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**Research Report**

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**Aboriginal Women:  
Profile and Changing Population**

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**Aboriginal Women: Profile and Changing Population**

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## **Executive Summary**

**Key words:** *Aboriginal women offenders, profile, population changes over time*

Aboriginal offenders are over-represented in the Canadian federal correctional system (Public Safety Canada, 2012). Aboriginal women represent 28% of women offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2012) and have been recognized as the fastest growing population in federal corrections (Public Safety Canada, 2010). Given rapid changes in the offender population and increasing differences in the rates at which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders enter the federal correctional system, more information is needed to appropriately address the needs of these groups. The purpose of this study was to support future policy initiatives and decision-making by contributing to a more complete understanding of Aboriginal women offenders' characteristics.

A series of five consecutive two-year cohorts were used, running from April 1, 2003 to March 31, 2013. Data were collected from the Correctional Service of Canada's (CSC) electronic database for both admission and release cohorts. Data were obtained for federal women offenders, and the women were grouped according to ethnicity: First Nations women, Métis women, all Aboriginal women (including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit), and non-Aboriginal women. In addition to ethnicity, demographic information, offence and sentence information, risk and need levels, and release-related data were obtained. Analyses focused on patterns of change over the cohorts and whether certain population characteristics changed in systematic ways in the period under consideration.

Consistent with previous findings, Aboriginal women offenders were found to be younger and less educated than non-Aboriginal women offenders. Also, in accordance with the distribution of Aboriginal peoples across Canada, by far the greatest proportion of Aboriginal women were admitted in the Prairie region. Overall, Métis women were less likely to be serving indeterminate sentences, although the proportion receiving such sentences increased steadily over time. On the other hand, First Nations women had the highest percentage of indeterminate sentences of any group, which aligns with the fact that they were also the most likely to be convicted of a violent offence. Generally, across a variety of indicators, First Nations and Métis women were assessed as higher risk and need than were their non-Aboriginal counterparts. The finding that Aboriginal women were less likely to receive a discretionary release than were non-Aboriginal women is consistent with previous findings.

The current study represented a broad overview of changing population patterns over time among First Nations and Métis women. Although the simultaneous examination of changes over time and differences between groups necessitated that only a relatively small number of indicators be examined, results demonstrated that differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women offenders continue to be present. The findings from this study will inform future CSC research on Aboriginal women and served as a starting point for a broader examination of First Nations and Métis women's social histories and correctional experiences.



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## **Introduction**

Aboriginal offenders are over-represented in the Canadian federal correctional system (Public Safety Canada, 2012), with over 20% of offenders identifying as Aboriginal (Public Safety Canada, 2012), and only 4% of the general Canadian population identifying as such (Turner, Crompton, & Langlois, 2011). Moreover, Aboriginal women represent 28% of federal women offenders (Public Safety Canada, 2012) and have been recognized as the fastest growing sub-population in federal corrections (Public Safety Canada, 2010). Research has identified gaps in outcomes between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women offenders (Blanchette, 1997; Mann, 2009; Moore, 2003); however, little is known regarding the differences among Aboriginal groups (i.e., First Nations, Métis, and Inuit).

Only a few studies (Farrell MacDonald, manuscript submitted; Moore, 2003; Moore & Trevethan, 2002; Motiuk & Nafekh, 2000) have specifically examined the needs of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis offenders separately, as opposed to grouping them together to form a larger Aboriginal group; even fewer included or focused on women offenders. Given rapid changes in the offender population and increasing differences in the rates at which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders enter the federal correctional system, more information is needed to appropriately address the needs of these groups.

In studies examining outcomes of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal men offenders, several differences have been identified. For instance, Aboriginal men offenders tend to be higher risk (Gobeil, 2008), be less frequently granted discretionary releases (Public Safety Canada, 2012), have more extensive criminal profiles (Moore, 2003), and be more likely to experience elevated criminogenic need (Rugge, 2006). Similar findings have been reported in other jurisdictions, particularly with Indigenous peoples in Australia (Gelb & Ritchie, 2013; Smandych, Lincoln, & Wilson, 1993).

Recently, Farrell MacDonald (manuscript submitted) contrasted First Nations, Métis, and Inuit men offenders under the supervision of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) in 2012 and found that, while the groups share some similarities, differences are also apparent. In keeping with a previous study (Moore, 2003), Farrell MacDonald (manuscript submitted) found that all three groups reported low levels of educational attainment, high rates of unemployment, difficulties with substance abuse, and violent and extensive criminal histories. First Nations men,

however, tended to report more youth criminal activity, were more likely to be convicted of violent offences, and had more problematic institutional behaviour. Inuit offenders were more frequently convicted of sex offences than were other offenders, and Métis offenders more frequently convicted of drug offences.

## **Current Research**

Given that women offenders differ from men offenders in many areas (Blanchette & Brown, 2006; Booth, 2012) it is unclear whether Farrell Macdonald's findings would extend to women offenders. As such, the purpose of this study was to support future policy initiatives and decision-making by contributing to a more complete understanding of Aboriginal women offenders' characteristics, as well as the changing patterns in the population of Aboriginal women offenders over time. Of interest were the characteristics both of the population of Aboriginal women as a whole, and of First Nations and Métis women separately (sample sizes did not allow separate examination of Inuit women). Analyses focused on describing and, where appropriate, contrasting the groups. In addition, where appropriate, comparisons with non-Aboriginal women are reported. The focus was on demographic information, sentence and offence characteristics, risk and need variables, and release types.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the current examination, a second study examining Aboriginal women's social histories and correctional experiences in greater detail is also in progress (Clarke, manuscript submitted; Thompson & Gobeil, manuscript submitted).

## **Method**

### **Participants**

A series of five consecutive two-year cohorts were used, running from April 1, 2003 to March 31, 2013; this approach was necessary due to small numbers of women of certain Aboriginal backgrounds in samples reflecting only a single year. For each two-year period (e.g., April 1, 2003 to March 31, 2005), both admission and release cohorts were used. Data were obtained for all federal women offenders, and the women were grouped according to ethnicity: First Nations women, Métis women, all Aboriginal women (including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit),<sup>2</sup> and non-Aboriginal women. While the focus of this study was on Aboriginal women, their non-Aboriginal counterparts were included in order to allow contextualization of findings. Table 1 presents the breakdown of women of each ethnicity category included in analyses. Some women were missing certain data on file, and when this was the case, analyses included only those women with the relevant information. For most variables, missing data was less than 1%, although the education variable (“high school diploma”) was missing much more frequently; in this instance, missing data ranged from 7% to 40% depending on the cohort.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Inuit women were not analysed separately due to their small numbers.

<sup>3</sup> This variable was, nonetheless, retained as there was no reason to believe the pattern of missing data was not random, and because analyses were solely descriptive and no inferential statistics including this variable were conducted.

Table 1

*Distribution of Study Cohorts by Ethnicity*

Cohort	Ancestry Category			
	First Nations % (n)	Métis % (n)	All Aboriginal % (n)	Non-Aboriginal % (n)
<b>Admission Cohorts</b>				
2003-05	20 (92)	7 (31)	27 (125)	73 (342)
2005-07	20 (114)	9 (54)	29 (170)	71 (410)
2007-09	20 (125)	6 (40)	27 (169)	73 (449)
2009-11	21 (134)	7 (42)	28 (179)	72 (462)
2011-13	23 (142)	6 (36)	30 (183)	70 (432)
<b>Release Cohorts</b>				
2003-05	20 (117)	8 (45)	27 (164)	73 (435)
2005-07	20 (133)	8 (54)	28 (188)	72 (482)
2007-09	20 (162)	9 (74)	30 (238)	70 (556)
2009-11	20 (158)	7 (55)	28 (219)	72 (563)
2011-13	24 (190)	7 (55)	31 (249)	69 (552)

*Note.* The All Aboriginal category includes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit women. The non-Aboriginal offender category includes all offenders other than those falling into the All Aboriginal category, including those whose ethnicity was listed as “unknown”. Due to rounding, rows may not add to 100%.

**Data Source**

All data used in this study were drawn from CSC’s Offender Management System (OMS). This system is a computerized database including administrative data on every offender under CSC jurisdiction. For each woman, a variety of data were obtained, focusing on demographic characteristics, offence and sentence information, risk and need, and release.

**Measures**

In addition to ethnicity, the demographic information obtained for each woman included her age and marital status. The offence and sentence information included whether the most serious offence of which she was convicted was violent, the type of sentence she received (determinate or indeterminate), and the length of her sentence.

With respect to risk and need variables, security level at admission and four additional variables were obtained: static risk, dynamic risk (also known as criminogenic need), motivation,

and reintegration potential. These four indicators are assessed as low, moderate, or high at admission and modified, as appropriate, during the sentence. Static risk is a reflection of offence history, criminal risk, and sex offence history (CSC, 2007). Dynamic risk represents assessed risk across seven domains associated with recidivism but susceptible to change through intervention (Bonta, 2002; CSC, 2007). Motivation refers to the offender's willingness to commit to and engage in activities related to her correctional plan (Bonta & Andrews, 2007; CSC, 2012a), and, finally, reintegration potential reflects the assessed likelihood of an offender successfully reintegrating the community after her release (CSC, 2012b).

Dynamic risk ratings in each of the seven domains of the Dynamic Factor Intake and Assessment (DFIA) measure were also obtained. These domains are substance abuse, personal/emotional, marital/family, employment, community functioning, attitudes, and associates. Notably, in 2009, this measure changed, which means that data from before and after this period cannot be meaningfully combined.

Finally, release information focused on the type of release each woman received – that is, discretionary (day or full parole) or non-discretionary (statutory release or release at the end of the sentence).

### **Analytic Approach**

Analyses focused on patterns of change over the cohorts (i.e., 2003 to 2013). Of interest was whether certain population characteristics changed in systematic ways in the period under consideration. Results specific to First Nations women were contrasted with those for Métis women and, where appropriate, non-Aboriginal women.

Given that the institutional and release cohorts used in this study represent the full population of women offenders in custody or released during the periods in question, findings reflect true differences among the groups or time points rather than estimates thereof (as would be the case if only a sub-sample of women offenders were included in analyses). As such, inferential statistics and tests of the statistical significance of differences are not appropriate and were not utilized.

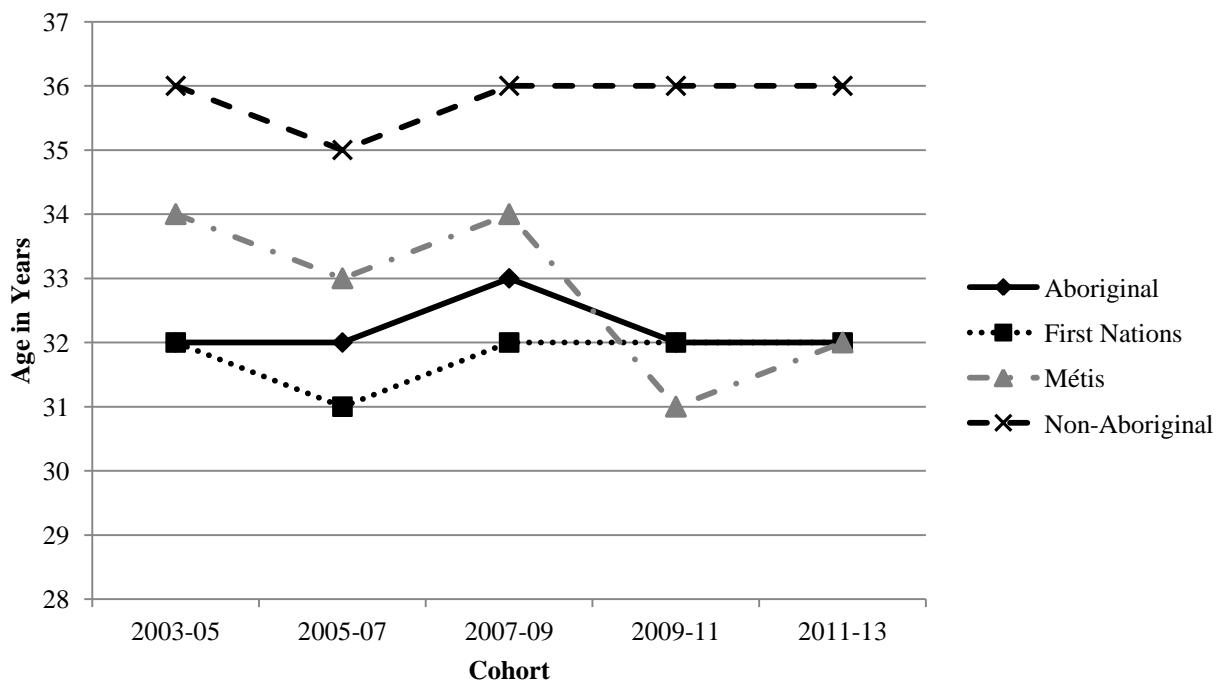
## Results

In contrast to expectations, many of the investigated variables did not change substantially over time. Moreover, differences between First Nations and Métis women were inconsistent, sometimes of substantial magnitude and sometimes minimal. The largest differences were consistently between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women; as a result, this section is primarily focused on these comparisons.

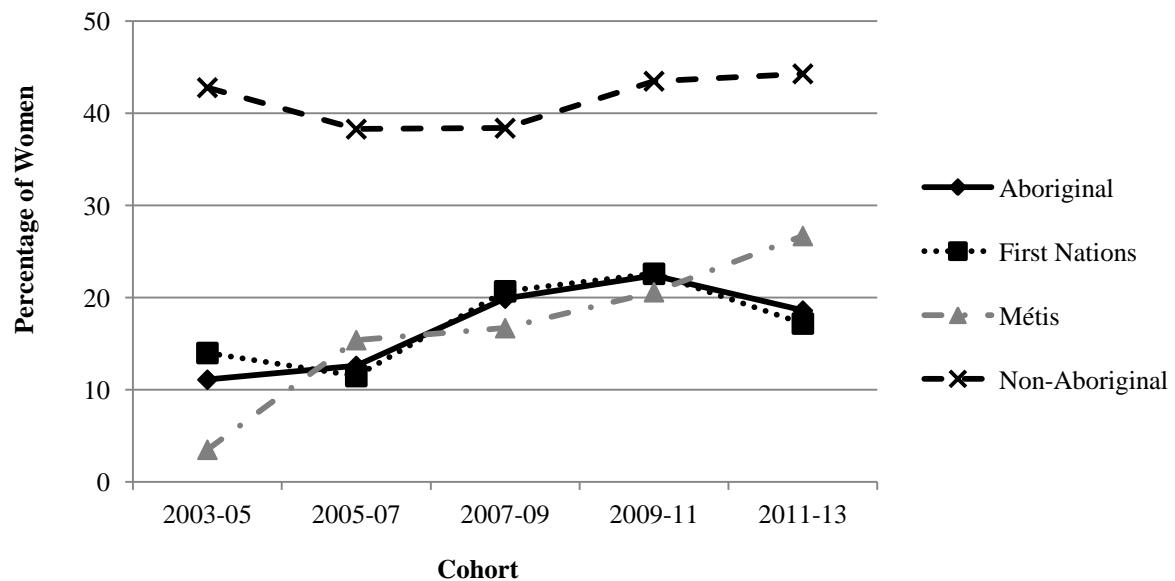
### Demographic Characteristics

The first series of analyses focused on women's age, educational achievement, and marital status at admission. Across the ten year period under study, Aboriginal women were younger, less educated, and similarly likely to be married compared to their non-Aboriginal counterparts (see Figures 1, 2, and 3). Interestingly, the gap in education between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women closed considerably over the 10 years under study. While the proportion of non-Aboriginal women with a high school diploma was relatively stable at about 40%, the proportion for Aboriginal women increased from about 10% to nearly 20% in the same period. In particular, more Métis women were admitted with high school diplomas.

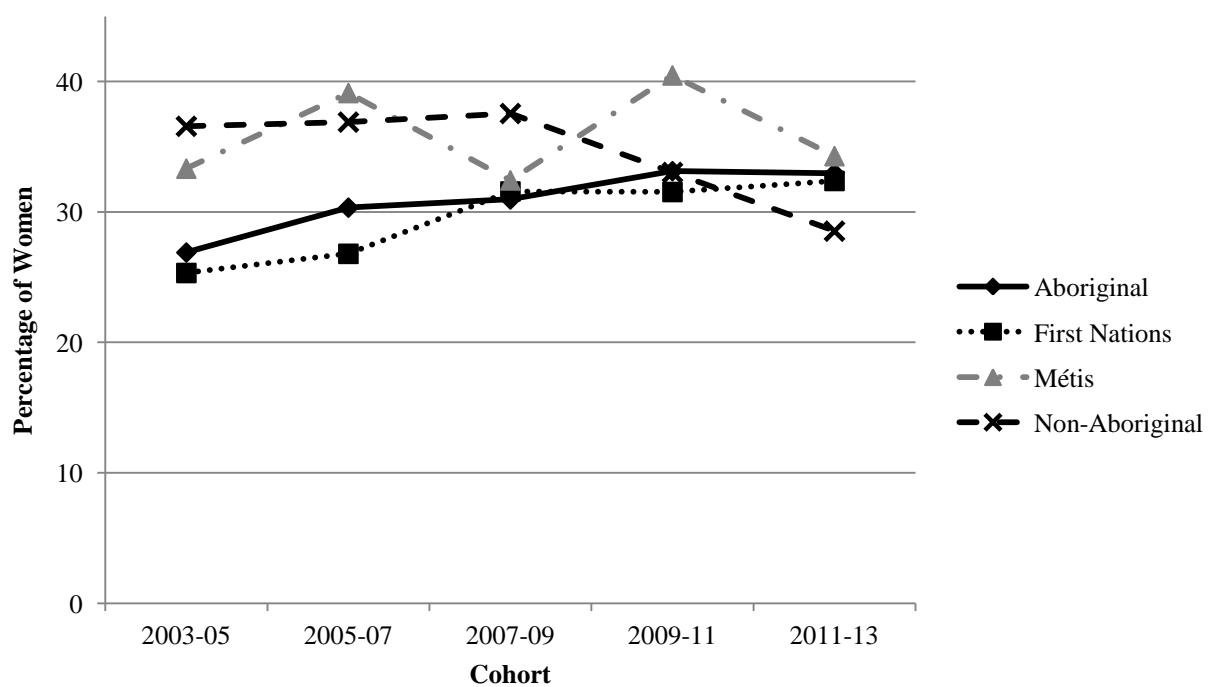
*Figure 1. Women's Age at Admission.*



*Figure 2.* Percentage of Women with a High School Diploma at Admission.



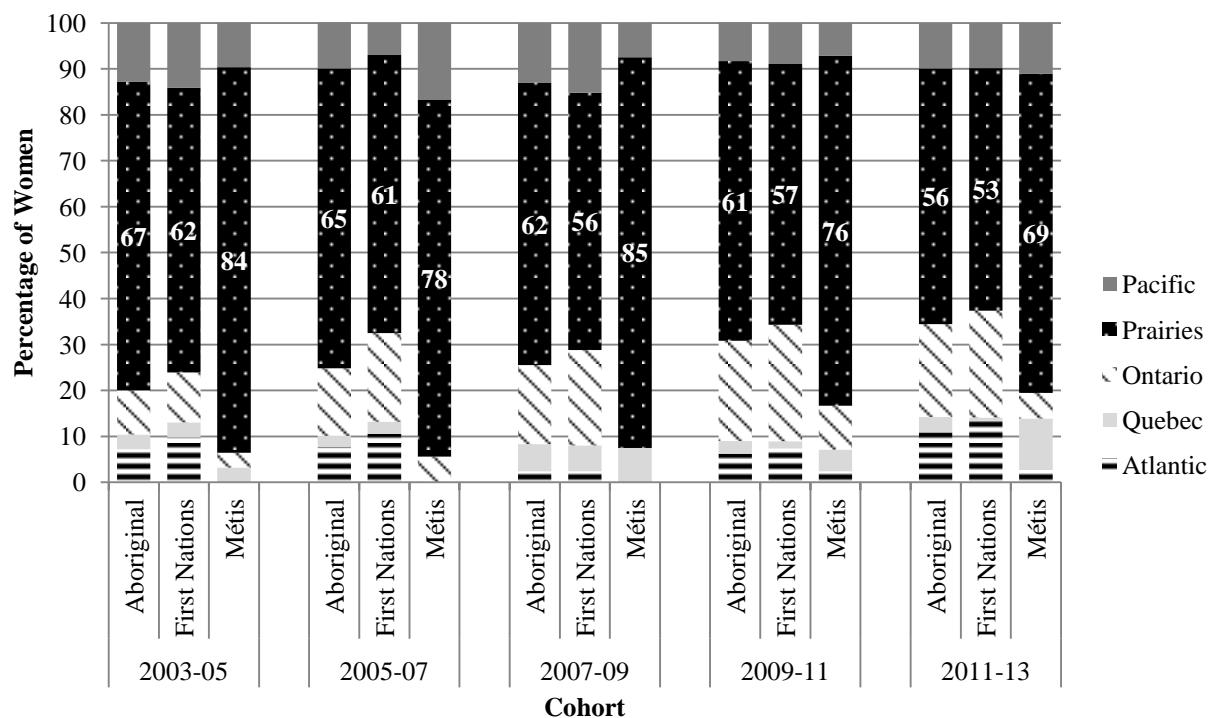
*Figure 3.* Percentage of Women in Common-Law Relationships or Married at Admission.



## Sentence and Offence Information

Most Aboriginal women were admitted in the Prairie region (see Figure 4). This finding was especially true for Métis women. Over time, a growing proportion of Aboriginal women were admitted to the Ontario region.

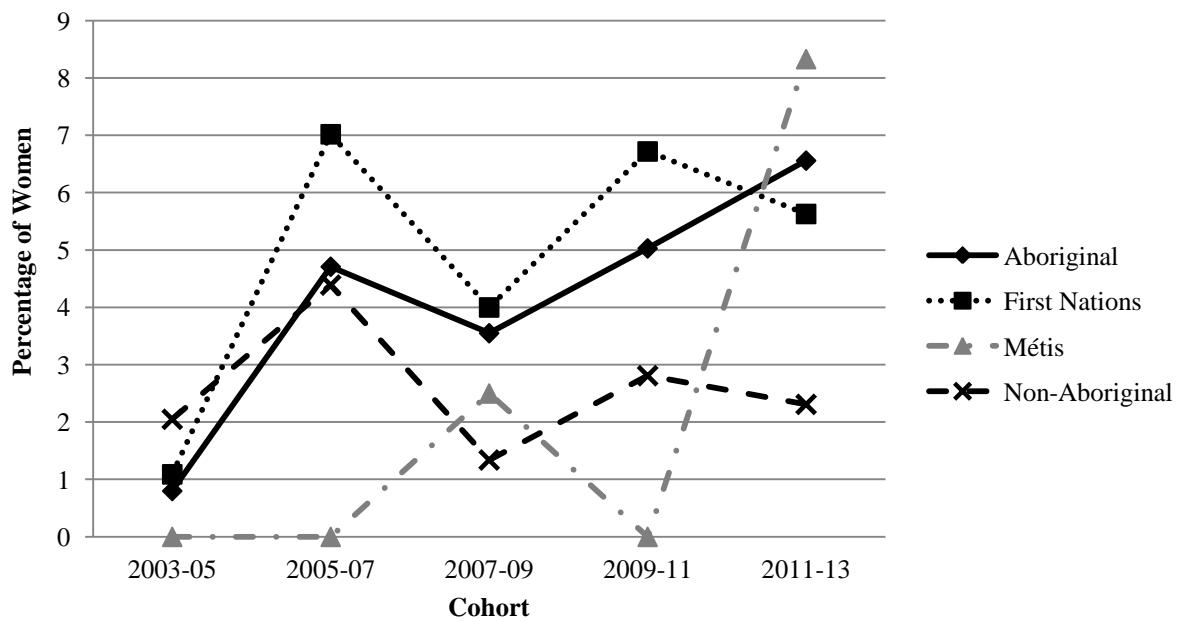
*Figure 4. Admissions by Region.*



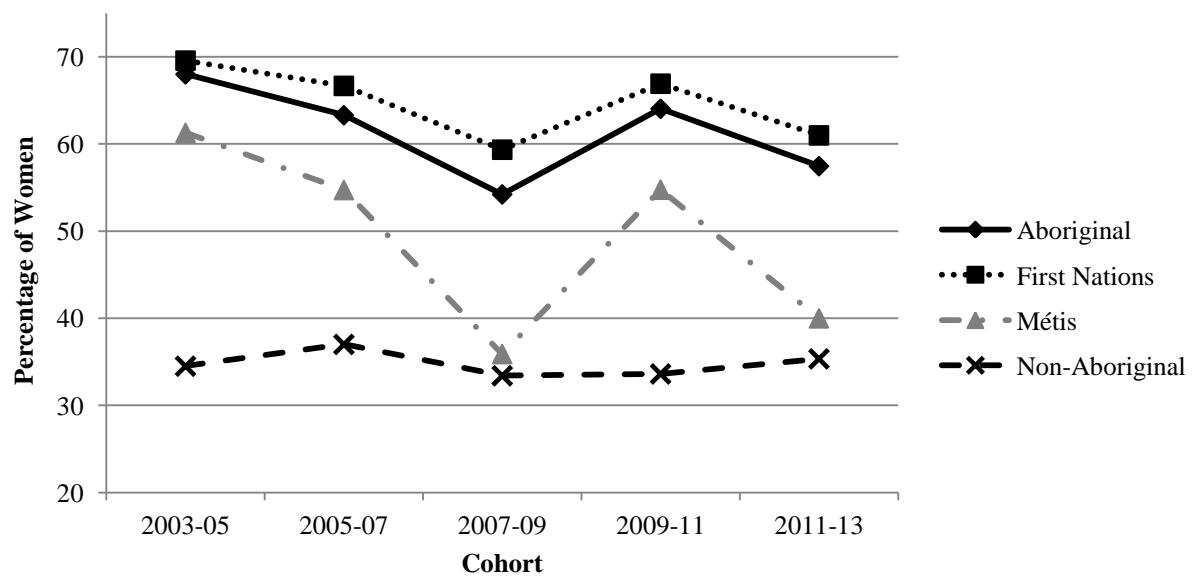
Overall, the proportion of Aboriginal women receiving indeterminate sentences increased over time (see Figure 5). With one exception, greater proportions of First Nations women received indeterminate sentences across all time points. Of the offenders who received determinate sentences, on average, their length was of three years. Over the study period, sentences increased slightly by about two months; however, there were only minor differences between the groups at all time points. Somewhat surprisingly, although fewer Métis women received indeterminate sentences in the first years of the study period, by the end of the study, Métis women had the highest rate of indeterminate sentences of any group, an overall increase of approximately 8%. Despite a higher proportion of First Nations women serving a sentence for a violence offence, this group's average sentence length, excluding those with an indeterminate sentence, was very similar to all other groups. Notable differences were found between Métis women and First Nations

women. In fact, across time points, 8% to 23% fewer Métis women than First Nations women were convicted of violent offences (see Figure 6).

*Figure 5. Percentage of Women Serving Indeterminate Sentences.*



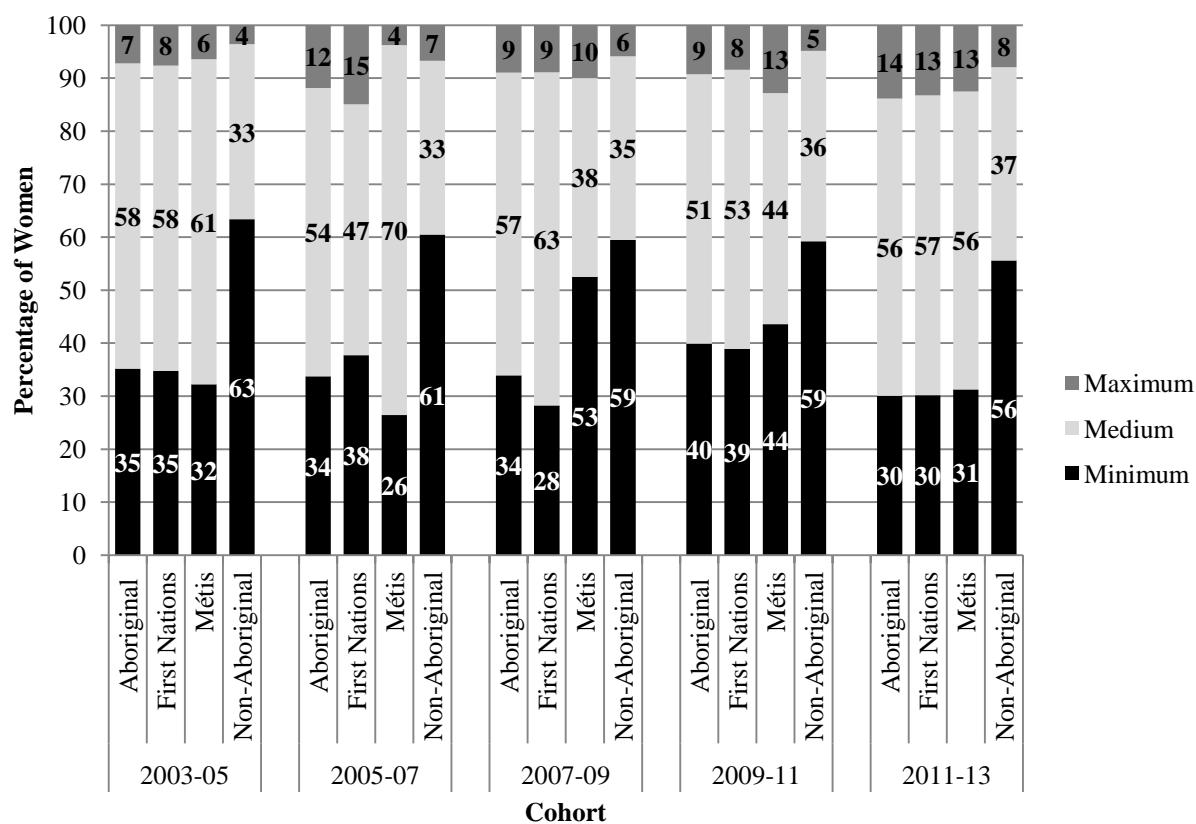
*Figure 6. Percentage of Women Convicted of a Violent Offence.*



## Risk and Need

A number of indicators of each woman's level of risk were examined, including women's security level at admission, their assessed static and dynamic risk, motivation, and reintegration potential. By and large, Aboriginal women tended to be rated as higher risk than were their non-Aboriginal counterparts. For instance, approximately 20% more non-Aboriginal women than Aboriginal women were classified as minimum security at admission (see Figure 7). Similarly, 20% to 25% more Aboriginal women were assessed as presenting high levels of both static risk (e.g., 2011-13: 45% vs. 18%) and dynamic risk (e.g., 2011-13: 61% vs. 32%), with about the same proportion fewer being assessed as low on both static risk (e.g., 2011-13: 20% vs. 47%) and dynamic risk than non-Aboriginal women (e.g., 2011-13: 4% vs. 25%).

*Figure 7. Women's Security Levels at Admission.*



Among the Aboriginal women, First Nations women's risk and need ratings changed to a lesser extent than did Métis women's. Although their security classifications did not change, over the ten years examined, Métis women were considerably more likely to be assessed as presenting

a high level of risk. In fact, there was an increase of 18 percentage points in the Métis women assessed as high static risk (from 26% in 2003-05 to 44% in 2011-13) and 15 percentage points in those assessed as high dynamic risk (from 52% in 2003-05 to 67% in 2011-13). The proportion of Métis women assessed as likely to successfully reintegrate into the community also decreased by 25 percentage points, from 45% (2003-05) to 20% (2011-13).

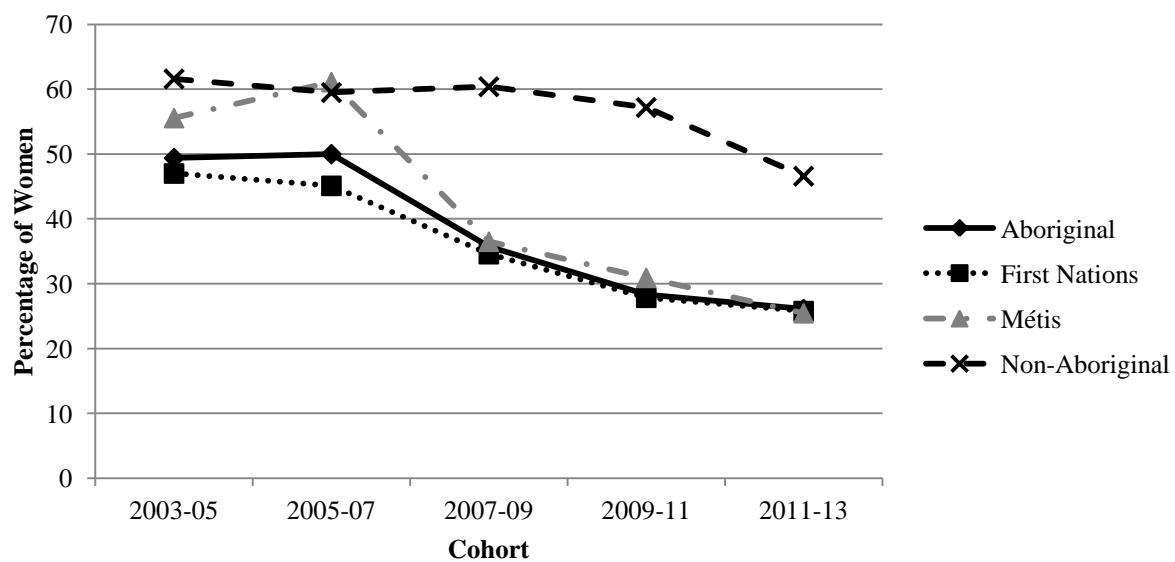
The last area examined was the seven domains of the DFIA (see Appendix). Regardless of ancestry, relatively large proportions of women presented elevated levels of need in the personal/emotional, substance abuse, employment, associates, and marital/family domains. Consistently, more Aboriginal women than non-Aboriginal women were assessed as presenting criminogenic need in each of these domains, with differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women being most marked with respect to the substance abuse, marital/family, and employment domains. Although the introduction of changes to the DFIA measure in 2009 made examining patterns related to time challenging, the patterns did not appear to change substantially in the period under study.

Very few differences were apparent among the Aboriginal women. The approximate proportions of First Nations and Métis women's presenting with criminogenic need in each domain were similar both within and across time points. For the few domains where this was not the case (e.g., associates), changing patterns over time made interpretation problematic. For example, while more Métis women were identified as presenting needs relating to associates in the first three time periods, the difference subsequently disappeared. Whether this finding was due to true changes in the population or the introduction of a modified measure cannot be determined from the current data.

### **Release-Related Information**

The final analyses focused on the proportion of women granted a discretionary release. As can be seen in Figure 8, there were large differences in these rates, with almost twice as many non-Aboriginal women as Aboriginal women being granted discretionary release in the 2011-13 time period. While the proportion of women granted discretionary release decreased over time for all women, it did so more rapidly for those of Aboriginal ancestry, and especially for Métis women. This pattern aligns with the changes in Métis women's risk and reintegration potential profiles over the same time period.

Figure 8. Percentage of Women Granted Discretionary Release.



## **Discussion**

This study provides an updated profile of Aboriginal women overall, and more specifically First Nations and Métis women, as well as an examination of changes over time for these groups. Given Aboriginal peoples' over-representation in the correctional system and that Aboriginal women are the fastest growing offender population (Public Safety Canada, 2010), such research is very important. The current investigation, together with the other research currently underway (Clarke, manuscript submitted; Farrell MacDonald, manuscript submitted; Thompson & Gobeil, manuscript submitted), provides the evidence necessary to inform policy and practice related to Aboriginal women offenders.

In keeping with previous findings examining age in the Canadian population (O'Donnell & Wallace, 2011; Statistics Canada, 2013), the current results reflect that Aboriginal women offenders are younger on average than those of other ethnic backgrounds. Aboriginal women's increasing levels of educational attainment over time may be attributable to a greater shift to urban living in recent years. For instance, Aboriginal women who live off-reserve are more likely to have completed high school than their counterparts on reserve (26% compared to 19%; Quinless, 2012). Quinless (2012) also found that Métis women were the most likely of any Aboriginal group to have completed post-secondary schooling, with levels approaching those seen among non-Aboriginal women. The current study's findings parallel Quinless', with Métis women making the greatest educational gains over time.

In keeping with the distribution of Aboriginal peoples across Canada (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2013), by far the greatest proportion of Aboriginal women were admitted in the Prairie region. At the beginning of the study period, Métis women were less likely to be serving indeterminate sentences, although this proportion increased steadily over time and surpassed non-Aboriginal women. On the other hand, First Nations women consistently had a high percentage of indeterminate sentences, compared to non-Aboriginal and all Aboriginal women, which aligns with the fact that they were also the most likely to be convicted of a violent offence (increasing the likelihood of an indeterminate sentence). Unexpectedly, however, this pattern differs from that found for men; in a recent study, Métis men were slightly more likely to be serving indeterminate sentences than First Nations men (24% vs. 21%, respectively; Farrell MacDonald, manuscript submitted).

Interestingly, if shifts to increased urban living among Aboriginal offenders continue, it may be that patterns relating to violent offending may change. High rates of crime and violence on reserves is well documented (Statistics Canada, 2006). For instance, in 2004 rates of violent crime on reserves were eight times higher for assault and six times higher for homicide than the rates observed in the rest of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006). The impact of gradual movement to urban centres on offending patterns requires further investigation.

Overall, across a variety of indicators, First Nations and Métis women were assessed as higher risk and need than were their non-Aboriginal counterparts, although few differences were apparent between First Nations and Métis women. Findings regarding risk level align with offending patterns and are consistent with the fact that Aboriginal women are more likely to demonstrate institutional misbehaviour than are their non-Aboriginal counterparts (Thompson & Gobeil, manuscript submitted). With respect to criminogenic need, both the current results and Farrell MacDonald's (manuscript submitted) findings specific to men demonstrate that the personal/emotional domain, substance abuse, and employment are likely appropriate targets for most Aboriginal offenders in terms of reducing future offending. In contrast to findings specific to men, Aboriginal women may also benefit from interventions relating to the associates and marital/family domain, as others have also found. Blanchette and Motiuk (1997) reported that for maximum security women, a group including a high proportion of Aboriginal women, needs were concentrated in the marital/family and substance abuse domains. Bell, Trevethan, and Allegri (2004) found that Aboriginal women had more pronounced need in the marital/family domain than did non-Aboriginal women. These need areas are targeted in the Aboriginal Women's Circle of Care, a continuum of holistic correctional programs of various intensities available to Aboriginal women both in CSC's institutions and in the community post-release.

The finding that Aboriginal women were less likely to receive a discretionary release than were non-Aboriginal women replicates that found previously (Parole Board of Canada [PBC], 2013). Perhaps more interesting was that in the earliest time periods under study, Métis women's rates of discretionary release were very similar to those of non-Aboriginal women, but this rate decreased rapidly over time to join that of First Nations women. With the implementation of Bill C-10 (2011), an omnibus crime bill aimed at imposing more mandatory minimum sentences and increasing offender accountability, rates of discretionary release were expected to decrease over time. While such a decrease was apparent for all groups, the gap between non-Aboriginal and

Aboriginal women increased. It is probable that this difference is attributable to the previously-examined differences between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal women in this study. In deciding whether to grant discretionary release, members of the PBC must assess offender's risk of re-offence (PBC, 2013). Aboriginal women's tendency for more violent offending and higher risk and need may influence Board members' release decisions. Indeed, this would explain the marked decrease in discretionary release for Métis women, whose risk profiles became more elevated.

## **Conclusion**

The current study represents a broad overview of changing population patterns among First Nations and Métis women. Although the simultaneous examination of changes over time and differences between groups necessitated that only a small number of indicators be examined, the present results, with those of other studies (Clarke, manuscript submitted; Farrell MacDonald, manuscript submitted; Moore, 2003; Thompson & Gobeil, manuscript submitted), demonstrate that differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders continue to be present. Importantly, however, these differences also reflect variation in women's lives prior to incarceration. As such, CSC's initiatives must be considered together with those of other government departments and of community stakeholders in efforts to close the gaps seen at admission between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. Therefore, replicating studies such as these is important for two reasons: (1) to assess if differences persist; and (2) to understand the impact of both CSC's and others' interventions aimed at improving outcomes for Aboriginal peoples.

This study's findings will inform future CSC research on Aboriginal women and serve as a starting point for a broader examination of First Nations and Métis women's social histories and correctional experiences (Clarke, manuscript submitted; Thompson & Gobeil, manuscript submitted). Together, these studies may assist in forming policy and practice.

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**Appendix:**  
**Women's Dynamic Factor Identification and Analysis (DFIA) Needs**

Table 2

*Women's Dynamic Factor Identification and Analysis Needs*

Cohort	Aboriginal Ancestry	DFIA %	DFIA-R %
<b>Associates domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	78	--
	First Nations	74	--
	Métis	84	--
	Non-Aboriginal	52	--
2005-07	Aboriginal	84	--
	First Nations	79	--
	Métis	96	--
	Non-Aboriginal	60	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	84	--
	First Nations	84	--
	Métis	85	--
	Non-Aboriginal	66	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	80	75
	First Nations	90	79
	Métis	60	60
	Non-Aboriginal	57	60
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	70
	First Nations	--	69
	Métis	--	67
	Non-Aboriginal	--	54
<b>Attitudes domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	35	--
	First Nations	35	--
	Métis	23	--
	Non-Aboriginal	30	--
2005-07	Aboriginal	39	--
	First Nations	39	--
	Métis	42	--
	Non-Aboriginal	34	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	43	--
	First Nations	42	--
	Métis	50	--
	Non-Aboriginal	38	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	42	30
	First Nations	29	31
	Métis	60	30
	Non-Aboriginal	38	29
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	45
	First Nations	--	44
	Métis	--	67
	Non-Aboriginal	--	37
<b>Community functioning domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	29	--
	First Nations	32	--
	Métis	16	--
	Non-Aboriginal	30	--

Table continues.

Cohort	Aboriginal Ancestry	DFIA %	DFIA-R %
<b>Community functioning domain (continued)</b>			
2005-07	Aboriginal	41	--
	First Nations	44	--
	Métis	42	--
	Non-Aboriginal	31	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	32	--
	First Nations	31	--
	Métis	20	--
	Non-Aboriginal	25	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	28	43
	First Nations	24	48
	Métis	40	30
	Non-Aboriginal	23	27
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	46
	First Nations	--	47
	Métis	--	40
	Non-Aboriginal	--	33
<b>Employment domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	87	--
	First Nations	85	--
	Métis	84	--
	Non-Aboriginal	53	--
2005-07	Aboriginal	88	--
	First Nations	88	--
	Métis	89	--
	Non-Aboriginal	66	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	85	--
	First Nations	83	--
	Métis	85	--
	Non-Aboriginal	74	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	86	72
	First Nations	81	76
	Métis	80	60
	Non-Aboriginal	66	51
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	69
	First Nations	--	70
	Métis	--	80
	Non-Aboriginal	--	49
<b>Marital/family domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	69	--
	First Nations	66	--
	Métis	55	--
	Non-Aboriginal	42	--
2005-07	Aboriginal	71	--
	First Nations	69	--
	Métis	77	--
	Non-Aboriginal	47	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	70	--
	First Nations	66	--
	Métis	75	--
	Non-Aboriginal	44	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	65	68
	First Nations	57	71
	Métis	40	50
	Non-Aboriginal	35	37

Table continues.

Cohort	Aboriginal Ancestry	DFIA %	DFIA-R %
<b>Marital/family domain (continued)</b>			
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	63
	First Nations	--	66
	Métis	--	67
	Non-Aboriginal	--	41
<b>Personal/emotional domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	88	--
	First Nations	84	--
	Métis	90	--
	Non-Aboriginal	71	--
2005-07	Aboriginal	89	--
	First Nations	91	--
	Métis	83	--
	Non-Aboriginal	74	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	88	--
	First Nations	88	--
	Métis	90	--
	Non-Aboriginal	74	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	92	77
	First Nations	95	81
	Métis	100	70
	Non-Aboriginal	82	73
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	92
	First Nations	--	92
	Métis	--	100
	Non-Aboriginal	--	72
<b>Substance abuse domain</b>			
2003-05	Aboriginal	93	--
	First Nations	92	--
	Métis	87	--
	Non-Aboriginal	55	--
2005-07	Aboriginal	95	--
	First Nations	94	--
	Métis	96	--
	Non-Aboriginal	65	--
2007-09	Aboriginal	93	--
	First Nations	92	--
	Métis	88	--
	Non-Aboriginal	62	--
2009-11	Aboriginal	90	81
	First Nations	86	83
	Métis	100	70
	Non-Aboriginal	62	57
2011-13	Aboriginal	--	86
	First Nations	--	83
	Métis	--	80
	Non-Aboriginal	--	48

*Note.* The DFIA was replaced with the DFIA-R in September 2009. Given differences in the two measures, it is not appropriate to collapse data from the two sources into the same table