that the rate of unmet healthcare needs among Indigenous people increased from 11.65% in 2006 to 13.74 in 2012. They also reported that the participants' age, sex, and geographic location contributed to the level to which

their health care needs were met (Wilk et al., 2017). Evans et al. (2014) also reported on the unmet healthcare needs of Indigenous people. Additionally, they stated that users reported that those medical service organizations run by Indigenous people provided better service and showed more compassion. Evans et al. also asserted that cultural practices and views should be incorporated into the care given to Indigenous people to address the gap in the state of the health between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada.

Beavis et al. (2015) looked at the importance of being knowledgeable about colonialism in health care. They looked at which educational content on colonialism will be most suitable for healthcare students and how those programs may be best delivered. Data for this study was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews with individuals who had insight on the subject matter. Beavis et al. (2015) reported that essential elements that should be included in health care students' education should consist of the history of Indigenous people, what colonization was like. The effects it continues to have to members of that community. Also, it was reported that healthcare professionals' experiences dealing with Indigenous patients should also be shared with students as part of the overall education. It was further stated that incorporating colonization and its continuous effect on Indigenous people to the educational curriculum for healthcare students to learn is central to providing equitable health care to Indigenous people in Canada.

Although Beavis et al. (2015) highlighted the importance of health care professionals to learn about Indigenous people and their history to address the gap in

service, they did not look at why the gap existed. In their study, Richmond and Cook (2016) reported that it had been the failure of governments to develop a health care policy for Indigenous people, which has helped perpetuate the discrepancy in service. They also state that the lack of political will by the government of different orders has also contributed to the less than equitable health care being provided to the Indigenous people of Canada.

The Indigenous people of Canada are overrepresented as those affected remarkably by physiological and or psychological challenges (Indigenous Economic Report, 2015; Samaroden, 2018). Whether it is mental health, addiction, or physical health issues, Indigenous people face challenges addressing these issues. The problems get compounded by a lack of policy to protect Indigenous people (Richmond & Cook, 2016) and lack of education on colonization's effects on the Indigenous communities (Beavis et al., 2015). Indigenous offenders face many of these challenges discussed, which makes them especially vulnerable and may explain why they are more likely to breach conditional release orders or be revoked for parole.

Sentencing and Recidivism Rates of Indigenous Offenders in Canada

The overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian correctional system is well documented (Public Safety Canada, 2017, 2018, 2019). Indigenous offenders are more likely to be denied bail and parole (Public Safety Canada, 2019; Welsh & Ogloff, 2000, 2008). They are also more likely to have their conditional release orders revoked (Public Safety Canada, 2019). To get a good understanding of Canada's sentencing reform that was done to address the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders in the

criminal justice system, section 718.2 of the Canadian Criminal Code must be explored. This section was added to the code to encourage judges to explore alternative sentencing while placing a particular emphasis on Indigenous offenders' circumstances. The rationale for section 718.2 of the criminal code was to restrict the number of Indigenous offenders being incarcerated.

The Supreme Court of Canada's decision in *R. Gladue (1999)* stated that while several considerations must be taken when sentencing Indigenous offenders, section 718.2 in and of itself did not imply a reduced prison sentence. Welsh and Ogloff (2000) stated that section 718.2 was not meant to be remedial but to encourage judges to explore alternatives to prison for Indigenous offenders. They further reported that the severity of the crime and the offenders' previous criminal record had historically played the most crucial role in sentencing. In contrast, the offender's race had usually been an indirect factor in sentencing for Indigenous offenders. In their study, Welsh and Ogloff (2000) looked at how judges balanced an Indigenous offenders' race and other legal factors when sentencing. Their results indicated no significant relationship between the race of Indigenous offenders and the likelihood of getting a prison sentence. They also stated that section 718.2 had little effect on the possibility of Indigenous offenders being incarcerated. However, other studies have reported that the offender's race does affect the type of sentence they receive.

Rogin (2017) studied the pre-trial sentencing of offenders in Canada. He reported that the sentencing reforms had exacerbated Indigenous offenders' problem being incarcerated at a higher rate than non-Indigenous offenders. Analyzing bail jurisprudence,

Rogin stated that Indigenous offenders are improperly sentenced due to the judiciary not being able to identify the legal principles during bail hearings correctly. Therefore, due to the failure of incorporating systemic factors during decision making, Indigenous offenders' race works against them during an adjudication (Rogin, 2017). Rogin further stated that the Gladue decision has not helped reduce the number of Indigenous offenders incarcerated. Roach and Rudin (2000) also examined the effect of the Gladue decision on Indigenous offenders' incarceration rates and stated that it would not help curtail the problem. They said that there is much misunderstanding about the Gladue guidelines, where many see it as a "race-based discount" (p.357). According to Roach and Rudin, the switch to increasingly using conditional sentences can contribute to net widening. That is, punishing and healing simultaneously could lead to Indigenous offenders committing more breaches and, therefore, will be setting them up for failure.

Murdocca (2009) took a different approach to examine the Gladue guidelines for Indigenous offenders' sentencing. In her research, she looked at the Gladue guidelines as an attempt at national responsibility towards addressing the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system. According to Murdocca, the Gladue instructions do not go far enough to address the issue because the state continues to take responsibility for colonization's effects on the Indigenous population. Murdocca stated that to bring about real changes in the criminal justice system, cultural difference paradigms need to be incorporated in how the system functions.

Jefferies and Stenning (2014) examined Indigenous incarceration in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. They reported that in all three countries, the Indigenous

population was overrepresented in their respective countries. Also, they stated that colonization, discrimination, and bad systemic policies contributed to the overrepresentation. Jefferies and Stenning also discussed the importance of having a justice system that aligns with the Indigenous people's values and culture. They mentioned that the governments of countries like Canada and New Zealand were trying to enact policies for alternative types of sentencing rather than incarceration. However, as earlier discussed, Roach and Rudin (2000) stated that some of these policies could harm Indigenous offenders through the process of net widening.

Recidivism

Recidivism is the propensity of an offender to reoffend (Stewart et al., 2019). The recidivism rate is one indicator of how well an offenders' needs are met upon coming in contact with the law. It works as a good indicator of how well the criminal justice system rehabilitates offenders. The recidivism rate is also sometimes used to measure how effective the correctional system is to address crime and deviance (Gutierrez et al. 2013). Moreover, data from the Offender Management System (OMS), Stewart, et al. (2019) looked at federal prisoners' recidivism rates in Canada. They reported that most recidivism took place within two years of release, and therefore they focused their study around that period. Stewart et al. said that a recidivism rate of 23%, 24% for males and 12% for females. Also, they reported that Indigenous men reported a recidivism rate of 38% and females 20%. Overall, Stewart et al. published in their study that the recidivism rate among federal offenders has been decreasing in Canada. However, within five years

of release, recidivism rates were reported as 38% for the general population and 60% for Indigenous men.

A study by Bonta et al. (1997) provides a good understanding of the high recidivism rate among Indigenous men, as indicated above. She reported that when compared with non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous offenders were younger, less educated, more likely to be unemployed, and had a lengthy criminal history. Indigenous offenders were also more likely to reoffend sooner than non-Indigenous offenders (Bonta et al., 1997). In this report, it was also stated that Indigenous offenders displayed more indicators of reoffending, such as drug and alcohol use, age (younger), their sex (male), having a prior criminal history, being unemployed, and experiencing mental health issues (Bonta et al. 1997). Bonta et al. 's findings support earlier arguments that social stability plays an intricate role in criminality.

A study central to my research looked at offender recidivism rates based on risk and need factors. Gutierrez et al. (2013) used eight risks and needs elements to test for recidivism predictability among Indigenous offenders. The factors were criminal history, substance abuse, antisocial personality pattern, criminal history, family/marital situation, employment/education, pro-criminal attitudes and associates, and leisure/recreation involvement. In their study, Gutierrez et al. (2013) stated that all eight factors significantly determined criminality and recidivism among Indigenous offenders. A similar study was conducted by Perley-Robertson et al. (2019), where they studied the potential of static risk factors among Indigenous offenders. However, instead of eight, they looked at 87 static indicators utilized by Canadian federal prisons. This study also

derived similar findings. Indigenous offenders scored significantly higher than non-Indigenous offenders on most signs but particularly in criminal history (Perley-Robertson et al., 2019).

While many authors have shown in their study that Indigenous offenders are at a higher risk to reoffend (Gutierrez et al., 2013; Stewart et al., 2019), others have focused on the risk assessment tool used to assess recidivism (Gutierrez et al., 2018; Higgs et al., 2019; Wilson & Gutierrez, 2014). Wilson and Gutierrez (2019) evaluated the Level of Service (LSI) inventory, which they state has been criticized for not capturing Indigenous offenders' risk and needs. This was confirmed in their study when Wilson and Gutierrez reported that the LSI was better at predicting recidivism for non-Indigenous offenders better than for Indigenous offenders.

Gutierrez et al. (2018) studied culturally relevant programming versus conventional programs reported that Indigenous offenders showed a lower recidivism rate when being exposed to culturally appropriate programs and assessments. Evidence presented through the research suggests that recidivism among Indigenous offenders has been a problem for decades, and conventional methods have shown very little progress. Cultural based and needs focused programming and assessment have proved to be promising; results that are central to my research.

Andrews and Bonta (1995) through the development of their Level of Service Inventory (LSI), which was later revised to Case Management Inventory (CMI) is a great example of how assessment tools can be devised that are sensitive to the demographics of the offender. Using data of over 20,000 female offenders, Andrews et al., (2004) created

norms and measures that would be incorporated into their assessment tool to address the gender differences. They stated that when evaluating offenders' factors specific to their demographic must be taken into consideration. This can be best achieved through creating iterations of the CMI which has incorporated demographical norms specific to the population being assessed (Andrews et al., 2006). In this case, it would be an iteration of CMI which is culturally sensitive to the Indigenous population.

Summary

In chapter two, I presented a review of the literature with multiple facets. This was necessary because the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice that system is a phenomenon that has been and continues to be extensively researched. To get a better understanding of issues around my topic and to find studies that corresponded to my research question, I expanded the breadth of my search, which was essential to get a fulsome understanding of the phenomenon. My decision to use Maslow's hierarchy of needs as the theoretical framework for my study opened-up the notion of multiple needs.

In Chapter 3, I will provide the methodological framework that I used for my research study. Chapter 3 will contain discussions on the sampling, data collection procedures, and the ethical considerations.

Chapter 3: Research Method

The purpose of this narrative design study was to interview parole officers to learn about the needs of indigenous offenders that put them at high risk of breaching their release conditions. Through research, it is known that Indigenous offenders are over-represented among those parolees that breach their conditional release orders (Public Safety Canada, 2017, 2018, 2019). Data were collected by interviewing parole officers who supervise Indigenous offenders. These officers have extensive knowledge of their clients' challenges and circumstances. A narrative of what parole officers see as Indigenous offenders' unmet needs was used to explain the high parole revocation rates and breaches amongst Indigenous offenders in Canada.

This was a qualitative study using a narrative design. This approach typically focuses on individuals' lives as told through their own stories (Patton, 2015). Such an approach is focused on the story, typically both what is narrated and how it is narrated. This approach also has much value in that it allows the subjects to discuss the issues without the constraints of interviewer restrictions (Patton, 2015; Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007). The narrative approach was key in extracting important nuances to my research problem, which I was not all aware of even after conducting an extensive literature review. The narrative approach also gives subjects more autonomy and control (Patton, 2015). Narrative interviews were also used because they have a better response rate than surveys (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007).

The purpose of my research was to hear the narratives of parole officers regarding their perception of Indigenous offender needs. Through interviewing, I was able to ask

subjects probing questions to get a better understanding of my research problem. Parole officers conduct daily semi-structured interviews with parolees and have a first-hand account of offender needs and why the unfulfillment of those needs can lead to the breaching of release orders. Any other approach, such as survey questionnaires or observing parole officers interacting with offenders, may not have provided the data I was looking for to address my research question. Secondary data, such as case files of offenders, would have been difficult to access due to privacy laws. Interviewing Indigenous offenders would have also been difficult given that they are classified as a vulnerable population and the restrictions as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

I live in the province of Alberta and therefore decided to interview parole officers from that region. Upon getting approval for the IRB at Walden University and Union of Safety and Justice Employees to conduct the interview, posters for my research were placed at various locations where parole officers work. The poster instructed them to contact me directly if they were interested in participating in my study. The poster contained a short synopsis of what the study was about, discussed the confidentiality, privacy, and voluntariness of the study, and articulated the criteria for participation. My only criteria were that participants were currently employed as a parole officer and that they had at least 1 year of experience supervising Indigenous offenders. Any parole officer who was interested in participating in the study was asked to contact me via email.

As I received emails from participants, I sent them a copy of the consent. Consent was then received via e-mail from the participants. Virtual meetings were scheduled using Google Meet, and at the beginning of the interviews, I asked whether the

participants had any further questions or concerns. With their consent I would then start recording the interview.

As I went through the interviews, I also made notes. Data saturation was organically reached after interviewing 16 participants. At the end of the interview, I spent some time debriefing the participants. Upon reaching data saturation, I used the services of Otto. ai, an online transcribing company, to transcribe the interviews, and then used NVivo 1.0 software for coding and thematic analysis.

Sampling

I decided to adopt a non-probabilistic, purposive sampling method where my sample size was determined through data saturation. Nonprobability sampling is where samples are not randomly selected (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Purposive sampling is where the researcher knows the type of subjects they want in their study pool due to the study's nature and purpose (Saunders et al., 2017).

According to Patton (2015), inclusion is elements that participants in the research sample must possess to ensure that the data being collected is provided by individuals who have the needed information and who are in a legal position to share that information. On the other hand, the exclusion is characteristics that make the individuals ineligible to participate in the study (Patton, 2015). For my research, the criteria I followed was parole officers currently employed with at least 1 full year of experience supervising Indigenous offenders. The parole officers I was going to exclude were retired officers and officers who have not worked with offenders who are on conditional release orders.

Saturation is how much data is enough to conduct meaningful analysis (Patton, 2015). Data saturation is when the new data collected is similar to the data previously collected from other subjects (Saunders et al., 2017). Data saturation was reached after interviewing 16 participants after I started to hear the same thing repeatedly and from different parole officers.

Another approach to determining sample size is theoretical saturation, derived from Glaser and Strauss (1967). This is where the researcher continues sampling subjects until new theoretical insight is seen emerging during the interviews (Bryman, 2012). This research primarily focused on understanding a problem and therefore data saturation was deemed more suitable. Using data saturation for my study was also supported by a study by Heaman et al. (2015). A similar approach was used using purposive sampling to learn about the perception of women living in Winnipeg regarding their access to prenatal care. This study had many similarities to my study because it also used narrative inquiry to understand the participants' lived experiences and employed data saturation to determine sample size. In total, the Winnipeg study used a sample size of 15 participants.

Ethical Considerations

The confidentiality of participants was paramount for my study. The anonymity of my participants was kept by not putting their names on any documents. Instead, I assigned them numbers to identify them. During the interview, which I recorded, I did not address them with their names either. Also, I did not disclose to other parole officers/participants who else I had interviewed or would be interviewing for my study. While it was essential to protect the identity of the participants, it was equally important

to protect the names of the clients the parole officers were discussing. Therefore, instructions were given to participants asking them not to mention any names or share any information that may lead to the identification of their clients.

Debriefing is crucial at the end of interviews to protect participants from any kind of psychological or emotional harm (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). I informed the participants of what my study was about and how their narrative would be used. I also reassured them of their anonymity and offered information on counseling services. I provided them with my contact information so they could connect with me should they have any concerns or questions at a later point. None of the participants appeared distraught or harmed in any way. None of the participants reached out for further information or assistance.

Data Analysis Plan

In order to find the answer to my research question, I used narrative analysis. Upon gathering all the interview transcripts, I used NVivo 1.0 software to code and analyze the data. Wang and Geale (2015) stated that analyzing interview data using narrative analysis is becoming a popular method in disseminating narrative research.

Upon coding my data on NVivo 1.0, I began engaging in thematic analysis. This is where the researcher first familiarizes themselves with the data and engages in coding, which is a way to label the text (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The researcher then looks for these arising from broader meaning (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The themes are then reviewed to see if it fits the data, followed by defining and naming the themes (Patton 2015). The researcher then writes a coherent narrative, including direct quotes of participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2015).

Hands-on analysis entails the researcher becoming familiar with the data collected (Ruben & Ruben, 2012). This may require the researcher to read the data multiple times. The researcher then underlines parts that speak to the research question and writes words directly on the document, usually on the margins. During this time-consuming task, the researcher chooses words that capture the data (Ruben & Ruben, 2012). Once this action is complete, the researcher deduces the words written on the margins into categories. The researcher then interprets and narrates the findings. For this research, I used NVivo 1.0 for better organization and a more systematic way of analyzing data in a timely way.

Qualitative research is a subjective exercise, and therefore validity and reliability are not terms that are applied to this kind of research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Patton, 2015; Ruben & Ruben, 2012). Instead, the qualitative researcher's concepts are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Therefore, it becomes crucial that the researcher understands the literature on the topic of being a researcher. This helps them look for words and phrases that complement the literature and, more importantly, the research question (Patton, 2015). The researcher being the most knowledgeable on their topic makes them most suitable to identify excerpts from the transcript suitable for the study. This very exercise makes the hands-on approach also credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable. For subjectivity to occur, a person is necessary and cannot be replaced by software. There are challenges to the hands-on approach, and these include extensive reading and interpreting. The task becomes even more complicated if the amount of data is large (Patton, 2015). The

process becomes time-consuming and tedious. NVivo 1.0 saved me time, kept my data organized, and helped in the analyzing of data in an objective and systematic way.

Trustworthiness

To analyze my data, going through the information in a systematic and detailed manner was imperative. Thematic analysis is an exercise to identify patterns of themes contained in the interview data (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Thematic analysis entails frequently visiting the interview data, coding parts of it, and making sense of the information (Rubin & Rubic, 2012). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), there are seven steps in thematic analysis. These are getting familiar with the data, assigning preliminary codes to the data, describing content, searching for patterns and themes across all the interviews conducted, reviewing themes, defining and naming the themes, and producing a report. In this research I was mindful of these steps and followed through with them.

Credibility

Researcher credibility involves researchers taking steps to safeguard the study for its accuracy, correctness, and validity (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Patton, 2015). According to van dan Honnard (2018), the four considerations qualitative researchers must consider to ensure credibility are credibility/trustworthiness, transferability, dependability, and conformability.

Credibility is ensuring that the results I share from my research are believable (Shenton, 2004). This is done through the richness of the data and methods, such as data triangulation (Shenton, 2004). Further, member checking was also necessary for my

research to ensure credibility. Member checking was executed by sharing all or parts of data collected to the participants for confirmation (Patton, 2015).

Transferability

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), transferability is how well the research can be put into other contexts. For my research, this referred to how well my methodology could be used to do other qualitative studies with similar situations. For this, I am providing a detailed account of my procedure so the methodology can be easily understood and replicated.

Dependability

Dependability means that the research can be repeated without any issues, which I did by maintaining a high standard in conducting, analyzing, and presenting my research (Patton, 2015).

Confirmability

Confirmability is how well the research results are supported by the data collected (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This was an essential process where I kept reminding myself of the importance of being value free during the interviews and when analyzing my data. I also completed an audit trail throughout the study to establish how decisions were made.

Summary of Design and Methodology

Chapter 3 provided the qualitative method and narrative design in understanding the unmet needs of Indigenous offenders through parole officers. This method was able to provide a better understanding of what those unmet needs are. Chapter 3 also explained

who was interviewed and how I conducted the interviews. The instruments, data analysis procedures, and techniques were also discussed. Chapter 3 also contained a discussion about trustworthiness in my qualitative research. Credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were all discussed.

Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this qualitative narrative design study was to, through the interviewing of parole officers, learn about the needs of indigenous offenders that put them at high risk of breaching their release conditions. Through research, it is known that Indigenous offenders are over-represented among those parolees that breach their conditional release orders (Public Safety Canada, 2017). Data were collected by interviewing parole officers who work with Indigenous offenders. These officers have extensive knowledge of their clients' challenges and circumstances. Through interviews, a narrative of what parole officers see as the unmet needs of Indigenous offenders can better explain this population's high parole revocation and release breaches. The research question for my study was as follows:

RQ: What unmet needs do Canadian community parole officers narrate as leading to the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching their conditional release orders?

The results of this study can be used across the Canadian criminal justice system to understand the high rates of release order breaches among Indigenous offenders. This research can help parole officers better supervise their clients by focusing on their unmet needs and reducing the rate of breaches. I used a purposive sampling approach to select participants for my study who could narrate their lived experience supervising Indigenous offenders.

Chapter 4 includes data collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, and results based on methodology discussed in Chapter 3. I used NVivo 1.0 software to organize, analyze, and populate the themes.

Setting

Narrative style interviews were used to collect data by interviewing 16 parole officers. During the interview, the parole officers were asked to share their lived experiences working with Indigenous offenders and highlight what they felt were some reasons that Indigenous offenders breach their release orders. The interviews were conducted virtually via Google Meet. The participants were informed that I would record only after receiving their consent. All the participants gave their permission via an email acknowledgment that the participants had read, understood, and agreed to the consent form they received upon expressing interest to participate in the study.

Demographics

Thirteen female and three male parole officers were interviewed. All the participants had at least 2 years of experience working as a parole officer. The amount of experience working with Indigenous offenders among participants ranged from 3-40 years. The inclusion criteria for my study was parole officers with at least 1 year of experience supervising Indigenous offenders. Five of the participants had experience supervising offenders in rural areas, including supervising offenders on the reserves. Six participants had primarily supervised clients in large cities, and five participants had experience working in rural and large cities. Three of the participants identified themselves as Indigenous.

Data Collection

Upon receiving the IRB approval, I distributed flyers inviting parole officers to participate in the study. The flyers were posted on parole office bulletin boards, and anyone interested in participating was asked in the flyer to contact me directly. Sixteen potential participants contacted me. In my proposal, I stated that I would be interviewing at least 15 parole officers and would suspend interviewing participants if I felt that data saturation was reached. I gathered that I reached data saturation in my study upon interviewing 14 participants. Still, since I had already scheduled two more participants in advance and out of prudence, I carried-on and interviewed all 16 participants so I did not miss out on any valuable data not yet revealed.

Upon expressing their interest in participating in my study, each participant was emailed a copy of the consent form. I requested that if they were agreeable to the contents of the consent that they respond by saying “yes, I consent.” The consent form detailed the inclusion criteria and a brief description of the study, including the purpose and research question. I had also allowed participants to ask questions or discuss any concerns they had regarding participating in the study. None of the participants had any objections.

Upon receiving their consent, each participant was sent a Google Meet invite to participate in the interview at an amicable time and day. On average, the interviews lasted 30 minutes. The virtual interviews took place in rooms where there were no other occupants so all the aspects of privacy could be observed. All the interviews were audio-recorded, and I also made handwritten notes. Given this was a narrative style interview, I

gave an overview of my research and asked participants to share their lived experiences working with Indigenous offenders.

I followed the data collection method described in Chapter 3 diligently without any interruptions or deviations. Some participants were more expressive and used vocabulary consistent with my research. Some participants spoke more than others, and a few of them had to be ushered back to the topic being discussed because they would deviate. I very seldom interrupted participants, given I was using a narrative style interview. The participants seemed eager and comfortable sharing their experiences with me, and some were thankful that I was looking into this phenomenon.

Data Analysis

All 16 recorded interviews were transcribed using Otter.ai.com, an online transcription service. I saved the transcripts on a password-protected memory stick. I reviewed the transcripts and highlighted reoccurring terms. Many of the terms spoke directly to Indigenous offenders' needs, and some of the terms alluded to barriers and reasons for breaches. When reading over the transcripts, it was apparent that the participants' narratives were within my research question framework.

The transcripts were imported to the NVivo 1.0 software, where I created 16 different files, one for every participant. To further assure the participants' confidentiality, rather than their names, a number was randomly assigned. The number ranged from 1-16. Next, I reviewed each transcript in conjunction with the handwritten notes I made. As I went through the transcript, I started creating codes to organize the data. According to

Rubin and Rubin (2012), qualitative data can be analyzed using categorical and contextualizing strategies.

For this research, I used categorical strategies to organize my data. After going through this process 16 times, I had developed 32 different codes. I then went back to each of the codes and read the corresponding parts of the transcript. This process helped me further develop themes, and I started combining some of the codes together. For example, I had a code for transportation, housing, food, and basic needs. I was able to combine all these codes under basic resources.

Categorizing was a time-consuming and rigorous process that changed the code's names to represent each category better. From the 32 different codes, I derived eight themes that I think captured the essence of what the participants identified as Indigenous offenders' unmet needs. Categorizing the codes further provided more in-depth insight into how the eight emerging themes helped answer the research question.

Figure 1

NVivo List of Codes, Categories, and Themes

Codes			
Name	Files	References	
Address Systemic Discrimin	6	16	
Adequate Legal Repre	4	6	
Practical Release Cond	12	22	
Basic Resources	9	18	
Housing	7	13	
Poverty	3	5	
Resources	9	14	
Safety & Security	1	1	
Survival	7	12	
Unemployment	3	3	
Cultural Competence	11	19	
Early Intervention	1	1	
Healing	6	10	
Distrust	5	5	
Indigenize	4	8	
Cultural Identity	5	6	
Indig spec prog	4	4	
Reconciliation	4	8	
Unable to relate	2	2	
Intergenerational Trauma	9	16	
Mental Health	6	6	
One-stop-shop	4	6	
Positive Support	9	22	

Figure 2 is a word cloud created by NVivo depicting vocabulary or phrases most found in the transcripts selected for coding. The word cloud confirmed the categories I used for my analysis and reflected the themes derived. Some of the general terms were

Indigenous, needs, offenders, trauma, healing, conditions, culture, community, addictions, health, discrimination, homelessness, and breach.

Figure 2

NVivo Word Cloud



Evidence of Trustworthiness

An audit trail is essential to include in the data collection and analysis process to assure that the information is trustworthy and respected (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This section provides evidence of how I observed credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability to determine the findings' trustworthiness.

Credibility

To maintain credibility in my research, I used member checking, saturation, and industry acceptable qualitative data analysis software, NVivo 1.0. Member checking validates the participant's responses by asking for clarity and assuring accuracy (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Saturation is when the researcher feels adequate data has been

obtained for analysis and can stop conducting further interviews (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). I gathered that after interviewing 14 participants, I had saturation. However, having already scheduled two more participants and ensuring that I was thorough, I went ahead and conducted 16 interviews, after which I was confident that I reached saturation. NVivo 1.0 is regarded as a credible software that allows data input, categorization, analysis, and development of themes in an organized and strategic way. This tool also added credibility to the findings.

Transferability

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), transferability is how well the results of one study can be applied to other contexts. For my research, transferability refers to how well my methodology can be used to conduct other qualitative studies with similar situations. To observe transferability, I used thick description, which allowed me to combine emotions, relationships, beliefs, and other factors of participants to help readers understand the phenomenon and apply the findings where they feel it may be suitable. Using purposive sampling also added to the transferability because it provided me with rich data from participants representing a diverse group. My participants ranged in experience, age, ethnicity, and the geographical area where they lived their experiences.

Dependability

The diversity of the participants added to the dependability of my results. Also, I was diligent in checking the transcription for accuracy. I began creating codes only after thoroughly reading the transcripts. I analyzed each participant's transcript and repeated

the process until themes were evident. I have stored all data related to my study on a password protected device to observe dependability and credibility.

Confirmability

Confirmability is how well the research results are supported by the data collected (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). It was imperative to me to be mindful of my own biases during the data analysis and interpretation. I used journaling to continually remind me of researcher bias and the importance of objectivity in my role as a researcher. As I completed more interviews, I kept reminding myself of confirmability, so I did not become complacent and generalized that newer participants would probably repeat what other participants said. Doing this was especially important when conducting the last two interviews. Using NVivo 1.0 also added to the confirmability because it helped organize my thought process during coding and analyzing.

Results

Analyzing 16 parole officers' narratives on whether needs play a role in why Indigenous offenders breach their temporary release orders, eight significant themes emerged. These themes correspond to the research question:

RQ: What unmet needs do Canadian community parole officers narrate as leading to the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching their conditional release orders?

I identified the following themes: need to address systemic discrimination, lack of basic resources, lack of cultural competence, need to heal, indigenization, inter-generational trauma, need for one-stop-shop service, and need for positive support.

Table 1
Themes and Description Relation to Research Question

Theme	Description
Theme 1: Systemic discrimination	Includes conditions placed on offenders that are impractical and sets them to failure. Includes inadequate legal representation.
Theme 2: Lack basic resources	Includes parole officers and all others working in the criminal justice field who lack the knowledge and training to help Indigenous clients.
Theme 3: Lacking cultural competence	Includes parole officers and all others working in the criminal justice field who lack the knowledge and training to help Indigenous clients.
Theme 4: Need to heal	Includes the need for Indigenous offenders to get healed to see positive change. It also consists of the need to address the distrust Indigenous offenders have towards non-Indigenous professionals.
Theme 5: Indigenization	Includes the need to have culturally appropriate programs, policies, conditions, and practices for Indigenous offenders. It also includes Indigenous offenders who have lost their cultural identity and cannot relate to their culture. Also included is the need for reconciliation.
Theme 6: Intergenerational Trauma	Includes the effects of intergenerational trauma and how it contributes to finding it challenging to abide by conditions. It also has mental health implications of intergenerational trauma.
Theme 7: One-stop-shop service	Includes the importance of making services accessible.

Theme 8: Need for positive support	Includes lack of self-worth, motivation, role models, positive influence.
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This section will elaborate on the eight themes and provide direct quotes from the participants. The participants were labeled P1-P16 to maintain confidentiality, and the numbers were randomly assigned to them.

Theme 1: Systemic Discrimination

Participants discussed how many Indigenous offenders do not understand the legal system well and become overwhelmed by it. They stated that several Indigenous offenders could not afford proper legal representation, and applying for legal aid can be frustrating. They described how the criminal justice system's policies compel Indigenous offenders to plead guilty to offenses without seeking legal advice. Participants described how the system worked against Indigenous offenders due to culturally insensitive policies.

I do have one female, Indigenous offender and she is an alcoholic, and now she's a drug addict, which seems to happen often. She finds the whole legal system scary and can't afford a lawyer. That's the survival mode. So, she cannot obtain proper legal representation. She goes through the court system; she pleads out early because she doesn't apply for legal aid (P3).

A lot of my Indigenous offenders they plea out early, they don't utilize the legal system properly. So they're, they're being sentenced way too quickly. They end up with longer sentences and when it comes to parole they either are revoked or

when approved they are given a long list of conditions, too many if you ask me (P9).

I would say I think it's also just a lot of them do end up feeling guilty, or I think it's because they don't understand the process. A lot of them when I'm talking to them about, you know, what led to this offense, and I see that they pled guilty, they're like, Well, our lawyer just plead guilty (P5).

The most common comment made by the participants was regarding the temporary release conditions. Parole officers described how many conditions don't work for Indigenous offenders and set them to failure.

I believe the system was designed to work best for those who created it. And that is not Indigenous or any marginalized group, right (P4).

Like, these conditions are the basic standard failure (P1).

You, you know, a 20 year, you know, with a substance abuse problem. Okay. It simply not going to work if you give them a condition to abstain from alcohol and or drugs, like, well, that's, that's an unrealistic assumption that they are going to just stop using drugs (P1).

So, I have clients that have five or six different court dates, because they incur charges, they're given a court date, and then they incur more charges and breaches, and then they're given more court date. So, it's just a snowball effect, right? It starts from one charge there on all these conditions. And then they just continuously just encourage breaches and breaches (P5)

So, it's almost like they're just set up to fail? Or they're on such strict conditions?

Yes, they just keep breaching. So, they're just constantly in the system, and there's just no way for them to get out of it (P15).

Theme 2: Lack Basic Resources

I had the most substantial number of codes under this category. The participants discussed things like lack of food, shelter, transportation, telephone, and internet access. Participants also revealed that poverty and unemployment were significant factors leading to breaches. Many participants used the word 'survival' to express that Indigenous offenders are just trying to survive, so observing release conditions were not a priority for them.

So, she's constantly homeless, doesn't have income support, she has no way to get income support, because she likes her government identification, she doesn't have an address (P3).

They're going into an environment that is already full of addictions full of violence, there's no food, you know, there might be eight people staying in a one-bedroom apartment, you know, that is already have low income or is oriented to get an Indigenous person to go and stay at the local shelter (P16).

He's tired of not having a home to go to(P6).

And they are frequently homeless or live under the poverty line. Their mom might be from one community, their dad might be from another and they're bouncing between the communities. And so that puts them in a breach that that shortens the ability for probation to kind of bring them back in and say (P7).

Yes, there's that over representation. But to me, the reason I find a lot of our indigenous clients are constantly breaching is also lack of resources (P5).

Mm hmm. Well, I mean, if, like, these clients if they're always worried about, you know, where they're going to sleep or, eat, you know, like, the last thing on their mind would be, hey, like, Oh, I have a curfew, you know, they just want a place to sleep. They don't want to freeze outside. They know, they have a curfew, but those conditions are the last thing on their mind (P7).

It is the criminalization of people just trying to survive (P5).

So, I call them crimes of survival, or crimes, crimes of poverty. And I've, I've stopped using crimes of poverty, and I started talking about crimes of survival (P10).

Theme 3: Lacking Cultural Competence

Cultural competence made a large part of the discussion with most participants. It was sometimes in the context of how people in general do not understand the challenges Indigenous people continue to face, to how so many professionals working in the criminal justice field, including parole officers, do not have the proper training and knowledge on how to work with Indigenous offenders. Conversation also alluded to how many Indigenous offenders feel they have no connection with their own culture and do not identify themselves as Indigenous.

I will be, you know, I could be the most skilled, most knowledgeable, I could have the softest approach I could have, you know, I could, I could be a highly

skilled, but the color of my skin immediately is a deterrent for a for a cooperative working relationship (P2).

How does that level of ignorance continue on in today's society, with everything we've experienced with, with all of the challenge with the efforts being made, you know, for, you know, for the truth and reconciliation (P4).

It's really difficult, I think, for people who don't have the lived experience to understand that the shame and the guilt, and how detrimental that is to a person's livelihood to a person's motivation and mental health and, and belief in themselves (P5).

Theme 4: Need to Heal

Healing is a significant part of rehabilitation for members of the Indigenous community (Krawll, 1994). Participants talked about healing and also discussed culturally appropriate forms of rehabilitation. Some participants also brought up the notion of distrust between the Indigenous people and authority.

I'm First Nations. And I think there's a lot of healing that our people need to do. So, when I see a client embark on this, I change the mechanism in which I deal with them (P8).

Elders need to be part of the rehabilitation to facilitate and be part of the healing process (P11).

Unless you're really under traditional land, how are you going to start that healing process to do that when you're looking at a group home? Or you're in jail? It's so difficult (P12).

Indigenous people have never had that opportunity to heal, because there's always been something through policy, you know, put on the community, that keeps them away from being healed (P15).

Rehabilitation beings when healing begins, healing beings when their journey starts. For many, they are never able to embark upon that journey (P16).

Theme 5: Indigenization

Indigenization refers to doing things the Indigenous way. It refers to recognizing and incorporating Indigenous worldviews, knowledge, and perspectives to policies and practices when dealing with Indigenous people (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). Participants discussed how the current policies and procedures that are in-place fail to consider the cultural differences and are not culturally appropriate for Indigenous offenders.

Whether it's, you know, indigenizing the space, whether it's making sure there's indigenous representation in organizations and on boards and tables, where decisions are being made (P4).

I just feel like the indigenous way of doing things is just so much better, it makes so much more sense. But I really feel like there's a need for the community, the indigenous community, to be given the opportunity to care for members of their own community (P12).

The system is not made for the Indigenous people, it is being forced on them and it is not working, it never has, it never will. Indigenous people need an Indigenous system (P11).

Theme 6: Intergenerational Trauma

Every participant used this term to explain the lives of Indigenous offenders. They discussed mental health and addictions within the framework of intergenerational trauma. Participants talked about the lasting effects of intergenerational trauma and how it affects motivation to follow release conditions.

So, for example, you know, some parents could be struggling with their own substance abuse issues. And as I'm sure you're aware, like there's the intergenerational trauma, right. And so many, so many of those, so many of those folks have, like the they struggle on a day to day basis to work through that trauma. And part of it, I think, is because they don't necessarily have the best guides to help support that, so to speak (P3).

So, you have people who are still working through their own trauma, and their own issues, trying to support other people working through trauma and issues. And it's, it's ineffective, I suppose, is probably one of the biggest things that I would comment on (P10).

Theme 7: One-Stop-Shop

When discussing the needs of Indigenous offenders, participants made several references to accessibility issues. They explained how getting to treatments or even meeting with parole officers was not easy for many offenders due to transportation and other basic needs.

So, it's kind of like I would compare it to when you go to, like, we have a homeless shelter that has a safe consumption site and detox and is in there. They

also have housing caseworkers that can help you find it, but there's such a long waitlist. But if they had a place where they could actually go and have a room, have a meal, and work with those agencies, then they would have success in finding their own residence, getting connected to the income support, so they can pay their rent, buy food (P3).

You want them not to breach or reoffend, get them among other things a place where they can find the essential services under one roof (P4).

It would be nice that after being released they wouldn't be expected to go to so many different places to receive services. Many don't have transport. It would be nice to have all the professionals under one roof (P7)

Many offenders are not very good at things we take for granted, like locating where their treatment center is or where the parole office is or where to meet social workers. Many don't have phones or transportation (P14).

Theme 8: Need for Positive Support

This theme was derived after categorizing codes such as self-worth, challenges, lack of motivation, and lack of role models. Many participants shared stories about their clients who committed breaches simply because they did not care about them because there was no one to help them in their journey. Participants talked about many Indigenous offenders having no one who they could call or confide in or look for support.

There's a huge gap within the community to provide support to, to these offenders. Right. So, for example, you know, everyone the offender is related to

or knows are probably struggling with their own substance abuse issues or trauma issues (P2).

No safety, no security into relationships, she probably has friends, but they're not really friends. So, you know, she can't get past the basic needs (P3).

Not really friends. No, there would be other homeless people or other indigenous people that have this that have low income, multiple people staying in the inner residence. And it's about they use each other for what they can get (P3).

My indigenous clients, they lack those social connections that are pro social (P4). And when you're mistreated by somebody who's supposed to be there to help you, it perpetuates that, that feeling of worthlessness that it perpetuates the narrative (P4).

All he wanted to do was his artwork, and he wanted to be able to tell a story, but nobody wants to listen to him (P.6).

I said, listen, hopefully you'll never be back in the system. Again. You've got all the skills ready for you. You know, if you ever need just to talk, I'm a phone call away for me. You're not under supervision. And he says, you know, I'd kind of like that, because sometimes I don't have somebody to talk to. And he says, I just need that lifeline out there once in a while (P6).

Summary

Sixteen parole officers' narratives were transcribed and analyzed using NVivo 1.0. The analysis included creating codes and categorizing them until themes were evident. I started with 32 different codes, and through the process of categorization, I was able to

see eight themes emerging. These were addressing systemic discrimination, lack of basic resources, cultural competence, need for healing, indigenization, intergenerational trauma, one-stop-shop, and positive support. When put against the research question for this study, all of the themes provide insight into what needs Indigenous offenders in Canada are not meeting.

Chapter 5 looks at the study findings and how the potential findings can bring about social change. Chapter 5 will also have recommendations, areas of future research, and a conclusion.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

The purpose of this qualitative narrative design study was to learn about the unmet needs of Indigenous offenders that put them at high risk of breaching their release conditions. Through research, it is known that Indigenous offenders are over-represented among those parolees that breach their conditional release orders (Public Safety Canada, 2017). I collected data by interviewing 16 parole officers who supervise Indigenous offenders. These officers had extensive knowledge of their clients' challenges and circumstances. Through the interviews, a narrative of what parole officers saw as the unmet needs of Indigenous offenders provided an understanding of this population's high parole revocation. The research question central for this study was:

RQ: What unmet needs do Canadian community parole officers narrate as leading to the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching their conditional release orders?

The study's findings were marked by eight different themes, which alluded to eight different areas of needs. There were repeat mentions of practices and policies in the interviews, which suggested systemic discrimination within the criminal justice system. The systemic discrimination was characterized by inadequate legal representation provided to Indigenous offenders, unrealistic conditions placed on their release, which were usually impractical for offenders to follow, and tools to assess risk, which was not always culturally appropriate. The data analysis showed that Indigenous offenders become victims of systemic discrimination early in their lives, which continue as they are

processed through three different parts of the criminal justice system: law enforcement, judiciary, and corrections.

The lack of basic resources characterized the second theme. This theme has several components to it. Participants discussed Indigenous offenders lacking basic needs such as food, shelter, safety, and security. Transportation and means to communicate, such as telephones, made it difficult for Indigenous offenders to make their appointments with their parole officers who would sometimes result in a breach. All the participants cited poverty and lack of social support as the root cause of Indigenous people's social issues. In the context of this study, some significant needs identified are those that we would consider basic needs, such as food, shelter, security, and safety.

Nevertheless, making this list are things that most people take for granted, such as transportation, telephone access, someone to speak to, identification, health care cards, and a fixed address. A subsequent finding under this theme was parole officers not having enough resources to address their clients' needs. While they can identify the unmet needs, many felt helpless due to the lack of resources at their disposal to assist their clients.

The third theme in this research was human service professionals lacking cultural competence to deal with Indigenous clients. Parole officers mentioned that they usually found themselves hesitant about what is culturally appropriate when dealing with offenders. Many had to learn on the job about the traditions and cultural intricacies of Indigenous people and often felt a disconnect between them and their Indigenous clients.

The data also showed that the cultural incompetency was not limited to parole officers but others that work in the criminal justice system.

The need to heal was the fourth theme identified in this study. Many participants characterized this need as a basic need that Indigenous offenders were not meeting. I found this extraordinary because my literature review found little research or discussion on the importance of healing. The need to heal is a significant finding in this research, one that merits further investigation. The results alluded that healing could play an essential role in rehabilitating Indigenous offenders, which may address the breaches. An element identified which would be central to the healing process is the importance of building trust. Findings show that there is evidence of deep-rooted sentiments of distrust between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Many participants cited their clients showed little trust in them because of their position of authority or the color of their skin.

Indigenization in this study is defined as making the criminal justice system culturally appropriate for Indigenous offenders through changing policies and practices. The results of this study assert that the criminal justice system in its present form and intent does not help Indigenous offenders. This is because the present system is based on values based on punishment, whereas the Indigenous people rely on a system that values healing and repairing the harm done. Therefore, these are two parallel paradigms with two very different objectives.

Intergenerational trauma was identified as the sixth theme and one that every participant discussed. In the context of this study, which is based on understanding the needs of Indigenous offenders, the acknowledgment of intergenerational trauma and

learning about its implication on Indigenous people in Canada is significant. Participants cited that professionals' failure to have a good understanding of what intergenerational trauma is and its impact on Indigenous offenders perpetuates the challenges faced by the marginalized population. They stated that Indigenous offenders need professionals to understand what intergenerational trauma is to help them better.

One-stop-shop service was a need identified by most participants. A barrier discussed copiously by participants is the accessibility of services. As identified under the theme *lacking basic resources*, many Indigenous offenders do not have access to transportation, phones, or other resources. The problem is larger in remote areas where most resources are located in the cities or towns and getting to them can prove challenging.

The last theme identified was the need for positive support, which included positive role models, motivation, and self-worth. The participants described these as things that most people take for granted or pay little attention to. Participant 3 stated that "staying sober for 4 days may feel like an extremely a simple task, but it feels like a mountain for many Indigenous offenders." Also, participants stated that Indigenous offenders lack people to support them through their turbulent journey. Sometimes, all they need is someone to speak to or celebrate their successes with, regardless of how minor those successes are.

Interpretations of Findings

This study's findings confirm the needs identified in the literature review, and they both provide answers to the research question in this study. However, in this study,

some needs were identified that were not easily captured in the literature review. The participants overwhelmingly agreed that Indigenous offenders' unmet needs make them vulnerable to breach their conditional release orders. The needs are separated into eight themes.

Theme 1: Need to Address System Discrimination

Systemic discrimination is unfair and oppressive policies and practices embedded within society's institutions (Weinarth, 2007). Several studies show that systemic discrimination against Indigenous offenders in Canada is quite prevalent (Barnum & Gobeil, 2012; Corrado et al., 2014; Rudin, 2018; Tomm, 2013; Webster & Doob, 2004). In a study of female inmates in Canadian prisons, Webster and Doob (2004) reported that female Indigenous offenders were usually over-classified, assessing them as higher risk than they usually were in institutions. They reported that the tool used by Corrections Services of Canada to assess risk, the CRS, was invalid because it produced inconsistent results and lacked equity and validity. Participants in the research discussed using tools that to assess offenders that were not culturally specific. Webster and Doob's (2004) finding is similar to the results of this study. According to Participant 5, "the tools to assess offenders were made by White people for White people." In a similar study of incarcerated youth in British Columbia between 2005-2009, Corrado et al. (2014) analyzed correctional data to see if Indigenous youth offenders' risk profiles were overclassified than non-Indigenous offenders. They found that Indigenous youth offenders were more likely to be classified as high risk using the correction officers' risk assessment tool.

In this study, participants reported that the judiciary and parole boards set them up for failure by placing unreasonable and excessive conditions on Indigenous offenders. This finding is complemented by Wortley's (2003) study, which looked at pre-trial release statistics. Wortley reported that Indigenous offenders were more likely to have conditions placed on their pre-trial release, and subsequently, this population was also more likely to breach them. The breaches would ultimately be reflected in the pre-sentencing report, resulting in harsher punishments (Wortley, 2003). Ricciardelli et al. (2019) focused on how risk and needs assessments determine the number of conditions placed on an inmate's release. They reported that the increased number of conditions placed on inmates also led to an increased chance of breaching them. Every participant in this study confirmed the findings by Ricciardelli et al. by reporting that temporary release orders given to Indigenous offenders are generally inundated with conditions, many of which are onerous for them to follow.

Theme 2: Need for Basic Resources

While systemic and everyday discrimination has been shown to play a role in the revocation of conditional release orders and denial of parole to Indigenous offenders (Harding, 2006; Swittlo, 2006; Weinhart 2007; Webster & Doob, 2004), other factors that appear to contribute to this problem can be coined as lacking social stability. Social stability is an existing structure where individuals have the essential resources and routine that can protect them from situational threats and help them maintain a healthy connection with society and societal expectations (German & Latkin, 2012). Employment, education, and housing are some of the few essential elements to maintain

social stability. In the absence of these, offenders on conditional release orders may be more susceptible to committing a breach and revoked their orders.

Overwhelmingly parole officers interviewed in this study stated that their Indigenous clients are faced with a lack of basic resources. These resources ranged from fixed accommodation, food, and clean water to things that most of society would take for granted, such as access to transportation, telephone, internet, and WiFi. Other unmet needs identified in this study that would be classified under basic resources were health care and mental health support.

Indigenous people are overrepresented as homeless, visible, and hidden across Canada (Alberston et al., 2020; Anderson & Collins, 2012). Indigenous people are also overrepresented in every child welfare system (Alberston et al., Anderson & Collins, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). In this study, participants discussed that one of the standard conditions given to offenders on temporary release orders is having a fixed address. The problem faced by many Indigenous offenders is they are homeless. If they were to provide an address for a family member who lives on an Indian reserve, the offenders are ostracized by members of their community on the reserve, and they end-up leaving. The interviews also learned that an additional condition is given to offenders while on release is to abstain from drugs and alcohol and not to affiliate with users or be in locations where these mood stimulants are used. This is also difficult because most offenders are familiar with others who face the same addictions and have criminal records—conditions like these only set Indigenous offenders to failure.

Successful reintegration is contingent on how often an offender was released on temporary release orders (Helmus & Ternes, 2017). A study using 27,098 offenders on temporary absences, escorted and unescorted, reported a strong association between the frequency an offender is released on temporary release orders and their gradual reintegration (Helmus & Ternes, 2017). The authors used offenders' data on temporary absences to explore the impact of their release on community outcomes. Helmus and Ternes (2017) reported that greater participation in the temporary release programs was significantly associated with higher employability in the community and ultimately reduced recidivism. These findings are consistent with studies by Baumer et al. (2009), Harer (1994), and LeClair (1978) that showed that the frequency of escorted and unescorted absences from prison reduced recidivism and increased the chance of the offender finding meaningful employment. In this study, it was learned that many Indigenous offenders lacked employment when coming into contact with the law, and even upon release, many find it challenging to find employment. This may be attributed to research that shows that, when compared to non-Indigenous offenders, Indigenous offenders score lower on social skills and have completed fewer years of education (Reimer, 2013).

Burton (1990), Volkan (1998), and Zartman (1995) also reported that fears of being judged and the expectations, attitudes, and perceptions of teachers and peers play an essential role in dropout rates among Indigenous students. In these studies, Indigenous students were interviewed to understand why some students were reluctant to attend school. Some other reasons cited were lack of social stability and a lack of social safety

net for these students (Burton, 1990; Volkan, 1998; & Zartman, 1995). The findings of this research confirm these findings. Parole officers in their interview talked about how many of their clients dropped out of school due to factors including the feeling of being judged by teachers and students, that they were not smart, that they did not have proper attire and materials like other students, and that the material being taught was beyond their comprehension.

Indigenous communities across Canada reported alcohol and drug abuse as the topmost health priority faced by them (Firestone et al., 2015). The First Nations Regional Health Survey (2018) was conducted using 24,000 surveys in more than 250 First Nations. It was reported that a vast majority of those individuals who are identified as being heavy users of alcohol and drugs do not seek treatment. So not only is substance abuse a problem in many Indigenous communities, but there is also a reluctance to seek help. This reluctance to seek help may be attributed to the fact that many participants identified as a lack of resources to get help. While there are resources put on many Indian reserves, they are staffed by people whom the offender may know. According to Participant 7, “many Indigenous offenders are embarrassed to seek help in their community because those agencies are staffed by their aunts and cousins. So, they are too embarrassed to seek help in their community and do not have the means to travel outside out their community to seek support.”

According to the Indigenous Economic Progress Report (2019), there is a significant gap in the Indigenous and non-Indigenous people’s physical wellbeing in Canada. The report stated that Indigenous people’s life expectancy could be up to 10

years shorter than non-Indigenous people. The First Nations and Inuit communities' infant mortality rates are two to three times higher than the general population (Indigenous Economic Progress Report, 2019). In this study, parole officers often cited that their clients would be suffering from several diagnosed and undiagnosed health issues. Amidst the health problems, functioning in a way that would be productive in society is often difficult. Overwhelmingly, the parole officers also mentioned the prevalence of FASD among their Indigenous clients.

The prevalence of alcohol and substance abuse by Indigenous people has affected them socially, psychologically, and physically. FASD is a brain injury sustained to an unborn child exposed to alcohol (Samaroden, 2018). The disorder is lifelong and affects a person's physical, mental, behavioral, and learning abilities (Samaroden, 2018). In Canada, FASD is more prevalent among the Indigenous population than the non-Indigenous population (Burnside & Fuchs, 2013; Eni & Senecal, 2009; Milward, 2014; Shankar, 2015; Tait, 2009). According to Popova et al. (2017), about 10% of women in Canada consume alcohol during pregnancy. Indigenous women are four times more likely than non-Indigenous women to engage in this behavior. These studies confirm the accounts provided by parole officers that many of their clients are diagnosed with FASD while others who have not been diagnosed exhibit the disorder's symptoms. According to Participant 11, "many of my Indigenous clients suffer from FAS, and they find it hard to understand and follow through with the conditions given to them."

The need for more resources was not limited to Indigenous offenders. Every parole officer shared how they also experienced limitations in the form of resources and

training and showed support for a more specialized team within parole that only focused on Indigenous offenders. Large caseloads were also identified as a barrier in not being able to do more for their clients.

Theme 3: Need to be Culturally Competent

The need for cultural competence can be divided into three parts for the results of this study. Firstly, parole officers felt that human service professionals do not have the training and tools to work with Indigenous clients. Secondly, they stated that many policies and programs offered to offender's lack cultural sensitivity and may not be appropriate for Indigenous offenders. A third theme that was identified that my literature review did not discover was those Indigenous offenders who do not even identify themselves with the culture anymore. According to participants 13 and 16, some Indigenous people have sadly lost their identity and knowledge of their culture. According to Participant 15, "it looks like the colonizers till today enjoy the fruits of their genocide, the genocide on the Aboriginals because so many of them can not even relate to their people, or culture, or anything." This was confirmed by other parole officers who stated that some Indigenous offenders do not want culturally appropriate programming because those programs do not resonate with them. Participant 10 described them as "lost souls."

One of the parole officers who were also Indigenous stated that she is shocked by the ignorance and lack of cultural competence among her non-Indigenous peers who are also parole officers. She has witnessed these parole officers struggle to build rapport with their Indigenous clients, and some showed very little empathy or understanding towards

Indigenous issues. The unmet need appears to be a need for human service professionals to understand Indigenous offenders, their culture, traditions, challenges, and history.

Theme 4: Need to Heal

“Offenders need to be healed first; without that, rehabilitation is not even a conversation starter (Participant 9). “Healing begins when the journey starts” (Participant 13). Although I found references to reconciliation and traditional ways of rehabilitation in the literature review (Murdocca, 2009; Roach & Rudin, 2000; Rogin, 2017), there was little emphasis on healing, a term that nine of the participants used during the interview. Healing for the Indigenous people is not limited to mental and physical health but is extended to improving emotional being, spirituality, and overall wellbeing (Krawll, 1994). There is evidence in research that healing is continued to be discussed (Krawll, 1994; Logan et al., 2020) by different academic disciplines, but there is little research on its implication on Indigenous offenders in relation to breaches or recidivism.

Theme 5: Need for Indigenization of the Criminal Justice System

“The system is not made for the Indigenous people, it is being forced on them, and it is not working, it never has, it never will. Indigenous people need an Indigenous system” (Participant 11). Some parole officers went as far as saying that the current system is not designed for Indigenous offenders and contributes to perpetuating criminal behavior and breaches. However, others were more articulate in their responses through their use of the term indigenizing the system. Participants also alluded to restorative justice as a more suitable option when dealing with Indigenous offenders.

“I just feel like the indigenous way of doing things is just so much better; it makes so much more sense. However, I feel like there is a need for the community, the indigenous community, to be allowed to care for members of their community” (Participant 12).

The indigenization, according to participants, should not be limited to parole. However, the entire criminal justice system will require an overhaul whereby policies and practices will reflect Indigenous values, culture, and Indigenous ways of doing justice. Universities and colleges have adopted the term indigenization in an attempt to indigenize educational institutions across Canada. These educational institutions are well on their way to incorporate content, dialogue, programs, and paradigms that reflect Indigenous values. However, no such dialogue of indigenizing the criminal justice system was identified in my literature review.

Theme 6: Need to Acknowledge Intergenerational Trauma

Intergenerational trauma has been attributed to alcohol and substance abuse, homelessness, mental/physical health issues, lack of social stability, and the reason for criminality among Indigenous people (Menzies, 2007; Payukotayno, 1998; Rand, 2011; van de Sande, 1995). In a study conducted by Menzies (2007), where participants from the Emergency Center for Men in Toronto were used, it was reported that the homelessness experienced by Indigenous people in this study was due to the effects of colonization. The findings of the study by Menzies (2007) confirms the accounts provided by the parole officers. Every participant in the study cited intergenerational trauma as a contributing factor to Indigenous offenders' mental, social, and physical state.

Studying 397 Indigenous subjects, Bombay et al. (2013) reported that every generation has been affected by the struggle to find their identity and has faced discrimination contributing to the increased psychological distress experienced by the Indigenous community members. The psychological distress has then contributed to losing social stability, such as employment and housing. It has also added to the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system (Bombay et al., 2013). In this study, parole officers stated that many Indigenous offenders lacked social stability. The offenders had difficulty getting employment and if employed, then remaining employed was a challenge. The participants also stated that their Indigenous clients, on average, were significantly less educated than their non-Indigenous clients and that many of their Indigenous clients did not have stable accommodation or a source of food.

Theme 7: Need for One-Stop-Shop Service

"It is not that Indigenous offenders do not want to abide by the conditions; they just get frustrated because of all the running around, and then they just say screw this" (Participant 1). A study central to my research looked at offender recidivism rates based on risk and need factors. Gutierrez et al. (2013) used eight risks and needs elements to test recidivism predictability among Indigenous offenders. One of the factors identified by Gutierrez was the accessibility of services. These are counseling, employment agencies, health care, agencies that provide identification, and other social safety networks. Participants in this study stated that it would be ideal to have many social service agencies under one roof since many of their clients do not have access to

transportation, the internet, or sometimes the basics of getting a piece of identification. Most participants echoed frustration among Indigenous offenders. They asserted that frustration was the consequence of feeling helpless after they could not achieve even small goals. Research on recidivism and breaches among Indigenous offenders support the findings of this study that lack of accessibility to resources often leads to offenders getting frustrated and not caring to abide by their conditions (Bonta et al., 1997; Gutierrez et al., 2013; Perley-Robertson et al., 2019; Stewart et al., 2019).

Theme 8: Need for Positive Support

The need for positive support among Indigenous students was studied by McIntosh et al. (2014). They found that one of the reasons Indigenous youth struggled in school was a lack of positive role models and positive support at home or community. In a study looking at the unmet needs of Indigenous people who have HIV, Giliauskas and Gogolishvili (2019) stated that apart from proper health care, Indigenous people experience a lack of positive support recovery significantly. The effect of lack of positive support and failure is evident in this study. Participants reported that sometimes they were the only people in the lives of their Indigenous clients who were a source of positive support. This is in part, according to participants, that most people who are affiliated with the offender are also suffering from similar social and psychological challenges and are in no shape to provide support to others.

Discussion

This research confirms many of the studies presented in the literature review. The literature review was divided into the following parts: systemic discrimination, social

instability, addictions, mental health issues, intergenerational trauma, and an explanation of the prevalence of breaches and recidivism among Indigenous offenders. In this study, parole officers mentioned many of these factors as to why Indigenous offenders are more likely to breach their temporary release orders. Theme one looked at the need to address discrimination within the Canadian criminal justice system. This need extends to changing policy and practices when dealing with Indigenous offenders. This theme aligned with theme five, which called for a need to Indigenize the criminal justice system. Both these themes confirmed reports that the Canadian criminal justice system is not designed for Indigenous offenders and works in subtle ways to incriminate further them (Delic, 2008; Jefferies & Bond, 2012; Webster and Doob, 2004; Weinarth, 2007). Theme three identified the lack of cultural competence among human service professionals. Parole officers stated not having the proper training to empathize and support Indigenous offenders genuinely. A need for more cultural training and culturally appropriate programming were identified.

Theme two, the need for resources, flushed-out a phenomenon that merits further research into the relationship between the lack of resources, frustration, and breaching of release orders or recidivism. Although there is research on the lack of resources for Indigenous offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2017, 2018, 2019; Steward et al., 2019), I did not find studies that showed a link between frustration resulting from lacking resources and breaches. Theme seven identified the need to have a one-stop-service for Indigenous offenders. The feeling of helplessness and frustration was also identified in this theme, suggesting that there is potential for more research in this area to develop

further and understand this phenomenon. The need for resources was a significant theme in this study because many of these resources are considered basic, such as food, clean water, shelter, transportation, access to the internet, identification, social insurance number, birth certificate. The resources extended to proper health and mental health care, counseling, education, employment training, and other forms of human services. It was a need that was specific to not Indigenous offenders. However, parole officers were better trained, smaller caseloads to spend more time with clients, autonomy in exercising discretion, and specialized committees that made decisions about revocation in groups than solo. Parole officers also stated a need for improved funding for training and resources.

Theme four, the need to heal, along with theme six, intergenerational trauma, and theme eight, need positive support, all align together and supported by literature (Menzies, 2007; (Payukotayno, 1988; Rand, 2011; van de Sande, 1995). Indigenous people in Canada continue to face the effects of colonization (Menzies, 2007), and the effects are deeply penetrated within their community. Participants, while discussing intergenerational trauma and rehabilitation, stated the significance of healing within the Indigenous culture. The need to heal is well documented in the literature (Aguiar & Halseth, 2015; Drost, 2019; Krawll, 1994). Although healing has primarily been discussed in the context of reconciliation, health care, residential schools, mental health, and other social issues, I found little research on the implication of healing on breaches. While there is some evidence of the interconnectedness among social, psychological, and physical issues and intergenerational trauma (Menzies, 2007; Payukotayno, 1998; Rand,

2011; van de Sande, 1995), I have found little research looking at the relationship between the importance of healing and breaches. According to Participant 5, "healing has to be treated as a basic need for Indigenous offenders because they will refrain from breaching or reoffending only after being healed."

The theoretical framework applied to this research was Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Maslow arranged these needs in a hierarchy and maintained that the lower needs would have to be satisfied to meet the higher-level needs. Maslow arranged these needs into five tiers: physiological and safety, love and belongingness, and esteem needs. Maslow (1946) classified safety and physiological needs as basic needs; love, belongingness, and esteem need psychological needs; and self-actualization as self-fulfillment needs. Self-actualization, that is, the need to become all of what we are capable of being, was placed on top of the hierarchy of needs. Maslow maintained that the lower needs' satisfaction would be necessary to attain self-actualization but not sufficient (Winston et al., 2017).

When applied to this research, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs helps understand the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching release orders and therefore answers the research question for this study. According to Maslow, the lower needs would have to be satisfied to meet higher-level needs. Food, shelter, clean water, clothing are all classified as basic physiological needs by Maslow. These are all things that have been identified in this study as unmet needs in many Indigenous offenders' lives. These needs were identified in themes two and seven in this study. Healing plays an integral role in the survival of Indigenous people, and, even though unconventional, it may be

added as a physiological need. Participants' evidence that Indigenous offenders face tremendous challenges meeting their basic physiological needs leads to understanding why they cannot achieve higher-level needs.

The second level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is based on safety needs. These include employment, security, health, and property: literature review and accounts presented by parole officers in this research state that Indigenous offenders lack social stability. Therefore, even if Indigenous offenders are somehow able to move up from meeting their physiological needs, they face more significant challenges trying to meet safety needs.

The need for love and belonging marks the third level of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Indigenous people in Canada disproportionately commit suicide and self-harm (Statistics Canada, 2019). Mehl-Madroma (2016) and Tempier (2016) stated in their study that the lack of meaningful relationships experienced by Indigenous people is a significant factor in why they commit suicide or harm themselves. They further stated that many Indigenous people report a lack of connection with family, and many do not have stable romantic relationships. Theme seven, the need for positive support, confirms the literature findings that many Indigenous offenders cannot meet the need for love and belonging. This need is closely related to Maslow's fourth level of need, esteem. The lack of esteem was supported by evidence of frustration and helplessness that parole officers identified in the Indigenous clients. Some parole officers reported they were the only source of esteem for many of their Indigenous clients. They also stated natural sources of

esteem, family, friends, community leaders, and role models are absent in the lives of many of their Indigenous clients.

Self-actualization can only be attained after all the lower-level needs are met by individuals (Maslow, 1946). From the accounts provided by parole officers in this study, self-actualization is beyond comprehension for many Indigenous offenders because they have difficulty meeting the most basic needs. The self-actualization for many Indigenous offenders can survive.

According to Sinclair (2012), many Indigenous offenders can attain self-actualization by joining gangs. One reason for their recidivism and breaches is attributed to the fact that these offenders, once having experienced self-actualization as gang members, continue on the path of crime to attain that state again. According to Sinclair, these offenders find it challenging to stay away from a rewarding lifestyle, albeit extremely dangerous. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory is an excellent tool in understanding Indigenous people and gangs, and this is an area with potential for further research.

Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand what unmet needs do Canadian community parole officers narrate as leading to the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders breaching their conditional release orders. The first limitation of this study was the research design itself. Interviews were based on a narrative style where interviews shared stories about their clients and identified unmet needs. The design gave flexibility to the participants to speak at ease. However, I found that with some participants, I had to

continuously pull them back to the topic at hand because they kept digressing. Another limitation was not being able to conduct the interviews in-person. I used Google Meet to interview participants virtually due to the COVID 19 restrictions. Therefore, I could not observe and make notes of the participants' non-verbal cues, which may have given me more insight into their narratives. Another limitation of this study was that I only interviewed parole officers and not Indigenous offenders who the study was about. While there is research on the perceptions of Indigenous offenders and their needs (Holmes, 2017; Pfeifer et al., 2018), the purpose of this research was to learn about the needs through the narratives of parole officers. However, there will be great value in method triangulation to understand this phenomenon even further.

Recommendations

In light of this study's results and the literature review, there will be great value in looking at the needs of male and female Indigenous offenders separately. In this study, the relevance of healing was significant, and therefore further research looking at the relationship between healing and reoffending/breaches will be necessary. This study adds to the understanding of a social problem, the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders who breach their release orders using a needs lens. Understanding these needs and incorporating them into practice and policy can decrease the breaches currently seen among Indigenous offenders. Greater emphasis on needs assessment to be placed when assessing Indigenous offenders. Adequate funding will be essential in order for parole officers to not only assess the needs of Indigenous offenders better but also to help them meet those needs. Funding for social programming and resources, training, culturally

appropriate tools, indigenization of the criminal justice system in Canada, providing social stability and healing are unmet needs that need to be addressed to curtail the high prevalence of breaches among Indigenous offenders.

Social Change

This research fills the gap in understanding the role unmet needs play for Indigenous offenders and their likelihood to breach their conditional release orders. The study explained how the needs of Indigenous offenders are unique due to colonization and intergenerational trauma. According to Ireland and Prause (2012), offenders are more likely to breach their release conditions due to the lack of social skills, family support, employment, and stable accommodation. These can be categorized as biopsychosocial needs, which many offenders lack (Ireland & Prause, 2012). This research confirmed these findings and identified similar needs that Indigenous offenders did not meet. Some needs that I could not find in earlier research were the need to heal to address breaches and recidivism.

This research also demonstrated the unmet impact needs have on Indigenous offenders that prevent them from climbing up Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. This research addressed institutional discrimination within the Canadian criminal justice system, which has been found to disproportionately target Indigenous offenders (Currie et al., 2012). According to Currie et al. (2012), Corrections Canada's policies categorically discriminate against Indigenous offenders because it fails to consider their demographics' biopsychosocial needs. Participants of this study also reported these sentiments.

This study sheds light on Indigenous offenders' needs, which can help the Correctional Service of Canada, Parole Board of Canada, Union of Safety and Justice Employees, and other stakeholders to target the needs identified in this study and develop their programs centered around the needs. This study can lower the breaches and recidivism rate among Indigenous offenders and lower the amount of time they spend incarcerated. All this will trigger a social change that will see fewer Indigenous offenders reoffending and breaching their release conditions.

Conclusion

The term 'Indian parole' was used by many of the participants in this study. Indian parole is an informal term referred to as statutory release. Statutory release is when offenders have to be released back into the community after completing two-thirds of their sentence due to regulation. There is an opportunity to be released earlier depending on several factors and one of them being whether the offender breaches their conditions while on temporary release. According to Public Safety Canada (2017, 2018, 2019), Indigenous offenders are more likely to breach their conditional release and therefore end up spending more time incarcerated. Therefore, they are only released upon completing two-thirds of their condition, hence the term 'Indian parole.'

The purpose of this study was to understand the breaches using a theoretical framework based on needs. Narratives of 16 parole officers were analyzed, and eight-core themes emerged. These were needed to address systemic discrimination, need for resources, need for cultural competency training given to human service professionals, need to heal, need for the indigenization of the criminal justice system, need for

acknowledging the ramifications of intergenerational trauma, need for a one-stop-shop resource center, and need for positive support. Through this research, an understanding emerges is the importance of robust needs assessment during intake by parole officers. This research provides the framework of Indigenous needs that are primarily unmet and recommends stakeholders emulate the themes that emerged in this study into practice and policy. It is evident through the literature review that the status quo is not desirable and current efforts are not achieving the desired goals. While risk assessment is an essential feature for public safety, needs assessment and helping offenders meet those needs are equally vital.

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Appendix: Invitation Letter/ Poster

Dear Invitee,

My name is Ritesh Narayan and I am a doctoral student at Walden University's Human and Social Services program. I am kindly requesting your participation in a doctoral research study that I am conducting titled: Community Parole Officers' Perspective on the Needs of Indigenous Offenders on Conditional Release.

The intention is to learn about the needs of Indigenous offenders which may be unmet and resulting in them breaching their conditional release orders. The study involves a narrative style interview where I will provide some background information and pose a few questions to guide the interview. The interview will entail you telling me stories about your Indigenous clients while highlighting reasons why you think they breach their conditions. You will not be asked to identify any of your clients. The study is completely confidential. I will not be using your name or identifiers. The interviews will be conducted virtually and will take approximately 30 minutes long. I will contact you after the interview to go over the interview transcript. This process will take about 15 minutes. The interview will be audio recorded and data kept private and confidential. **Inclusion-**In order to participate in this study, you would have to be employed as a parole officer with an experience of at least one year working with Indigenous offenders. To participate in the study, you will need to send me an e-mail at ritesh.narayan@waldenu.edu to express your interest. You may also call me at [REDACTED]. Your participation in the research will be of great importance to assist in social change in ensuring that the needs of

Indigenous offenders are properly addressed to reduce the revocation of their release orders.

Ritesh Narayan