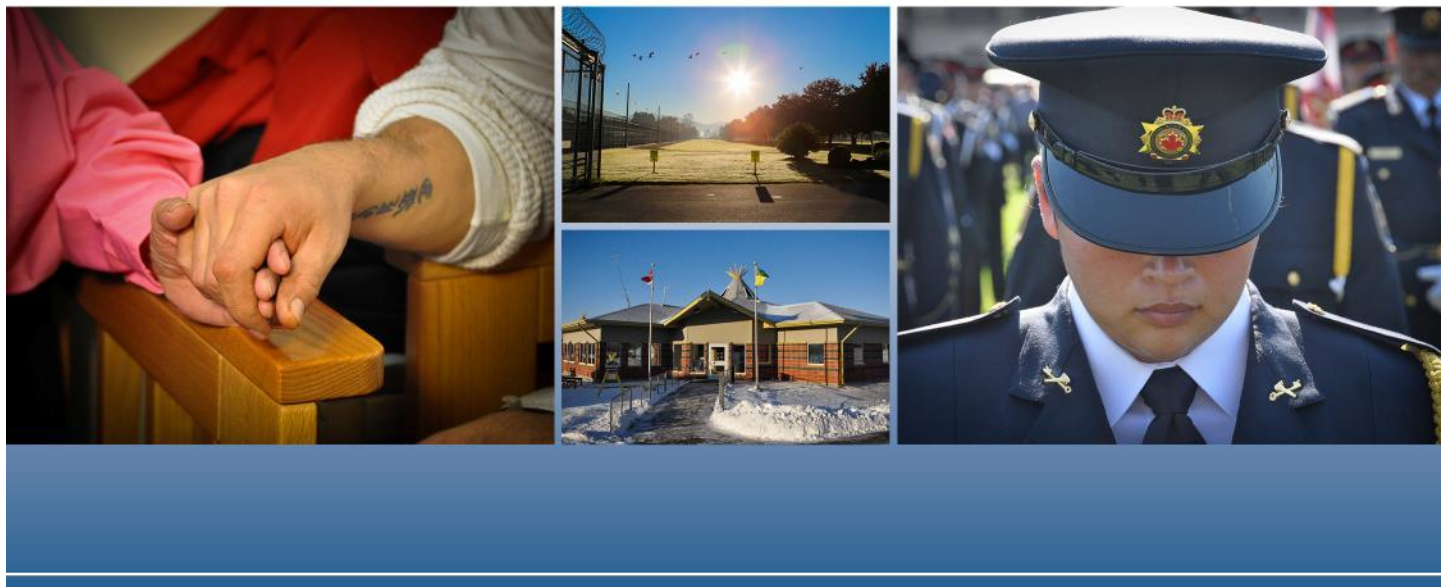


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RESEARCH REPORT

Indigenous Healing Lodges: Impacts on Offender Reintegration and Community Outcomes

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**Indigenous Healing Lodges: Impacts on Offender Reintegration
and Community Outcomes**

Laura Hanby

Thana Ridha

Rebecca Sullivan

&

Shanna Farrell MacDonald

Correctional Service of Canada

2022

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Executive Summary

Key words: *Healing Lodges, Indigenous offenders, reintegration, community outcomes*

Healing Lodges are environments centred on Indigenous values, traditions, and beliefs. They offer culturally-specific services and programs for Indigenous offenders to address the factors that led to their incarceration, as well as prepare them for release. The goal of this study was to examine the impacts that Healing Lodges have on Indigenous offender reintegration.

Indigenous offenders released from Correctional Service of Canada (CSC)-operated or Section 81 Healing Lodges between April 2013 and March 2018 ($N = 748$) were compared to a matched control group of Indigenous offenders released from other institutions ($N = 748$). Healing Lodge residents were higher in dynamic risk and lower in reintegration potential at intake. While higher in static risk, men Healing Lodge residents ($n = 614$) demonstrated positive changes in motivation level and the Attitude domain of dynamic risk from intake to release. Women Healing Lodge residents ($n = 134$) were more likely to show improvements in the areas of Personal/Emotional, Substance Abuse, and Associates compared to the control group.

Healing Lodge residents showed a greater interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake and participated in culturally-specific services to a greater degree throughout their sentence. Healing Lodge residents were also more likely to be assigned to and complete correctional programs and other programs, both over the course of their full incarceration period and at the Healing Lodge in particular. Compared to their counterparts, Healing Lodge residents participated in more Escorted and Unescorted Temporary Absences (ETAs; UTAs) as well as work releases. Despite these efforts at gradual reintegration, Healing Lodge residents were less likely to receive a discretionary release. Overall, compared to the control group, Healing Lodge residents had commensurate post-release outcomes. These results were consistent between men and women.

Comparisons by Healing Lodge type indicated that CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents were higher in dynamic risk and lower in reintegration potential at release compared to Section 81 residents. Over the course of their sentence, Section 81 residents demonstrated greater improvements in most of the dynamic need areas. While there were no significant differences in the rates of suspensions or revocations, Indigenous offenders released from a Section 81 spent more time in the community prior to their first suspension or revocation.

A final objective of the study was to explore the cumulative effect of Indigenous-specific services and interventions that are associated with post-release outcomes. Once controlling for relevant risk, need, and offender characteristics, men who completed Indigenous programs at a Healing Lodge had a 54% lower risk of revocation of release, while men who participated in Pathways Initiatives had a 29% lower risk. For women, those who demonstrated an interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake had a 65% lower risk of return to custody.

These findings highlight the benefits of culturally responsive programs and services in improving reintegration efforts. While this represents a comprehensive study of the impacts of Healing Lodges, future research will provide a holistic understanding of the Healing Lodge experience.

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Introduction

The over-representation of Indigenous offenders within federal prisons represents a long-standing issue in Canada. While only 4% of the population in Canada identify as Indigenous, this group represents 27% of federally sentenced men and almost 40% of federally sentenced women in the country (CSC, 2019b). In response to this, a strategic priority within the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC) is to provide “effective, culturally appropriate interventions and reintegration support for First Nations, Métis and Inuit offenders” (CSC, 2016). In line with sections 79 to 84 of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act¹ (CCRA, 1992) and the Strategic Plan for Aboriginal Corrections (CSC, 2012), CSC offers various culturally responsive approaches, interventions and services to support the successful reintegration of Indigenous offenders. This includes, but is not limited to, the Indigenous Continuum of Care, Pathways Initiatives,² Indigenous programming, as well as environments designed specifically for Indigenous offenders, known as Healing Lodges. Despite the expanding literature examining some of these Indigenous-specific initiatives, the research on Healing Lodges remains notably limited. This report represents the first phase of research that aims to holistically examine Healing Lodges for Indigenous offenders. More specifically, the purpose of the current study is to examine the impact that Healing Lodges have on Indigenous offender reintegration and community outcomes. Through this, the study also aims to develop an understanding of the profile of Indigenous offenders transferred to Healing Lodges, as well as explore if there are particular culturally-specific services or interventions, or combinations thereof, that are associated with post-release outcomes.

Conceptualizing Healing Lodges

Within the correctional context, Healing Lodges are environments that are centred on Indigenous values, traditions, and beliefs.³ They offer culturally-specific services and programs

¹ The corresponding sections within the CCRA outlines the provisions regarding the care, custody, and release of Indigenous offenders. This includes, but is not limited to Indigenous-specific programming and the involvement of Indigenous communities.

² Pathways Initiatives are designed to provide a healing environment for those Indigenous offenders already engaged in and committed to their personal healing path with more intensive healing interventions.

³ It is important to note that there is a broader understanding and conceptualization of Healing Lodges within Indigenous communities. Beyond the correctional context, Healing Lodges exist in many forms across Canada and offer culture-specific healing programming.

for Indigenous offenders to address the factors that led to their incarceration, as well as prepare them for their release in the community (CSC, 2019a). Operating through an Indigenous approach, Healing Lodges weave culturally-specific teachings and ceremonies into traditional correctional interventions and case management strategies to address the needs of offenders. A notable aspect of Healing Lodges is the underlying premise of spiritual leadership encompassed through the involvement of Elders as well as the emphasis placed on staff and community interactions (CSC, 2019a). While Healing Lodges are designed for Indigenous offenders, non-Indigenous offenders may also be transferred to Healing Lodges under the expectation that they respect traditional healing concepts and demonstrate commitment to participating in Indigenous programs and interventions (CSC, 2018).

There are presently ten Indigenous Healing Lodges in Canada located throughout the Prairie, Pacific, and Quebec Regions, and these facilities operate in one of two ways. Healing Lodges that are CSC-operated are federal facilities run and managed by CSC in cooperation with an Indigenous community. There are four CSC-operated Healing Lodges, three for men and one for women.⁴ Section 81 Healing Lodges represent those facilities that are operated entirely by an Indigenous community or partner organization through an agreement with CSC under Section 81 of the CCRA, and may also provide additional services to federal offenders on conditional release and to provincial offenders (CSC, 2013). Although CSC provides funding to Section 81 Healing Lodges, the provision of care and custody of offenders in these Healing Lodges falls under the authority of the identified community (CSC, 2019). There are six Section 81 Healing Lodges, four for men and two for women.⁵ Regardless of the type, all Healing Lodges are classified as institutional facilities. While men's Healing Lodges are classified as minimum-security, the Healing Lodges for women are multi-level security facilities (CSC, 2018a).

Healing Lodges and Correctional Outcomes

In one of the first comprehensive studies to explore Indigenous Healing Lodges in Canada, Trevethan, Crutcher, and Rastin (2002) examined the profiles and release outcomes of

⁴ This includes Willow Cree Healing Lodge (Saskatchewan; opened 2004), Pê Sâkâstêw Centre (Alberta; 1997), and Kwikwêxwelhp Healing Village (British Columbia; 2001) for men and Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge (Saskatchewan; 1995) for women.

⁵ This includes Waseskun Healing Centre (Quebec; 1999), Prince Albert Grand Council Spiritual Healing Lodge (Saskatchewan; 1997), O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi First Nation Healing Lodge (Manitoba; 2003), Stan Daniels Healing Centre (Alberta; 1999) for men, and Buffalo Sage Healing Centre (Alberta; 2011) and Eagle Women's Lodge (Manitoba; 2019) for women.

530 offenders ($n = 453$ men, $n = 77$ women) between January 1995 and October 2001 who had been residents at the six CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodges operating at the time. Of the sample, 81% ($n = 426$) were released by the end of the study period. The study employed a comparison group of Indigenous offenders incarcerated in minimum-security institutions during the same timeframe. Considering the risk profile of offenders at intake, Trevethan and colleagues found that Healing Lodge residents were rated as high risk to reoffend (53%) and high need (64%) significantly more than the comparison group (45%; 50%).⁶ Additionally, a significantly smaller proportion of Healing Lodge residents (30%) were rated as having a high reintegration potential at intake compared to the control group (42%).⁷ In further analyses, the study compared individual dynamic criminogenic needs between groups and found significant differences for the domains of substance abuse, employment, associates/social interaction, marital/family, and community functioning. While a greater proportion of Healing Lodge residents were rated as higher need in these domains, no significant differences were found between the two groups for the attitude and personal/emotional domains. While informative, these dynamic need findings are limited given that they only look at rates at the time of admission, as opposed to changes over time.

Beyond the examination of offender profiles, which may suggest that more challenging cases are transferred to Healing Lodges, Trevethan and colleagues (2002) also considered release types and correctional outcomes. The majority of offenders in both groups were released on day parole (53% Healing Lodge residents; 48% comparison group) or statutory release (40% Healing Lodge residents; 44% comparison group). Similar results were also found for the two groups in regards to readmission for a new offence within six months of release (6% of Healing Lodge residents; 5% of comparison group). Considering an extended follow-up period of four years, 19% of Healing Lodge residents were readmitted for a new offence, compared to 13% for the control group.⁸ The researchers suggested that results may be attributable to Healing Lodge residents assessed as higher risk to reoffend upon release. While this study sheds light on the use of Healing Lodges, as an early study, it does not encompass data from many of the Healing

⁶ A significantly smaller proportion of women were rated as high risk compared to men (32% versus 57%; Trevethan et al., 2002).

⁷ A larger proportion of women were rated as high reintegration potential compared to men (45% versus 28%; Trevethan et al., 2002).

⁸ Women were significantly less likely to be readmitted to federal custody for a new offence compared to men (12% versus 21% Trevethan et al., 2002).

Lodges that came into operation post-2001. Additionally, the study captures data from the inception of Healing Lodges, and thus may need to be interpreted with caution given the early operational stages of these facilities.

More recent research examining the use of Healing Lodges for Indigenous offenders stems from an evaluation report conducted by CSC in 2011 (Didenko & Marquis, 2011). As part of the Strategic Plan for Aboriginal Corrections (CSC, 2012), the evaluation encompassed a multi-faceted examination of Healing Lodges, including the risk-need profiles of residents as well as correctional outcomes. The study sample consisted of Indigenous offender conditional releases over a ten-year period from April 2000 to March 2010 ($N = 3,921$ conditional releases, representing 2,637 Indigenous offenders). In order to examine the impact of Healing Lodges on the successful reintegration of Indigenous offenders, the evaluation assessed three correctional outcome measures: change in criminogenic need indicators, rates of discretionary releases, and the likelihood of failure while on conditional release.

Expanding beyond Trevethan and colleagues' (2002) consideration of dynamic needs only at the time of admission, the evaluation report examined changes in criminogenic need.⁹ Promising results were found in that Indigenous offenders released from Healing Lodges demonstrated greater improvements than Indigenous offenders released from comparison institutions. More specifically, compared to Indigenous men released from minimum-security institutions, a greater proportion of Indigenous men released from CSC-operated Healing Lodges showed significant improvements in six criminogenic need areas, including employment (23%), marital/family (22%), social interactions (24%), substance abuse (37%), personal/emotional (26%), and attitudes (34%). Analyses on Indigenous men released from Section 81 Healing Lodges and Indigenous women released from CSC-operated Healing Lodges also demonstrated improvements in these needs, as well as in the seventh criminogenic need of community functioning. However these results did not reach significance likely due to the small sample sizes (Didenko & Marquis, 2011).

In terms of release type, Indigenous offenders at CSC-operated Healing Lodges were 0.7 times less likely to be released on statutory release than those released from minimum security

⁹ For Indigenous men, criminogenic need scores were taken from assessments completed prior to admission to the releasing institution and immediately after their release into the community. The sample was limited to cases with needs assessed as "some" or "considerable" at admission.

institutions, once controlling for overall need and motivation levels prior to release. However, for Section 81 Healing Lodges, Indigenous offenders were 2.2 times more likely to be released on statutory release than those released from minimum security institutions, with 46% of releases for day parole and 6% for full parole.¹⁰ Once controlling for motivation and reintegration potential at intake, Indigenous women from Healing Lodges were over 0.3 times less likely to be released on statutory release than Indigenous women from multi-level security institutions. In other words, women released from a Healing Lodge were more likely to receive discretionary release. Lastly, it was found that Indigenous offenders conditionally released from Healing Lodges were as likely to be maintained in the community (i.e., no revocations) as those from minimum-security institutions for men and multi-level security institutions for women.

Beyond the examination of release type and correctional outcome, the evaluation also considered correctional program delivery and completion between 2007 and 2010.¹¹ For both Indigenous men and women residing in CSC-operated Healing Lodges, the rate of correctional program assignment, participation, and completion was notably greater than in the comparison group. In fact, program completion for Indigenous men offenders in CSC-operated Healing Lodges was 1.6 times greater than men in other minimum-security institutions. Similar results were found for women offenders residing in CSC-operated Healing Lodges with program completion being 2.0 times greater when compared to women in multi-level security institutions.

Trevethan and colleagues (2002) and Didenko and Marquis (2011) are amongst the only studies to comprehensively examine the use of Healing Lodges for Indigenous offenders. Apart from these studies, much of the literature on Healing Lodges employ a case study approach on a single Healing Lodge (Delveaux et al., 2007; Nafekh, Allegri & Li, 2005; Pilon, Jewell, Wormith, & Laboucane-Benson, 2015; Trevethan, Crutcher, Moore, & Mileto, 2008). For instance, in an evaluation report looking at the Stan Daniels Healing Centre, Nafekh and colleagues (2005) examined resident data between May 1999 and June 2005. It was found that compared to a matched sample of Indigenous offenders, residents at Stan Daniels Healing Centre were more likely to be granted a discretionary release (50% versus 9%).¹² However, survival

¹⁰ While no conclusions were drawn for the significantly higher proportion of non-discretionary releases from Section 81 Healing Lodges, it is identified that communication difficulties between institutional and community case management teams may have contributed to this finding.

¹¹ Indigenous offenders assigned and participating in national correctional programs in Section 81 Healing Lodges were very small and thus, analyses were limited to CSC-operated Healing Lodges (Didenko & Marquis, 2011).

¹² For residents already on day parole, a successful full parole grant constituted the discretionary release.

curves for reconvictions upon release revealed no significant group differences between the residents and the matched sample. Findings from the evaluation report parallel the more recent case study on Pê Sâkâstêw Healing Centre (Trevethan et al., 2008).

Trevethan and colleagues (2008) examined various indicators of outcomes for offenders transferred to Pê Sâkâstêw from April 1997 to March 2003 ($n = 440$). Pre-post testing on offender program needs (from initial entry to the most recent file information following transfer to Pê Sâkâstêw) demonstrated significant improvements (Trevethan et al., 2008). In particular, offenders transferred to Pê Sâkâstêw displayed higher potential for success in the community as measured by reintegration potential scores. Additionally, differences between Healing Lodge residents and a comparison group revealed that respectively, a significantly greater proportion were released on day parole (56% versus 45%) and smaller proportions on statutory release (38% versus 46%). Finally, looking at correctional outcome in a one-year follow up period, similar proportions of Pê Sâkâstêw residents (17%) and offenders in the comparison group (15%) returned to custody with a new offence (Trevethan et al., 2008).

Viewed collectively, the existing literature on Healing Lodges highlight the relevance of these Indigenous-centred facilities. However, with Healing Lodges encapsulating a range of culturally appropriate interventions, consideration needs to be given to the impacts of Indigenous-specific services in order to better understand the relevance of Healing Lodges.

The Relevance of Indigenous-Specific Services

Amongst the literature, there is growing evidence for the relevance of providing Indigenous-specific services and interventions for offenders. A recent meta-analysis looking at the effectiveness of culturally-relevant programs for Indigenous offenders revealed that the average recidivism rate for offenders who participated in such programming was 9% lower than those who participated in generic programming (Gutierrez, Chadwick, & Wanamaker, 2017).¹³ Culturally-specific services, activities, and ceremonies for Indigenous offenders may be conceptualized as parallel to protective factors (Hyatt, 2013; Pridemore, 2004; Richards, 2015; Wardrop, Sheahan, & Stewart, 2019). Understood in the context of individuals at risk of negative outcomes (i.e., reoffending), protective factors are characteristics or circumstances that promote success (de Vries Robbe, de Vogel, & Douglas, 2014; Polaskchek, 2017). In their study

¹³ The meta-analysis encompassed seven studies looking at samples of Indigenous offenders from Canada and New Zealand.

involving interviews with Indigenous offenders, Heckbert and Turkington (2001) found that spirituality and cultural activities played a major role in the successful reintegration of Indigenous offenders. Notably, connecting with Elders and the participation in ceremonies were commonly identified as playing an integral role for offenders to get out and stay out. Alongside emerging qualitative research contributing to the understanding of the significant role Indigenous-specific activities have on the reintegration and desistance process of offenders (Brault, 2005; Gideon, 2013; Heckbert & Turkington, 2001; Howell, 2016), several studies have examined the relative contribution of Indigenous-specific services.

As part of a larger study exploring the additive effects of different interventions and services on rates of conditional release revocations with an offence, Wilton, Nolan, and Stewart (2015) conducted sub-analyses considering the participation of offenders in Indigenous services. Wilton and colleagues (2015) found that amongst Indigenous men offenders ($n = 2,515$), the likelihood of revocation with an offence was decreased by approximately 23% with the participation in Elder reviews. This is consistent with findings from earlier research by Sioui, Thibault, and Conseil (2001), which revealed a significant correlation between the use of Elder services amongst Indigenous offenders and non-recidivism ($r = -0.17$). Wilton and colleagues (2015) also examined Healing Lodges, with analyses revealing that Indigenous offenders with at least one transfer to a CSC-operated Healing Lodge and the length of time spent at the Healing Lodge were both not significantly associated with revocations of conditional release.

In their study examining various factors related to offender success in the community upon release, Wardrop and colleagues (2019) considered offender involvement in Indigenous services, such as the development of a healing plan, Pathways participation, Section 81 releases, as well as Healing Lodge transfers.¹⁴ Measured by no suspensions or revocations for at least six months upon release, analyses revealed promising results between the involvement of offenders in Indigenous services and success in the community. These results were particularly prominent for Indigenous men. For example, Indigenous men with a healing plan were 1.28 times more likely to succeed in the community than those with no healing plan. Notably, Indigenous men who spent time at a Healing Lodge were 2.05 times more likely to demonstrate success in the

¹⁴ The study sample consisted of all federal offenders admitted and released between April 2012 and March 2017 who experienced at least six months of follow-up time in the community, and who at the time of release, were rated as medium or high risk and need. $N = 17,213$ men (24% Indigenous) and 932 women (39% Indigenous).

community than those not admitted into a Healing Lodge. In addition, Indigenous men released from a Healing Lodge were 2.49 times more likely to demonstrate success than their counterparts not released from a Healing Lodge. Results were less clear for women, possibly due to the smaller sample size, though Indigenous women who were released from a Healing Lodge were more likely to be successful in the community than those released from mainstream institutions (67% versus 56%).

While as it stands the current research considering the relevance of Indigenous-specific interventions and services have demonstrated promising results, further research is needed in this area. With different Indigenous interventions and services offered throughout an offender's sentence, considering the additive effects of these services can help shed light on the relevance of these different services for the reintegration process. Importantly, despite the long-standing operation of Healing Lodges, the literature on the use of these facilities remains particularly scarce.

Current Study

In an effort to expand current understandings on the relevance of Indigenous-specific services, this report represents the first stage of a broader study examining the impact that Healing Lodges have on Indigenous offenders. More specifically, using a sample of Indigenous offenders released from a Healing Lodge alongside a comparison group, the goal of this first report is to examine the impact Healing Lodges have on Indigenous offender reintegration and community outcomes. In order to more comprehensively inform CSC's strategic priority and goal of providing services that address the unique needs of Indigenous offenders, the current study will further explore the cumulative effect of Indigenous-specific services and interventions that are associated with post-release outcomes.

The following questions will be addressed:

1. What is the profile of Healing Lodge residents?
 - a) Are there differences in profile between Indigenous offenders residing in a Healing Lodge and those that are not?
 - b) Are there differences in profile between Indigenous offenders residing in a CSC-operated Healing Lodge and offenders residing in a Section 81 Healing Lodge?
 - c) Are there differences in participation in culturally-specific services between Indigenous offenders residing in Healing Lodges and those that are not?

2. Do Healing Lodges contribute to improved correctional outcomes (in terms of proportions of releases on discretionary release, suspensions and revocations of release)?
 - d) Are there differences in release outcomes between those that are residents of Healing Lodges and those that are not?
 - e) Are there differences in release outcomes between those that are residents of CSC-operated Healing Lodges and those that are residents of Section 81 Healing Lodges?
3. Are there particular culturally-specific services/interventions (e.g., healing plans, Elder reviews, Indigenous correctional programs, Pathways Initiatives, and Section 84 releases) or combinations of services/interventions that are associated with success in the community for Indigenous offenders?

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of all Indigenous federal offenders released from a Healing Lodge between April 1, 2013 and March 31, 2018 ($N = 748$).¹⁵ This sample included offenders who were released both from a CSC-operated (70.5%; $n = 527$) or Section 81 (29.5%; $n = 221$) Healing Lodge. In addition, a matched control group was created consisting of Indigenous offenders that were released from other CSC institutions during the same five-year period ($N = 748$).¹⁶ Each group consisted of 81.6% ($n = 610$) First Nations, 17.5% Métis ($n = 131$), and .9% ($n = 7$) Inuit offenders. The majority (82.1%, $n = 614$) of the sample in each group were men, while 17.9% ($n = 134$) were women. In both groups, the mean age was approximately 37 years at release ($SD = 11.3$). A larger percentage of offenders at Healing Lodges (68.5%, $n = 512$) were serving sentences for violent offences, compared to the control group (54.2%, $n = 405$; $\chi^2(2, N = 1,494) = 32.33, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .15$). While most of the Healing Lodge residents (96.4%, $n = 721$) and non-Healing Lodge residents (96.7%, $n = 723$) were serving a determinate sentence, Healing Lodge residents ($M = 1357.2$ days, $SD = 877.4$) were serving significantly longer sentences than non-Healing Lodge residents ($M = 1255.7$, $SD = 623.6$; $F(1,1442) = 6.43, p = .01$).

The control group ($M = 449.8$, $SD = 753.5$) spent a significantly longer period of time at their releasing site prior to release compared to Healing Lodge residents ($M = 318.2$, $SD = 253.9$; $F(1,1494) = 2.50, p < .001$). In order to allow for sufficient time to experience the Healing Lodge, it was of interest to restrict the sample to Indigenous offenders that had resided in a Healing Lodge for a minimum of six months. However, this resulted in a substantial decrease in sample size. In both groups, 67.8% ($n = 507$)¹⁷ of the sample had been at their releasing site for at least six months prior to release. To ensure that there were no inherent differences dependent on length of time at the Healing Lodge, comparisons were conducted between groups of Healing Lodge residents who (a) had resided at the Healing Lodge for less than six months and (b) had

¹⁵ This includes nine of the current Healing Lodges, as Eagle Women's Healing Lodge opened after the study period ended.

¹⁶ Matching was done separately for men and women on the following variables: (a) Indigenous group (First Nations, Métis or Inuit), (b), Offender Security Level at Release (c), Offenders under long terms supervision (i.e., LTSO), and (d) whether the offender was at their releasing institution for six months or more. Matching information is presented later in the Method section.

¹⁷ This percentage is equal for both groups due to the matching process.

resided at the Healing Lodge for six months or more. There were no significant differences between these groups in accountability, engagement, or responsivity at intake, nor in static risk or motivation at intake. However, there was a significant difference between groups in dynamic risk and reintegration potential at intake. Indigenous offenders who spent less than six months at the Healing Lodge were significantly more likely to have high reintegration potential at intake; $\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 8.64, p = .01$, Cramer's $V = .11$, while those who spent more than six months at the Healing Lodge were more likely to have high dynamic risk at intake; $\chi^2(2, N = 748) = 8.62, p = .01$, Cramer's $V = .11$. Given these findings, analyses related to post-release outcomes were first performed on all Healing Lodge residents and then restricted to those that resided at the Healing Lodge for a minimum of six months. While the pattern of results is markedly similar, any differences in significant results are indicated in footnotes for the Indigenous offenders that resided at Healing Lodges for six months or more.

Measures

Data were collected from the Offender Management System (OMS). OMS is the automated system used by CSC to store decision-making and offender management data from the beginning of an offender's sentence until the sentence is complete.

Risk/need variables. A range of variables regarding static risk and criminogenic needs were included in this study. Static risk was measured using the Static Factor Assessment (SFA), which includes the Criminal Risk Index (CRI). The SFA is based on static risk factors to help determine level of intervention and provides a risk rating of low, moderate, or high. The CRI is generated based on the Criminal History Record of the SFA and provides an auto-populated assessment to assign program intensity levels based on likelihood of recidivism (Motiuk & Vuong, 2018). This study utilizes both CRI total score (0-34, with higher scores indicating higher risk) and CRI levels (based on the score cut-offs used for correctional programming referral as outlined in Commissioner's Directives guidelines 726-2; CSC, 2018b).¹⁸ Dynamic needs were measured by the Dynamic Factors Identification and Analysis-Revised (DFIA-R) tool on seven domains: employment/education, marital/family, associates, substance abuse, community functioning, personal/emotional orientation, and attitudes. The tool includes a rating

¹⁸ CRI scores and levels were missing for $n = 39$ Healing Lodge residents and $n = 121$ non-Healing Lodge residents. In most cases, this was not due to missing data, but instead due to the offenders having a Compressed Offender Intake Assessment completed, which does not include the Criminal History Record.

on each of the domains (low, moderate, high, or asset/no need), as well as an overall criminogenic need rating of low, moderate, or high. Assessments of offender accountability, motivation, responsivity, engagement, and reintegration potential were also considered. Each assessment is rated on a scale of low, moderate, or high, with the exception of responsivity and engagement, which are dichotomous (yes/no) variables. These measures are initially completed at intake to assist in the development of an offender's correctional plan and in some cases, ratings may be reassessed throughout the period of incarceration; in these instances, the most proximal rating to release was also included.

Program completion. Program completion was examined by program type. Nationally Recognized Correctional Programs (NRCPs) specifically address risk factors related to offending at intensity levels appropriate to offender's risk and needs. Indigenous NRCPs were developed to respond to the spiritual and cultural needs of Indigenous offenders, and are delivered in conjunction with Elders to support and foster traditional healing. Program completion was also considered in terms of any educational programming, employment programming, or vocational training completed. Indigenous-specific cultural programs were also considered in terms of all cultural specific programming that did not include correctional programs. This included a range of treatment, educational, employment, awareness, relapse prevention, and social programs, including both structured and unstructured activities (e.g., life skills, grief support programs, parenting programs, language classes, arts and crafts, healing circles, counselling, ceremonies, traditional teachings). Lastly, other types of programming comprised all other types, including women-specific (e.g., peer support, parenting programs, mother-child program), personal development, and special needs programs. Programs were examined for those completed throughout an offender's full incarceration period (i.e., between admission date and release date), as well as those that were completed specifically at the releasing institution (i.e., between transfer date to the Healing Lodge or releasing institution and an offender's release date). While program eligibility, enrollment, and completion can be a complex issue influenced by external factors, for the purpose of this study, program completion was simplified to dichotomous variables to indicate whether the offender had completed a certain program type.

Indigenous interventions and services. Participation in culturally-specific services was measured in a number of ways based on the available data in OMS. First, an offender's interest in Indigenous interventions was examined, which is recorded upon admission and this includes

interest in a traditional healing plan, transfer to a Section 81 Healing Lodge, and release to an Indigenous community under Section 84. Over the course of an offender's sentence, opportunities are offered to develop a traditional healing plan, work with Indigenous case management staff (e.g., Indigenous Liaison Officer, Indigenous Community Development Officer), and work with Elders (documented in OMS through Initial and Progress Elder Reviews). Participation in Indigenous interventions included the Pathways Initiative, as well as Indigenous-specific NRCPs and other Indigenous-specific cultural programs. Lastly, previous Healing Lodge transfers, release to an Indigenous community under Section 84 of the CCRA, and transfer to a Section 81 upon release were also considered.

Release outcome. Gradual release opportunities were examined in terms of Escorted Temporary Absences (ETAs), Unescorted Temporary Absences (UTAs) and work releases, both throughout an offender's incarceration period as well as specifically at their releasing institution. These were categorized into personal development and non-personal development opportunities. Personal development opportunities include treatment activities and spiritual/cultural ceremonies of a rehabilitative nature. Non-personal development opportunities include medical reasons, administrative reasons, community service purposes, family contact purposes, parental responsibilities reasons, and compassionate reasons. Type of release was measured in terms of discretionary (i.e., day parole, full parole) or non-discretionary release (i.e., statutory release, long term supervision order). Post-release outcomes considered the first suspension warrant and first revocation of release during the offender's current supervision period. A suspension may occur (a) when a breach of conditions has occurred, (b) to prevent a breach of conditions, or (c) to protect society (i.e., risk is considered unmanageable in the community). Possible outcomes include issued, executed, or withdrawn warrants of suspension, as well as cancelled or expired suspensions. Revocations of release include those with or without an offence. The follow-up period for first suspension was calculated from the release date to the earliest date of release suspension in the community, sentence end date (either warrant expiry date or long-term supervision order expiry date), or the end of the data collection period (November 10, 2019). The follow-up period for returns to custody was calculated based on the release date to the earliest date of: first readmission on the release, sentence end date (either warrant expiry date or long-term supervision order expiry date), or the end of the data collection.

Analytic Approach

Matching. A matched control group of offenders was created to provide a comparison to similar offenders in the community that were not released from a Healing Lodge. The control group was established through Coarsened Exact Matching (CEM)¹⁹ using Stata software. To begin the CEM process, Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge residents were categorized into separate datasets for Indigenous men and Indigenous women. Within each category, Healing Lodge residents and other Indigenous offenders were then matched based on the following variables: (a) Indigenous group (First Nations, Métis, or Inuit), (b), Offender Security Level at Release (c), Offenders under long term supervision (i.e., LTSO), and (d) whether the offender was at their releasing institution for six months or more. For Indigenous men released from a Healing Lodge ($n = 614$), all had a minimum-security classification at release and only one offender released from a Healing Lodge was a LTSO. For men, 100% of Healing Lodge residents were matched to a comparable non-Healing Lodge offender profile using all indicators. For Indigenous women released from Healing Lodges ($n = 134$), none were LTSOs. Most of the women released from Healing Lodges were minimum security, however 18 were released with a medium security classification. Matching on the indicators resulted in 97% matching on the first round. For the second round of matching, security level at release was eliminated for First Nations women to ensure a 100% matching rate.

Profile of Healing Lodge residents. Comparative analyses were used to examine the risk/need profile, participation in culturally-specific services and interventions, and program completion of Healing Lodge residents and other Indigenous offenders. Sub-analyses included comparisons by gender and between residents of CSC-operated Healing Lodges and Section 81 Healing Lodges. While the small sample size for Inuit offenders prevented sub-analyses, comparisons by Indigenous group were completed for First Nations and Métis offenders. The sub-analyses confirmed the results of the broader Indigenous grouping and therefore are not presented in the report. For the most part, the results aligned with the larger Indigenous grouping, and as such, only findings that are different will be highlighted in the report.

¹⁹ CEM is described as a “Monotonic imbalance reducing matching method...[that] strictly bounds through ex ante user choice both the degree of model dependence and the average treatment effect estimation error, eliminates the need for a separate procedure to restrict data to a common empirical support, meets the congruence principle, is robust to measurement error, works well with multiple imputation methods for missing data, can be completely automated, and is extremely fast computationally even with very large data sets” (Blackwell et al., 2010, p.1).

Post-release outcomes of Healing Lodge residents. Healing Lodge residents were compared to the control group on suspensions and revocations of release during the offender's current supervision period. Descriptive analyses were used to examine the circumstances surrounding the suspension or revocation of release. Sub-analyses included comparisons by gender and by Healing Lodge type (i.e., residents of CSC-operated Healing Lodges or Section 81 Healing Lodges). While the small sample size for Inuit offenders prevented sub-analyses, comparisons by Indigenous group were completed for First Nations and Métis offenders.

The impact of Healing Lodge placement on the length of time in the community prior to suspension or revocation of release was examined using Cox Proportional Hazards model method of survival analysis. Survival analysis is a statistical method that models the time to an event; in this case, the time an offender remains in the community until first suspension or return to custody. This method also allows inclusion of other factors (covariates), other than whether an offender resided in a Healing Lodge prior to release, which may affect outcomes in order to determine the impact that each covariate may have on the outcome of interest. Hazard ratios, the relative risk of experiencing the event of interest at any point in time (e.g., for one treatment group compared with another), are calculated using this method.

Impacts of culturally-specific services and interventions. The relative contribution of Indigenous services and interventions have on reducing returns to custody were assessed with logistic regression analyses. Logistic regression produces an estimate of the odds of an event occurring. In this study, the event was whether the offender received a revocation of release during the study period. An odds ratio greater than 1.0 indicates an increased likelihood of return to custody, while an odds ratio less than 1.0 suggests decreased odds of return. A 3-stage model building process was utilized, and each stage followed a forward step-wise method of model building to identify the strongest and most relevant variables predicting outcome. This approach is consistent with the methodology described by Wilton and colleagues (2015) and Wilton and Stewart (2015). The results should be interpreted cautiously because of the complexity of the modeling and the possibility that other explanations may have caused the results.

First, a control model was developed, which consisted of a set of variables related to revocation of release that had to be statistically controlled. This stage ensures that the results are due to the Indigenous interventions and services specifically, and not due to differences between offenders who access the interventions and services and those who do not. The development of

the control model was driven by theory (i.e., literature on variables related to outcomes on release) and the strength of the relationship of the variables with return to custody. Potential control variables were selected representing six broad areas: 1) criminal history risk (i.e., static risk), 2) criminogenic needs (i.e., dynamic risk), 3) offender and sentence characteristics, 4) offender behaviour while incarcerated, 5) participation and completion of NRCPs, and 6) participation and completion of employment and education programs. Refer to Appendix A for the variables considered for inclusion in the control model.

Next, the Indigenous interventions and services with the strongest relation to revocation of release were identified (the variables considered are listed in Appendix B). This involved examining all of the measures of the Indigenous interventions and services individually. They were entered into regression models alone and with the control model, and the strongest predictors of return to custody were identified. These became the candidates for the overall model.

Lastly, a combined model was developed with the strongest Indigenous services and interventions predictors. The strongest measures of interventions/services were added to the control model at each step. Any variables non-significant at the $p < .10$ level other than the control variables were removed. When an intervention/service had two or three strong predictors, these were each tested and possibly included in the model to find the model that best predicted revocations of release. This process continued until no further measures of the additional services could be added to the overall model and be statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Results

The results are presented in three parts. The first section examines the profile of Indigenous offenders who resided in and were released from a CSC-operated or Section 81 Healing Lodge, in comparison to other Indigenous offenders. The second section assesses the impact of Healing Lodges on offender community outcomes. Lastly, the third section focuses on the relative contribution of culturally-specific interventions and services on post-release outcome.

Profile of Healing Lodge Residents

A profile of Healing Lodge residents was created by comparing Indigenous offenders released from Healing Lodges to a matched group of Indigenous offenders released from minimum (men) and multi-level (women) institutions. The groups were compared on risk and need characteristics, program completion, and participation in culturally-specific services.

Risk and need characteristics. In general, both men and women Indigenous offenders who were released from a Healing Lodge demonstrated higher levels of risk at intake compared to Indigenous offenders released from other institutions. As can be seen in Table 1, men released from a Healing Lodge were more likely to be rated as high static risk and dynamic risk and lower reintegration potential at intake.²⁰ The risk profile for women at intake is comparable, though the difference in static risk did not reach statistical significance.²¹ When restricting the analysis to First Nations women, the control group was lower in static risk at intake compared to the Healing Lodge residents; $\chi^2(2, N = 212) = 6.36, p = .04$, Cramer's $V = .17$. Healing Lodge residents did not differ from the control group in criminal risk, as measured by CRI score for men²² ($F(1,1136) = 2.36, p = .12$) or women²³ ($F(1,211) = .05, p = .83$) nor in CRI levels.

²⁰ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on static risk or dynamic risk for Métis men ($n = 104$ per group).

²¹ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on any of the risk and need characteristics for Métis women, which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group ($n = 27$ per group).

²² $M = 13.96$ ($SD = 7.07$) Healing Lodge releases, $M = 13.32$ ($SD = 7.11$) non-Healing Lodge releases.

²³ $M = 11.23$ ($SD = 6.89$) Healing Lodge releases, $M = 11.44$ ($SD = 7.03$) non-Healing Lodge releases.

Table 1

Risk and Need Characteristics of Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Residents

Measure	Men (N = 1,228)			Women (N = 268)		
	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	Healing	Non-Healing		Healing	Non-Healing	
	Lodge (n = 614)	Lodge (n = 614)		Lodge (n = 134)	Lodge (n = 134)	
Static (intake)			.16***			n.s.
Low	6.8 (42)	16.6 (102)		20.9 (28)	33.6 (45)	
Moderate	48.0 (295)	47.1 (289)		50.0 (67)	40.3 (54)	
High	45.1 (277)	36.3 (223)		29.1 (39)	26.1 (35)	
Static (release)			.15***			.16*
Low	30.6 (44)	69.4 (100)		20.1 (27)	34.3 (46)	
Moderate	50.2 (308)	50.0 (307)		52.2 (70)	41.0 (55)	
High	42.7 (262)	33.7 (207)		27.6 (37)	24.6 (33)	
Dynamic (intake)			.11***			.17*
Low/mod	41.4 (54)	48.5 (298)		27.6 (37)	42.6 (57)	
High	58.6 (360)	51.5 (316)		72.4 (97)	57.5 (77)	
Dynamic (release)			n.s.			.18**
Low	8.6 (53)	12.1 (74)		6.0 (8)	7.5 (10)	
Moderate	67.1 (412)	64.3 (395)		65.7 (88)	47.8 (64)	
High	24.3 (149)	23.6 (145)		28.4 (38)	44.8 (60)	
RP (intake)			.17***			.16*
Low	30.9 (190)	24.8 (152)		14.9 (20)	11.2 (15)	
Moderate	53.4 (328)	45.9 (282)		76.1 (102)	68.7 (92)	
High	15.6 (96)	29.3 (180)		9.0 (12)	20.1 (27)	
RP (release)			.14***			n.s.
Low/Mod	78.0 (479)	66.0 (405)		74.6 (100)	73.9 (99)	
High	22.0 (135)	34.0 (209)		25.4 (34)	26.1 (35)	

Note. Mod = moderate; RP = reintegration potential; n.s. = not significant. For reporting purposes, dynamic risk at intake and reintegration potential at release were collapsed into a low/moderate category due to small cell counts for the low categories.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

At release, there were still differences evident in risk and need characteristics between groups. For men, Healing Lodge residents were still more likely to be rated as high static risk at release, while offenders released from minimum institutions were more likely to have high reintegration potential. For women, offenders released from multi-level institutions were still more likely to have low static risk at release. However, men demonstrated a decrease in dynamic risk between intake and release, and there were no longer any differences in dynamic risk ratings between groups at release. Women released from Healing Lodges also demonstrated this decrease in dynamic risk; women released from multi-level institutions were significantly more likely to be rated as high in dynamic risk at release, representing a substantial shift from the risk profiles at intake.

To further examine the changes in dynamic need, comparative analyses were performed on each of the DFIA-R domains to determine whether there were differences between Healing Lodge residents and the control group. Changes in dynamic need from intake to release were calculated to identify positive outcomes. Consistent with Wardrop and Pardoel (2019), positive outcome was defined as a) Asset/No/Low need at intake and remains at Asset/No/Low need at release, b) Moderate need at intake and moves to Asset/No/Low need at release, or c) High need at intake and moves to Moderate or Asset/No/Low need at release. As demonstrated in Table 2, compared to women released from multi-level institutions, women Healing Lodge residents were more likely to demonstrate positive changes in the areas of Personal/Emotional, Substance Abuse, and Associates over the course of their incarceration period.²⁴ Men released from a Healing Lodge were more likely to demonstrate improvements in Attitudes from intake to release. On the other hand, men released from other minimum institutions were more likely to demonstrate positive changes in the areas of Community Functioning and Employment.²⁵ Of note, when restricting the analyses to First Nations men, Healing Lodge residents (62.5%, $n = 315$) were also significantly more likely to show positive changes in the Personal/Emotional domain compared to the control group (56.3%, $n = 284$); $\chi^2(1, N = 1,008) = 3.95, p < .05$, Cramer's $V = .06$.

²⁴ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on improvements in the Associates domain for Métis women, which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group ($n = 27$ per group).

²⁵ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on improvements in the Attitudes or Employment domains when performing the analyses separately for First Nations men ($n = 504$ per group) or Métis men ($n = 104$ per group).

Table 2

Improvement in Level of Dynamic Need Ratings from Intake to Release of Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Residents

Need Domain	Men (N = 1,228)				Women (N = 268)			
	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V		Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V	
	Healing	Non-Healing			Healing	Non-Healing		
	Lodge (n = 614)	Lodge (n = 614)			Lodge (n = 134)	Lodge (n = 134)		
Associates	67.5 (393)	64.9 (385)	n.s.		63.4 (83)	47.3 (61)	.16**	
Attitudes	73.0 (424)	66.8 (396)	.07*		86.9 (113)	81.4 (105)	n.s.	
Community	73.3 (426)	84.6 (501)	.14***		63.8 (83)	59.7 (77)	n.s.	
Employment	45.2 (263)	50.9 (302)	.06*		45.8 (60)	45.0 (58)	n.s.	
Marital/Family	72.5 (421)	76.9 (455)	n.s.		54.6 (71)	49.6 (64)	n.s.	
Personal/Emotional	60.7 (373)	55.7 (342)	n.s.		72.4 (97)	37.3 (50)	.35***	
Substance Abuse	64.2 (394)	62.7 (385)	n.s.		70.9 (95)	50.7 (68)	.21**	

Note. Community = Community Functioning; n.s. = not significant. Sample sizes were reduced to $n = 1173$ - 1175 for men and $n = 259$ - 260 for women for the Associates, Attitudes, Community Functioning, Employment, and Marital/Family domains due to missing data at intake.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Healing Lodge residents were also compared to the control group in their accountability, engagement and responsivity at intake, as well as their motivation at both intake and release. There were no significant differences between groups on any of these characteristics, with the exception of motivation level at release for men. A higher proportion of men released from Healing Lodges were rated as high motivation at release (59.3%; $n = 364$) compared to non-Healing Lodge releases (48.0%; $n = 295$; $\chi^2(2, N = 1,228) = 17.35$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .12$).

Program completion. Compared to Indigenous offenders at other minimum institutions, men Healing Lodge residents were more likely to be assigned to and complete correctional programs including moderate intensity, high intensity, and Indigenous-specific streams throughout their incarceration period (Table 3). Women Healing Lodge residents were also more likely to complete Indigenous-specific correctional programs between intake and release. For both men and women, Healing Lodge residents were more likely to have completed employment

programs, vocational certificates,²⁶ Indigenous-specific cultural programs (non-correctional programs), and other programs (e.g., women, personal development, special needs).

Table 3

Program Completion of Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Residents throughout Full Incarceration Period

	Men (<i>N</i> = 1,228)					Women (<i>N</i> = 268)				
	Percentage (<i>n</i>) of offenders				Cramer's <i>V</i>	Percentage (<i>n</i>) of offenders				Cramer's <i>V</i>
	Healing		Non-Healing			Healing		Non-Healing		
	Lodge		Lodge			Lodge		Lodge		
Program	<i>(n</i> =614)		<i>(n</i> = 614)			<i>(n</i> = 134)		<i>(n</i> = 134)		
Correctional	87.6	(538)	74.3	(456)	.17***	100.0	(134)	98.5	(132)	n.s.
Moderate	81.3	(499)	68.4	(420)	.15***	83.6	(112)	79.9	(107)	n.s.
High	18.7	(115)	8.8	(54)	.14***	9.7	(13)	6.7	(9)	n.s.
Indigenous	74.9	(460)	47.4	(291)	.28***	96.3	(129)	66.4	(89)	.38***
Educational	43.0	(264)	51.8	(318)	.09***	47.8	(64)	42.5	(57)	n.s.
Employment	26.2	(161)	11.7	(72)	.19***	81.3	(109)	56.7	(76)	.27***
Vocational	16.9	(104)	12.9	(79)	.06*	41.0	(55)	21.6	(29)	.21***
Indigenous Cultural	19.7	(121)	2.8	(17)	.27***	64.2	(86)	3.7	(5)	.64***
Other (non-CP)	29.8	(183)	3.1	(19)	.36***	54.5	(73)	7.5	(10)	.51***

Note. Non-CP = Non-Correctional Program; n.s. = not significant. Indigenous correctional programs also includes moderate and high intensity correctional programs.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

For men only, the control group was significantly more likely to complete educational programs.²⁷ This is despite a significantly higher proportion of Healing Lodge residents having less than a high school diploma or equivalent (53.5%, $n = 439$) compared to Indigenous men in other minimum institutions (46.5%, $n = 382$; $\chi^2 (2, N = 1,228) = 21.47$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .13$). When narrowing this down to the releasing institution in particular, Healing Lodge

²⁶ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on vocational certificate completion for Métis men ($n = 104$ per group) or Métis women ($n = 27$ per group), which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group.

²⁷ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on overall educational program completion for Métis men ($n = 104$ per group).

residents continued to have lower educational program rates (see Table 4).²⁸

This pattern of results was somewhat consistent when examining the programs completed specifically at the releasing institution, with a few exceptions. As shown in Table 4, there were no significant differences in correctional program completion rates either at the Healing Lodge or minimum security institution for men.²⁹ Further, men released from minimum security institutions were more likely to have vocational certificates at their releasing institution.³⁰ Women released from multi-level institutions were also more likely to have completed correctional programs at their releasing institution than Healing Lodge releases. The differences seen between groups in women's Indigenous correctional programs, employment programs, and vocational certificates were no longer significant when restricting comparisons to programs completed at the releasing institution.

Table 4

Program Completion of Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Residents at Releasing Institution

	Men (<i>N</i> =1,228)					Women (<i>N</i> = 268)					
	Percentage (<i>n</i>) of offenders						Percentage (<i>n</i>) of offenders				
	Healing		Non-Healing		Cramer's	Healing		Non-Healing		Cramer's	
	Lodge		Lodge		<i>V</i>	Lodge		Lodge		<i>V</i>	
Program	<i>(n</i> = 614)		<i>(n</i> = 614)			<i>(n</i> = 134)		<i>(n</i> = 134)			
Correctional	44.5	(273)	49.5	(304)	n.s.	58.2	(78)	82.8	(111)	.27***	
Indigenous	31.4	(193)	26.2	(161)	.06*	58.2	(78)	53.7	(72)	n.s.	
Educational	21.2	(130)	42.7	(262)	.23***	29.9	(40)	37.2	(50)	n.s.	
Employment	18.6	(114)	7.2	(44)	.17***	52.2	(70)	49.3	(66)	n.s.	
Vocational	7.8	(48)	11.1	(68)	.06*	21.6	(29)	17.2	(23)	n.s.	

Note. Non-CP = Non-Correctional Program; n.s. = non-significant. Results are not presented for Moderate and High Correctional Programs, Indigenous cultural programs, and other programs due to small cell counts.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

²⁸ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on educational program completion at the releasing site for Métis men ($n = 104$ per group).

²⁹ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases in Indigenous correctional program completion at the releasing site for First Nations men ($n = 504$ per group).

³⁰ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases in vocational certification completion at the releasing site for First Nations men ($n = 504$ per group).

Culturally-specific services participation. Healing Lodge residents showed a significantly greater interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake, including the development of a traditional Healing Plan, a Section 81 transfer, and a Section 84 release (see Table 5). This interest in culturally-specific services continued throughout the incarceration period, as Healing Lodge residents were more likely to have a Healing Plan incorporated into their Correctional Plan, as well as an initial Elder Review and at least one progress Elder Review (though this difference did not reach significance for women). Both men and women Healing Lodge residents were also more likely to have Indigenous services staff (e.g., Indigenous Liaison Officer, Indigenous Community Development Officer) assigned to their caseload. For men only, Healing Lodge residents were more likely to participate in the Pathways Initiatives and have previous Healing Lodge placements.

Table 5

Participation of Healing Lodge and non-Healing Lodge residents in Culturally-specific Services Throughout Sentence

Service	Men (N = 1,228)				Women (N = 268)			
	Percentage (n) of offenders			Cramer's V	Percentage (n) of offenders			Cramer's V
	Healing Lodge (n = 614)	Non-Healing Lodge (n = 614)			Healing Lodge (n = 134)	Non-Healing Lodge (n = 134)		
Interest in opportunities	95.6 (587)	71.2 (437)		.33***	96.3 (129)	76.1 (102)		.29***
Healing Plan	58.0 (356)	33.9 (208)		.24***	63.4 (85)	46.3 (62)		.17**
Initial Elder Review	96.9 (595)	88.8 (545)		.16***	98.5 (132)	86.6 (116)		.23***
Progress Elder Review	65.3 (401)	40.4 (248)		.25***	48.5 (65)	39.6 (53)		n.s.
Indigenous staff	74.6 (458)	40.1 (246)		.35***	86.6 (116)	42.5 (57)		.46***
Pathways participation	55.5 (341)	46.9 (288)		.09**	23.9 (32)	31.3 (42)		n.s.
Previous HL placement	12.5 (77)	7.0 (43)		.09**	7.5 (10)	4.5 (6)		n.s.

Note. HL = Healing Lodge; n.s. = non-significant.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Comparison of CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents and Section 81 Healing Lodge residents. Additional analyses were completed to determine whether CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents differed in profile from Section 81 Healing Lodge residents. The full

findings are displayed in Appendix C, while noteworthy differences are discussed herein. Despite comparable assessments at intake, Indigenous offenders released from a Section 81 Healing Lodge were more likely to be considered high in reintegration potential and less likely to be rated as high dynamic risk at release. In fact, those offenders released from a Section 81 demonstrated greater improvements from intake to release in each of the following dynamic need areas: Associates, Attitudes, Community Functioning, Marital/Family, and Substance Abuse. CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge residents were similar in their level of improvement in the Employment and Personal/Emotional domains.

Indigenous offenders were more likely to complete educational programs, correctional programs, and Indigenous-specific cultural programs (non-correctional programs) at CSC-operated Healing Lodges. Lastly, a greater proportion of Section 81 Healing Lodge residents participated in culturally-specific services throughout their sentence in terms of the development of a Healing Plan, at least one Progress Elder Review, Pathways participation, and previous Healing Lodge placement.

Community Outcomes of Healing Lodge Residents

To examine community outcomes, Healing Lodge residents were compared to Indigenous offenders at minimum (men) and multi-level (women) institutions on their participation in ETAs, UTAs, and work releases prior to release, as well as their release characteristics and post-release outcomes. Post-release outcomes included success in the community, suspensions of release, and returns to custody with and without an offence.

Comparison of release outcomes between Healing Lodge residents and other Indigenous offenders. Prior to release, both men and women Healing Lodge residents participated in significantly more personal development (e.g., participate in treatment activities, attend spiritual/cultural ceremonies) and non-personal development (e.g., family contact, community service, medical reasons) opportunities for gradual release (Table 6). This includes ETAs, UTAs³¹ and work releases³² throughout their sentence, as well as those that occurred specifically at their release site.

³¹ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases in UTAs specifically at the release site for Métis women, which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group ($n = 27$ per group).

³² There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on work releases, either overall or at the release site for Métis men ($n = 104$ per group).

Table 6

Successful Temporary Absences and Work Releases of Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Residents

	Men (N = 1,228)			Women (N = 268)		
	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	Healing Lodge (n = 614)	Non-Healing Lodge (n = 614)		Healing Lodge (n = 134)	Non-Healing Lodge (n = 134)	
Release opportunity						
PD						
Overall						
ETAs	73.6 (452)	44.5 (273)	.30***	94.8 (127)	60.4 (81)	.41***
UTAs	11.4 (70)	2.4 (15)	.18***	23.9 (32)	7.5 (10)	.23***
Release site						
ETAs	67.1 (412)	37.3 (229)	.30***	94.8 (127)	57.5 (77)	.44***
UTAs	11.2 (69)	1.6 (10)	.20***	23.1 (31)	6.7 (9)	.23***
Non-PD						
Overall						
ETAs	65.8 (404)	29.2 (179)	.37***	83.6 (112)	46.3 (62)	.39***
UTAs	9.4 (58)	3.3 (20)	.13***	23.9 (32)	9.7 (13)	.19***
WR	12.9 (79)	6.0 (37)	.12***	32.1 (43)	8.2 (11)	.30***
Release site						
ETAs	58.5 (359)	23.5 (144)	.36***	75.4 (101)	44.0 (59)	.32***
UTAs	9.4 (58)	2.9 (18)	.14***	23.1 (31)	9.0 (12)	.19**
WR	12.1 (74)	5.5 (34)	.12***	29.1 (39)	7.5 (10)	.28***

Note. PD = Personal Development; ETA = Escorted Temporary Absence; UTA = Unescorted Temporary Absence.
 ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

As shown in Table 7, despite the additional opportunities for gradual release, Indigenous men released from a Healing Lodge were less likely to receive a discretionary release in terms of day parole or full parole. However, once controlling for criminal risk, there were no significant differences between groups in discretionary releases.³³ There were also no significant differences

³³ Given that this finding was inconsistent with previous evaluations, a logistic regression was performed to account for relevant risk and need factors, which may impact the granting of discretionary release. Logistic regression results: OR: 1.22 (.96,1.55), n.s., Wald χ^2 (1, $n = 1,228$) = 58.23, $p < .001$.

in discretionary releases between groups for women. Consistent with their participation in culturally-specific services throughout their sentence, both men and women Healing Lodge residents were more likely to be released on a Section 84 release and/or reside in a Section 81 Healing Lodge during their release.³⁴

Table 7

Release Characteristics of Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Releases

Characteristic	Men (N = 1,128)			Women (N = 268)		
	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	Healing Lodge	Non-Healing Lodge		Healing Lodge	Non-Healing Lodge	
	(n = 614)	(n = 614)		(n = 134)	(n = 134)	
Release type			.10**			n.s.
DP/FP	53.6 (329)	63.2 (388)		73.1 (98)	80.6 (108)	
SR	46.4 (285)	36.8 (226)		26.9 (36)	19.4 (26)	
Section 84 Release	58.1 (357)	28.0 (172)	.30***	77.6 (104)	32.8 (44)	.45***
Section 81 on Release	14.0 (86)	2.4 (15)	.21***	20.1 (27)	5.2 (7)	.22***

Note. DP = day parole; FP = full parole; SR = statutory release; n.s. = not significant.

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 8 presents the post-release outcomes of Healing Lodge residents compared to the control group for men. At the end of the study period, there were no significant differences between the groups in the proportion of men that had received a suspension of release or any revocation of release. One of the few significant differences to emerge between groups was in revocations of releases with a new offence. Indigenous offenders released from a Healing Lodge had significantly more returns to custody with a new offence in comparison Indigenous offenders released from a minimum institution, though the differences in proportion were minimal (8.0% versus 5.0%, respectively).³⁵ Overall, the groups were comparable in terms of being successfully

³⁴ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases in Section 81 residency for Métis women, which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group ($n = 27$ per group).

³⁵ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on returns to custody with a new offence when examining this separately for First Nations ($n = 504$ per group) and Métis offenders ($n = 104$ per group). In addition, when restricting this analysis to offenders who spent a minimum of 6 months at their releasing site ($n = 400$ per group), there were no significant differences in returns to custody with a new offence.

maintained on release or completing release at the end of the study period.

Table 8

Comparison of Post-Release Outcomes between Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Release Groups for Men (N = 1,228)

Post-release outcomes	Percentage (n) of offenders	
	Healing Lodge (N = 614)	Non-Healing Lodge (N = 614)
Successfully maintained/completed release ^{n.s.}	39.9 (245)	43.0 (264)
Suspension of release ^{n.s.}	59.9 (368)	57.0 (350)
Suspension cancelled/expired/withdrawn ^{n.s.}	27.0 (166)	24.9 (153)
Average days to first suspension <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) ^a	203.9 (236.0)	172.2 (177.3)
Any returns to custody ^{n.s.}	42.5 (261)	39.3 (241)
Return to custody with a new offence ^b	8.0 (49)	5.0 (31)
Average days to any return to custody <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) ^{n.s.}	296.7 (236.4)	275.8 (186.7)
Average days to return to custody with a new offence <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>) ^{n.s.}	307.7 (190.8)	305.5 (181.3)

Note. n.s. = not significant. Offenders identified as having successfully maintained/completed release did not have any suspensions or returns to custody during the study period.

^a $F(1,716) = 4.12, p = .04$

^b Cramer's $V = .06, p = .04$

In fact, men released from a Healing Lodge spent a significantly longer period in the community prior to their first suspension. When examining time to first suspension by Indigenous group, an interesting finding emerged. For First Nations men, the Healing Lodge residents ($M = 207.2, SD = 242.1$) spent a longer time in the community prior to suspension compared to the control group ($M = 161.0, SD = 159.3$); $F(1,597) = 7.56, p = .01$. The reverse was true for Métis men in that Healing Lodge residents ($M = 187.8, SD = 209.7$) spent a shorter period in the community than the control group ($M = 242.8, SD = 251.1$), though this difference did not reach significance.

To control for the potential impact of other factors, including time at risk, Cox Proportional Hazards regression analyses were conducted. Results related to revocations with a new offence for men are presented in Table 9. Once controlling for CRI, there were no significant differences between groups in risk of return to custody with a new offence. In other

words, the type of correctional facility from which offenders were released was not associated with the risk of conditional release failure for Indigenous men. Taken together, these findings indicate that the post-release outcomes of Healing Lodge residents are comparable to Indigenous offenders released from minimum institutions.

Table 9

Adjusted Hazard Ratios (HR) from Cox Proportional Hazards Regression for Time to Return to Custody with a New Offence for Men (N = 1,228)

Covariate	Hazard ratio	95% CI	p
Study group			
Healing Lodge release	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Non-Healing Lodge release	.73	[.46,1.16]	n.s.
Criminal Risk Index level			<.001
Low	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Moderate	2.50	[1.03,6.06]	.04
High	7.87	[3.33,18.58]	<.001
Wald chi-square		46.96	
DF		3	
P		<.001	

Note. CI = confidence interval; DF = degrees of freedom. CRI levels are based on the score cut-offs used for correctional programming referral as outlined in Commissioner's Directives guidelines 726-2.

In terms of post-release outcomes for women, Healing Lodge residents were significantly less likely to be successfully maintained on release or complete their release at the end of the study period (see Table 10).³⁶ For First Nations women only, Healing Lodge residents (15.1%, $n = 16$) were significantly more likely to return to custody with a new offence than the control group (5.7%, $n = 6$); $\chi^2 (1, N = 212) = 5.07, p = .02$, Cramer's $V = .16$. A significantly greater proportion of women released from a Healing Lodge received a suspension of release compared to those released from multi-level institutions.³⁷ However, once controlling for criminal risk and

³⁶ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on successful/completed releases for Métis women, which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group ($n = 54$). In addition, when restricting this analysis to offenders who spent a minimum of 6 months at their releasing site ($n = 107$ per group), there were no significant differences in successful/completed releases.

³⁷ There were no significant differences between Healing Lodge residents and non-Healing Lodge releases on suspensions of release for Métis women, which may be attributed to the smaller sample size of this group ($n = 54$). In addition, when restricting this analysis to offenders who spent a minimum of 6 months at their releasing site ($n =$

dynamic need at release, there were no significant differences between groups in risk of suspension (see Table 11). Taking into account risk and need factors, Healing Lodge residents were as likely as women released from multi-level institutions to maintain their release in the community without a suspension. Similar to men, these findings indicate comparable post-release outcomes for Indigenous women released from Healing Lodges and multi-level institutions. Given the low base rates in some of the outcome measures (e.g., return to custody with a new offence), these results should be interpreted with caution.

Table 10

Comparison of Post-Release Outcomes between Healing Lodge and Non-Healing Lodge Release Groups for Women (N = 268)

Post-release outcomes	Percentage (n) of offenders	
	Healing Lodge (N = 134)	Non-Healing Lodge (N = 134)
Successfully maintained/completed release ^a	27.6 (37)	39.6 (53)
Suspension of release ^b	72.4 (97)	60.4 (81)
Suspension cancelled/expired/withdrawn ^{n.s.}	38.1 (51)	36.6 (49)
Average days to first suspension <i>M (SD)</i> ^{n.s.}	169.1 (166.7)	189.7 (199.8)
Any returns to custody ^{n.s.}	48.5 (65)	41.0 (55)
Return to custody with a new offence ^{n.s.}	12.7 (17)	6.0 (8)
Average days to any return to custody <i>M (SD)</i> ^{n.s.}	299.5 (170.7)	357.2 (308.4)
Average days to return to custody with a new offence <i>M (SD)</i> ^{n.s.}	336.2 (178.1)	333.4 (467.3)

Note. n.s. = not significant. Offenders identified as having successfully maintained/completed release did not have any suspensions or returns to custody during the study period.

^a Cramer's *V* = .13, *p* = .04

^b Cramer's *V* = .13, *p* = .04

107 per group), there were no significant differences in suspensions. However, non-Healing Lodge releases (*n* = 43, 66.2%) were more likely to have a suspension cancelled, expired, or withdrawn compared to Healing Lodge releases (*n* = 36, 48.6%; Cramer's *V* = .18, *p* = .04).

Table 11

Adjusted Hazard Ratios (HR) from Cox Proportional Hazards Regression for Time to Suspension for Women (N = 268)

Covariate	Hazard ratio	95% CI	<i>p</i>
Study group			
Healing Lodge release	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Non-Healing Lodge release	.79	[.56,1.11]	n.s.
Criminal Risk Index level			.003
Low	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Moderate	1.46	[1.00,2.14]	n.s.
High	2.35	[1.44,3.84]	.001
Dynamic factor rating (at release)			.002
Low	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Moderate	5.29	[1.30,21.64]	.02
High	8.17	[1.98,33.67]	.004
Wald chi-square		28.48	
DF		5	
<i>p</i>		<.001	

Note. CI = confidence interval; DF = degrees of freedom. CRI levels are based on the score cut-offs used for correctional programming referral as outlined in Commissioner's Directives guidelines 726-2.

Comparison of community outcomes between CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents and Section 81 Healing Lodge residents. As shown in Appendix C (Table C6), a greater proportion of offenders that had resided in a CSC-operated Healing Lodge participated in ETAs, whether personal-development or non-personal development opportunities, overall and at their release site in particular. On the other hand, a greater proportion of Section 81 Healing Lodge residents had participated in personal development and non-personal development UTAs, overall and at their release site. While significantly more Section 81 Healing Lodge residents participated in work releases overall in their sentence, this difference did not reach significance when examining work releases occurring at the release site specifically.

Table 12

Comparison of Post-Release Outcomes between CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Release Groups (N = 748)

Post-release outcomes	Percentage (n) of offenders	
	CSC-operated Healing	Section 81 Healing
	Lodge (N = 527)	Lodge (N = 221)
Successfully maintained/completed release ^{n.s.}	35.9 (189)	42.1 (93)
Suspension of release ^{n.s.}	63.9 (337)	57.9 (128)
Suspension cancelled/withdrawn ^a	43.3 (146)	55.4 (71)
Average days to first suspension <i>M (SD)</i> ^b	179.1 (196.2)	242.8 (279.1)
Any returns to custody ^{n.s.}	45.0 (237)	40.3 (89)
Return to custody with a new offence ^c	10.4 (55)	5.0 (11)
Average days to any return to custody <i>M (SD)</i> ^d	281.1 (197.9)	340.3 (280.6)
Average days to return to custody with a new offence <i>M (SD)</i> ^{n.s.}	312.0 (189.5)	330.1 (180.0)

Note. n.s. = not significant. Offenders identified as having successfully maintained/completed release did not have any suspensions or returns to custody during the study period.

^aCramer's *V* = .11, *p* = .02

^b*F* (1, 463) = 7.6, *p* = .01.

^cCramer's *V* = .09, *p* = .02

^d*F* (1, 324) = 4.5, *p* = .03.

Indigenous offenders that had resided in a CSC-operated Healing Lodge were comparable in release characteristics to those that had resided in a Section 81 in terms of type of release and Section 84 releases (see Table C7 in Appendix C). Those who were released from a Section 81 were, however, more likely to reside in a Section 81 while on release. As demonstrated in Table 12, when examining post-release outcomes, there were more marked differences between groups. While there were no significant differences in the rates of suspension or returns to custody due to revocation, Indigenous offenders released from a Section 81 Healing Lodge spent a significantly greater period in the community prior to their first suspension or revocation of release. In cases of suspension, the Section 81 released offenders were also more likely to have those suspensions cancelled or withdrawn (55.4% versus 43.3%, respectively). Offenders released from a CSC-operated Healing Lodge were significantly more

likely to return to custody with a new offence (10.4% versus 5.0%). Due to small base rates, Cox Proportional Hazards regression analyses were not conducted to control for the impact of other factors.

Impacts of Culturally-Specific Services and Interventions on Community Outcomes

The following section describes the model building process to examine the relative contribution of Indigenous interventions and services on post-release outcomes. Separate models were created for men and women. First, a set of variables related to revocations of release were identified in order to statistically control for them in the subsequent model building. Next, the measures of Indigenous interventions and services with the strongest relationship to revocations of release were individually identified and then combined into an overall model.

Control models. Control models for men and women were developed to ensure that the results are due to the Indigenous interventions and services specifically and not due to differences between offenders who do, and do not, access these interventions and services. In order to maintain focus on the Indigenous interventions and services, the full results for the control models are omitted.

In the final control model for men, static risk was represented by CRI total score (0 to 34) as well as a dichotomous indicator of high reintegration potential at release (yes/no). Dynamic risk (i.e., criminogenic needs) was represented by the number of DFIA-R domains with a rating of moderate or high need at intake (0 to 7), and a dichotomous indicator of moderate or high need in the substance abuse DFIA-R domain at intake (yes/no). Lastly, sentence and offender characteristics were controlled by including age at release. No significant control variables were retained from the areas of offender behaviour while incarcerated, participation and completion of NRCPs, and participation and completion of employment and education programs.

In the final control model for women, static risk was represented by CRI total score (0 to 34). Dynamic risk was represented by the number of DFIA-R domains with a rating of moderate or high need at release (0 to 7), as well as a dichotomous indicator of moderate or high need in the Marital/Family DFIA-R domain at release (yes/no). There were no significant control variables from the areas of sentence and offender characteristics, offender behaviour while incarcerated, participation and completion of NRCPs, and participation and completion of employment and education programs.

Indigenous interventions and services models. To examine the unique contribution of Indigenous interventions and services to revocations of release, combined models were developed with the strongest predictors of returns to custody. Table 13 displays the statistically significant measures of return to custody for men after controlling for the relevant risk, need, and offender characteristics identified in the control model. The odds ratio of .46 indicates that offenders who completed Indigenous cultural programs at a Healing Lodge had a 54% lower risk of return to custody compared to those who did not. In addition, offenders who were admitted into Pathways Initiatives had a 29% lower risk of return to custody than those who were not. Given that Indigenous program completion at the Healing Lodge and Pathways participation were both retained in the model, this indicates that each intervention uniquely helped reduce revocations of release. In other words, these are not redundant interventions and both offer benefits that may help offenders succeed upon release. The combined model provided a statistically reliable prediction of revocations of conditional release (Wald $\chi^2(7, N = 1,084) = 201.27, p < .001$).

Table 13

Indigenous Interventions and Services Associated with Revocations of Conditional Release for Men (N = 1,084)

Parameter	B	SE	Odds ratio	95% CI	Wald	p
Indigenous cultural programs at HL	-.78	.26	.46	[.28,.76]	9.27	.002
Pathways initiatives participation	-.34	.14	.71	[.55,.93]	6.12	.013

Note. HL = Healing Lodge; SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval. Control variables underlying this model included Criminal Risk Index, high reintegration potential at release, the number of DFIA-R domains with a rating of moderate or high need at intake, moderate or high need in the Substance Abuse DFIA-R domain, and age at release.

Likely due to the smaller sample size for women, only one measure of Indigenous interventions and services significantly predicted returns to custody when including the underlying control model. As seen in Table 14, offenders who demonstrated an interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake (i.e., interest in developing a healing plan, a Section 81 release, or Section 84 release) had a 65% lower risk of return to custody compared to those who did not. The combined model provided a statistically reliable prediction of revocations of conditional release (Wald $\chi^2(4, N = 212) = 37.09, p < .001$).

Table 14

Indigenous Interventions and Services Associated with Revocations of Conditional Release for Women (N = 212)

Parameter	B	SE	Odds ratio	95% CI	Wald	p
Interest in Indigenous opportunities	-1.06	.53	.35	[.12,.99]	3.91	.048

Note. SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval. Control variables underlying this model included Criminal Risk Index, the number of DFIA-R domains with a rating of moderate or high need at release, and moderate or high need in the Marital/Family DFIA-R domain at release.

Discussion

The focus of this report was on examining the profile of Healing Lodge residents and the impact of Healing Lodge placement on Indigenous offender reintegration and post-release outcomes. The profile of Healing Lodge residents differed from Indigenous offenders released from other minimum institutions (men) and multi-level institutions (women). Both men and women who were released from a Healing Lodge were higher in dynamic risk and lower in reintegration potential at intake. Men Healing Lodge residents were higher in static risk at both intake and release, though they were considered higher in motivation at release. Considerable reductions were observed in dynamic risk for women over the course of their sentence. Compared to Indigenous women released from multi-level institutions, Healing Lodge residents were less likely to be rated high in dynamic risk at release and were more likely to demonstrate improvements in the areas of Personal/Emotional, Substance Abuse, and Associates.

Generally, Healing Lodge residents were more likely to be assigned to and complete correctional programs and others programs, both over the course of their full incarceration period and at the Healing Lodge in particular. Focusing specifically on the releasing institution, Healing Lodge residents were more likely to complete Indigenous cultural programs and other non-correctional programs. Women at multi-level institutions were more likely to complete correctional programs at their releasing site than Healing Lodge residents. For men, while Healing Lodge residents were also more likely to complete employment programs, men at minimum-security institutions were more likely to complete educational programs and vocational certificates at their releasing institution.

Indigenous offenders who would later reside in and be released from a Healing Lodge showed a greater interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake and participated in culturally-specific services to a greater degree throughout their sentence. This included the development of a Healing Plan, at least one Elder Review, and having Indigenous services staff assigned to their caseload. Men Healing Lodge residents were also more likely to have participated in Pathways Initiatives and have had previous Healing Lodge placements prior to their release.

Overall, compared to Indigenous men released from minimum institutions, Healing Lodge residents had equal suspensions of release and returns to custody, and once controlling for other factors, had an equal risk of revocation with a new offence. Women released from a

Healing Lodge also had commensurate post-release outcomes to women released from multi-level institutions, particularly when controlling for risk and need factors. Healing Lodge residents participated in more opportunities for gradual release including ETAs, UTAs, and work releases throughout their sentence and at their releasing site in particular. Despite these efforts at gradual reintegration, Indigenous offenders released from a Healing Lodge were less likely to receive a discretionary release.³⁸

An additional area of focus of the study was to examine the profile and post-release outcomes of CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents in comparison to Section 81 residents. At release, CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents were higher in dynamic risk and lower in reintegration potential compared to the Section 81 residents. Over the course of their sentence, Section 81 residents demonstrated greater improvements in the dynamic need areas of Associates, Attitudes, Community Functioning, Marital/Family, and Substance Abuse. Section 81 residents were more involved in Indigenous services throughout their sentence, including developing a Healing Plan, having at least one progress Elder Review and participating in Pathways. While residents of CSC-operated Healing Lodges had more ETA opportunities, Section 81 residents had more UTAs and work releases. Overall, Section 81 releases had more favourable post-release outcomes in terms of time in the community prior to suspension or return to custody, as well as cancellation or withdrawal of suspensions when they occurred, although there were no significant differences in the rates of suspension or returns to custody due to revocation.

A final objective of the study was to examine the relative contribution of Indigenous-specific interventions and services on post-release outcome. Once controlling for relevant risk, need, and offender characteristics, Indigenous cultural program completion at a Healing Lodge and Pathways Initiatives participation emerged as significant predictors of returns to custody for men. Men who completed Indigenous cultural programs at a Healing Lodge had a 54% lower risk of revocation of release, while men who participated in Pathways Initiatives had a 29% lower risk. For women, only one culturally-specific service reached statistical significance. Indigenous women who demonstrated an interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake had a 65% lower risk of return to custody.

³⁸ Note this finding reached statistical significance only for men, while it approached significance for women.

Conclusions

Taken together, the findings of this study indicate that Indigenous offenders who were released from a Healing Lodge have a unique profile and demonstrate differences in their correctional path, and yet are comparable in their post-release outcomes. Beyond the differences found for Healing Lodge residents, there were further intricacies when examining men and women separately, as well as residents at CSC-operated Healing Lodges and Section 81 Healing Lodges. Overall, the profile of Healing Lodge residents had a higher risk level at intake than Indigenous offenders incarcerated in other minimum (men) or multi-level (women) security institutions. This presents a particular challenge to staff and Elders at Healing Lodges, who may be dealing with residents that are higher in risk and, in some cases, have not had any previous exposure to Indigenous culture or programming.

Despite a more challenging population, Healing Lodge residents demonstrated positive changes over the course of their incarceration period in a number of ways. The impacts of the Healing Lodge experience on the dynamic risk levels of women should not be understated – at intake they were more likely to be rated as high risk compared to women incarcerated in other institutions (72% versus 58%, respectively), and at release they were less likely to be rated as high risk (28% versus 45%, respectively). The Healing Lodge experience particularly benefited women in the areas of Personal/Emotional, Substance Abuse, and Associates. For men residing in a Healing Lodge, there were fewer reductions observed in dynamic risk domains relative to men incarcerated in other minimum institutions. However, the positive impacts of the Healing Lodge experience can be seen in their improvements in the Attitude domain, as well as motivation level. These findings are consistent with the 2011 Evaluation of Healing Lodges, which found improvements in various criminogenic need areas for Indigenous offenders released from Healing Lodges compared to Indigenous men released from minimum security institutions and Indigenous women released from multi-level security institutions (Didenko & Marquis, 2011). These findings were further supported by qualitative results, which showed improvements in the self-confidence, personal responsibility, motivation, prosocial attitudes, and self-discipline of Healing Lodge residents (Didenko & Marquis, 2011).

These improvements suggest that Healing Lodges may be particularly adept at targeting the identified criminogenic needs of offenders, as per the “need” principle of effective correctional interventions and services (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Andrews & Bonta,

2006). Further, Indigenous offenders have specific cultural and spiritual needs that must be addressed to support successful rehabilitation and reintegration. Healing Lodges are also well positioned to adhere to the “responsivity” principle, in that correctional interventions and services are most effective when they are administered in a manner that is consistent with an offender’s specific characteristics, such as learning style, special needs, and cultural context (Andrews, Bonta, & Hoge, 1990; Andrews & Bonta, 2006).³⁹ This is supported by the growing evidence supporting the effectiveness of Indigenous-specific programs over generic correctional programs with Indigenous offenders (Gutierrez et al., 2017). From a policy perspective, the unique circumstances of Indigenous offenders, or Indigenous Social History (ISH) factors, must be given due consideration in decision making (CSC, 2013). Thus, Healing Lodges offer a culturally appropriate and restorative option to address ISH factors.

Sub-analyses by Indigenous group confirmed most of the results of the study, though there were a few differences for First Nations and Métis offenders. Most notably, First Nations men released from a Healing Lodge were more likely to demonstrate positive improvements in the Personal/Emotional domain of dynamic need compared to those released from minimum security institutions. They also spent a longer time in the community prior to suspension compared to the control group. This provides some indication that Healing Lodges, which are developed based on First Nations culture and traditions, may be particularly effective with First Nations men, compared to other Indigenous groups. Of course, within the various First Nations, there lies considerable variability in teachings, ceremonies, and protocols. The study also raises the question of the applicability of Healing Lodges to Inuit offenders given their small number during the study period ($n = 7$).

Over the course of their incarceration, Healing Lodge residents showed positive results in completing employment and obtaining vocational training and certificates. Compared to Indigenous men incarcerated in minimum-security institutions, Healing Lodge residents were less likely to complete educational programs, either throughout their sentence or specifically at the Healing Lodge. Given that Healing Lodge residents were less likely to have a high school diploma or equivalent, educational programs represent an area of opportunity for Healing

³⁹ The third principle, the “risk” principle, indicates that correctional interventions and services are most effective when they are delivered at an intensity that matches the offender’s level of risk (Andrews et al., 1990; Andrews & Bonta, 2006).

Lodges. Men released from a Healing Lodge also continued to exhibit challenges in the areas of Employment and Community Functioning, as demonstrated by fewer reductions in these domains relative to men released from minimum-security institutions. These may be viewed as additional areas of opportunity for Healing Lodges. The need to facilitate additional vocational training, employment and employability skill development has previously been identified (Didenko & Marquis, 2011; Trevethan et al., 2008; Willow Cree Healing Lodge Joint Review, 2010). For men, Healing Lodge residents were more likely to complete an employment program, but less likely to complete vocational certificates while at the Healing Lodge compared to Indigenous offenders incarcerated at minimum-security institutions. This may suggest that improvements have been made for employment, but a gap still remains for vocational training.

While previous research has examined the benefits of individual Indigenous specific programs and services, one of the goals of this research was to examine the cumulative effect of exposure to multiple culturally-specific interventions on post-release outcomes. For men, both Indigenous cultural program completion at a Healing Lodge and participation in the Pathways Initiative uniquely helped reduce revocations of release across the cohort of offenders. It may be that some offenders need the Pathways Initiative and a different group need the Indigenous cultural programs offered at Healing Lodges, and both groups benefit from these respective interventions. There are a number of offenders that are transferred to Healing Lodges that have not previously been engaged with their culture or accessed the Indigenous services, programs, and ceremonies offered, including Pathways. Alternatively, some offenders participate in both the Pathways Initiative and Indigenous cultural programs delivered at a Healing Lodge, and both interventions may help offenders succeed upon release in different ways. In other words, these culturally-specific interventions are not redundant and may offer cumulative benefits in various ways. Interestingly, these are two of the more intensive and holistic approaches to traditional healing offered by CSC, and findings support these significant advancements to providing culturally-relevant interventions for Indigenous offenders. For women, only one culturally-specific service (i.e., interest in Indigenous opportunities at intake) reached statistical significance, which may be related to the impact of small sample size on statistical power or the lower base rates of women involved in each of the interventions and returning to custody.

In terms of release characteristics, the findings of this study suggest that Section 81 Healing Lodges continue to struggle with ETA opportunities. In 2011, the evaluation of Healing

Lodges recommended that resources for offender participation in community based reintegration activities may need strengthening given that Section 81 residents generally had lower rates of ETAs compared to CSC-operated Healing Lodges and minimum security institutions (though they had higher rates of UTAs; Didenko & Marquis, 2011). Overall, Healing Lodges demonstrated their strengths by a higher participation rate in ETAs, UTAs, and work releases relative to other CSC institutions for both men and women. Unfortunately, these opportunities that encourage gradual release failed to translate into higher proportions of discretionary release (i.e., day parole and full parole) for all Healing Lodge residents. The above noted differences in population profiles may explain, at least in part, the equivalent rate of Healing Lodge residents who obtain day or full parole (once controlling for CRI), compared to Indigenous offenders released from other CSC institutions. However, this finding is inconsistent with the previous evaluation, which found that Indigenous men residing in a Healing Lodge were over two times more likely to receive a discretionary release than non-Healing Lodge Indigenous residents (Allegri et al., 2012), though a prior evaluation found this was specific to CSC-operated Healing Lodge residents only (Didenko & Marquis, 2011). Given that the methodologies are consistent between studies, it is possible that there has been a shift in release decisions for Healing Lodge residents.

Overall, the findings of this study indicate that the post-release outcomes of Healing Lodge residents, in terms of suspensions of release or returns to custody, are comparable to Indigenous offenders released from other institutions. This is consistent with previous evaluations which found equal rates of conditional release failure (with any return to custody or return with a new offence) between Indigenous men offenders who had resided in a Healing Lodge and a comparison group of offenders who were released from a minimum level institution (Allegri et al., 2012; Didenko & Marquis, 2011).

Limitations & Future Directions

While this study represents a comprehensive quantitative study of the impacts of Healing Lodges within Canada on Indigenous offender post-release outcomes, there are several limitations that should be noted. Ideally, to examine the impacts of Healing Lodges, the sample should have been restricted to Indigenous offenders that had been residents for a minimum of six months. This would allow for a sufficient amount of time to develop relationships with Elders and staff, participate in programs and interventions, and generally be immersed in Indigenous

culture on a regular basis. Given the substantial number of offenders that had resided at the Healing Lodge for less than six months (32%), sample size concerns prevented the ability to restrict the sample based on a minimum amount of time at the Healing Lodge. There were also sample size concerns for women and for Section 81 Healing Lodge residents, which may have resulted in null findings when in fact differences may be present.

In Healing Lodges, the needs of residents are addressed in a blended approach through Indigenous teachings, traditions, and ceremonies, and contact with Elders and the community. Reducing participation in Indigenous programs to a single dichotomous variable fails to take into account the holistic environment and philosophy governing Healing Lodges. It also raises a methodological issue in that only 15% of men and 55% of women had data indicating that they had completed an Indigenous cultural program at a Healing Lodge. There are gaps in CSC's OMS in regards to the Indigenous cultural programs and activities information tracked at Healing Lodges that has previously been documented (Delveaux et al., 2007). This is particularly problematic at Section 81 Healing Lodges where access to OMS is limited, and may be reflected by the appearance of lower program completion rates. This inability to accurately identify and measure the impact of programs and services offered specifically at Healing Lodges represents a significant limitation.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the focus of this study on post-release outcomes in terms of proportions of discretionary releases, suspensions of release, and returns to custody fails to take into account the myriad of other indicators of offender change and successful community reintegration. While CSC's results with respect to correctional outcomes are ultimately measured in terms of public safety (i.e., measures of recidivism), it is important to recognize the potential impacts of Healing Lodges and other Indigenous-specific services and interventions on the traditional healing of Indigenous offenders. Indigenous ceremonies can be transformative in nature for a correctional population, influencing an offender's personal healing, positive self-perception, sense of belonging, self-control, and the ability to trust and care for others (Brault, 2005). The impacts of these ceremonies on spiritual well-being as well as other daily practices (e.g., morning smudge and prayer), teachings by Elders, learning a hobby craft, participating in a drumming circle, and so forth also cannot be captured quantitatively. From the available administrative data, it was not possible to measure benefits in terms of a greater understanding of, and connection to, Indigenous culture. As such, this report should not be read in isolation, but

instead, in conjunction with future reports focusing on the Healing Lodge experience. This larger study will rely on the perspectives of Healing Lodge residents, Elders, and staff to more comprehensively capture the factors that may contribute to successful offender change and reintegration that cannot be measured through quantitative data alone. This study will aim to look beyond post-release outcome and instead, tease out the benefits of Healing Lodges, the impacts of the interventions offered, as well as identify any challenges currently facing the operation of Healing Lodges.

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Appendix A: Variables Considered for Inclusion in the Control Model

The following variables were considered for inclusion during the control model building. At each stage of the model building process, the strongest predictor was added to the model and retained if significant. If predictors were no longer significant once additional variables were added, they were removed. Once all statistically significant variables were represented in the model, the strongest predictor was added from any of the six areas that was unrepresented.

1. Criminal history risk (i.e., static risk)
 - a) Criminal Risk Index total score
 - b) Criminal Risk Index bin (low, moderate, or high)
 - c) Overall Static Factor at intake and release (low, medium, or high)
 - d) Overall rating of Reintegration Potential at intake and release (low, medium, or high)
 - e) Dichotomous indicators of high Reintegration Potential at intake and release
2. Criminogenic needs (i.e., dynamic risk)
 - a) Overall Dynamic Factor at intake release (low, moderate, or high)
 - b) Dichotomous indicators of high criminogenic need at intake or release
 - c) Number of DFIA-R domains with moderate or high need ratings at intake and release
 - d) Dichotomous indicator of moderate or high need for each of the seven DFIA-R domains at intake and release
3. Offender and sentence characteristics
 - a) Age at release
 - b) Marital status (married and common law, divorced or widowed, or never married)
 - c) Release type (discretionary or non-discretionary release)
 - d) Offence type category (homicide, sex-related, robbery, drug-related, assault, other violent, property)
 - e) Dichotomous indicator of violent offence (i.e., Schedule 1 or homicide)
 - f) Dichotomous indicator of violent sexual offence
 - g) Sentence length in days
 - h) Motivational level at intake and release (low, moderate, or high)
 - i) Dichotomous indicators of high motivation level at intake and release
 - j) Accountability level at intake (low, moderate, or high)
 - k) Dichotomous indicator of responsivity factors present at intake
 - l) Dichotomous indicator of engagement at intake
 - m) Indigenous group (First Nations, Métis, Inuit)
4. Offender behaviour while incarcerated
 - a) Number of institutional charges between admission and release
 - b) Dichotomous indicator of at least one institutional charge
 - c) Number of serious disciplinary charges
 - d) Dichotomous indicator of at least one serious disciplinary charge
 - e) Number of minor disciplinary charges
 - f) Dichotomous indicator of at least one minor disciplinary charge
5. Participation and completion of NRCPs
 - g) Dichotomous indicator of assignment to moderate or high-intensity correctional

- programming (not including Indigenous correctional programs).
 - h) Dichotomous indicator of completion of moderate or high-intensity correctional programming (not including Indigenous correctional programs).
6. Participation and completion of employment and education programs
- a) Dichotomous indicator of completion of educational programming
 - b) Dichotomous indicator of completion of employment programming
 - c) Count of the number of educational certificates earned
 - d) Dichotomous indicator of completion of vocational training
 - e) Count of the number of vocational certificates earned

Appendix B: Variables Representing Indigenous Interventions and Services

1. Interest in Indigenous opportunities
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of interest in developing a Healing Plan
 - b. Dichotomous indicator of interest in Section 81 release
 - c. Dichotomous indicator of interest in Section 84 release
 - d. Dichotomous indicator of interest in any of the Indigenous opportunities presented at intake (i.e., Healing Plan, Section 81, Section 84)
2. Healing Plan
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of Healing Plan developed
3. Elder Reviews
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of at least one initial Elder Review
 - b. Number of initial Elder Reviews
 - c. Dichotomous indicator of at least one progress Elder Reviews
 - d. Number of progress Elder Reviews
4. Indigenous staff
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of at least one Indigenous services staff member assigned to caseload (e.g., Indigenous Liaison Officer, Indigenous Community Development Officer)
5. Indigenous programs
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of assignment to Indigenous correctional program
 - b. Dichotomous indicator of Indigenous correctional program completion
 - c. Dichotomous indicator of Indigenous program (non-correctional program) completion
 - d. Dichotomous indicator of Indigenous program (non-correctional program) completion at Healing Lodge
 - e. Dichotomous indicator of Pathways Initiatives participation
 - f. Number of Pathways Initiatives admissions
6. Healing Lodge history
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of release from a Healing Lodge
 - b. Dichotomous indicator of previous Healing Lodge placements
 - c. Number of Healing Lodge transfers
 - d. Dichotomous indicator of more than 6 months at the Healing Lodge
7. Release
 - a. Dichotomous indicator of Section 84 release
 - b. Dichotomous indicator of Section 81 during release

Appendix C: Comparison of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents⁴⁰

Table C1

Risk and Need Characteristics of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents

Characteristic	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (N = 527)	Section 81 Healing Lodge (N = 221)	
Static factor (intake)			n.s.
Low	9.5 (50)	9.1 (20)	
Moderate	48.0 (253)	49.3 (109)	
High	42.5 (224)	41.6 (92)	
Static factor (release)			n.s.
Low	9.7 (51)	9.1 (20)	
Moderate	50.7 (267)	50.2 (111)	
High	39.7 (209)	40.7 (90)	
Dynamic factor (intake)			n.s.
Low	2.7 (14)	3.6 (8)	
Moderate	36.2 (191)	35.3 (78)	
High	61.1 (322)	61.1 (135)	
Dynamic factor (release)			.14**
Low	6.1 (32)	13.1 (29)	
Moderate	66.4 (350)	67.9 (150)	
High	27.5 (145)	19.0 (42)	
RP (intake)			n.s.
Low	28.1 (148)	28.1 (62)	
Moderate	58.3 (307)	55.7 (123)	
High	13.7 (72)	16.3 (36)	
RP (release)			.16***
Low/Moderate	81.2 (428)	68.3 (151)	
High	18.8 (99)	31.7 (70)	

Note. RP = reintegration potential; n.s. = non-significant. For reporting purposes, reintegration potential at release was collapsed into a low/moderate category due to small cell counts for the low category.

** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

⁴⁰ Data is presented for the overall sample, as sample size concerns prevented sub-analyses by both Healing Lodge type and sex together.

Table C2

Improvement in Level of Dynamic Need Ratings from Intake to Release of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents

Program	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (N = 527)	Section 81 Healing Lodge (N = 221)	
Associates	59.6 (314)	73.3 (162)	.17***
Attitudes	68.5 (361)	79.6 (176)	.16***
Community Functioning	64.7 (341)	76.0 (168)	.15***
Employment	42.3 (223)	45.2 (100)	n.s.
Marital/Family	63.8 (336)	70.6 (156)	.10**
Personal/Emotional	61.9 (326)	65.2 (144)	n.s.
Substance Abuse	62.6 (330)	71.9 (159)	.09*

Note. n.s. = non-significant. Sample sizes were reduced to $n = 507-509$ in the CSC-operated Healing Lodge releases and $n = 204$ in the non-Healing Lodge releases on the Associates, Attitudes, Community Functioning, Employment, and Marital/Family domains due to missing data at intake.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Table C3

Program Completion of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents throughout Full Incarceration Period

Program	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (N = 527)	Section 81 Healing Lodge (N = 221)	
Correctional Program			
Moderate	82.4 (434)	80.1 (177)	n.s.
High	12.1 (64)	29.0 (64)	.20***
Indigenous	79.1 (417)	77.8 (172)	n.s.
Educational Program	45.2 (238)	40.7 (90)	n.s.
Employment Program	41.2 (217)	24.0 (53)	.16***
Vocational Certificate	21.1 (111)	21.7 (48)	n.s.
Indigenous Cultural Program	33.5 (171)	16.3 (36)	.17***
Other Programs (non-CP)	35.5 (187)	31.2 (69)	n.s.

Note. n.s. = non-significant. *** $p < .001$

Table C4

Program Completion of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents at Releasing Institution

Program	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (N = 527)	Section 81 Healing Lodge (N = 221)	
Correctional Program	57.9 (305)	20.8 (46)	.34***
Indigenous	45.7 (241)	13.6 (30)	.31***
Educational Program	31.1 (164)	2.7 (6)	.31***
Vocational Certificate	13.5 (71)	2.7 (6)	.16***
Indigenous Cultural Program	29.8 (157)	3.6 (8)	.29***
Other Programs (non-CP)	32.5 (171)	18.1 (40)	.15***

Note. Results are not presented for employment programs due to small cell sizes in the Section 81 Healing Lodge group.

*** $p < .001$

Table C5

Participation of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents in Culturally-specific Services Throughout Sentence

Culturally-specific Service	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (N = 527)	Section 81 Healing Lodge (N = 221)	
Interest in Indigenous opportunities	95.1 (501)	97.3 (215)	n.s.
Healing Plan	54.5 (287)	69.7 (154)	.14***
Initial Elder Review	97.0 (511)	97.7 (216)	n.s.
Progress Elder Review	53.1 (280)	84.2 (186)	.29***
Indigenous Staff	75.3 (397)	80.1 (177)	n.s.
Pathways participation	41.4 (218)	70.1 (155)	.26***
Previous HL placements	25.3 (56)	5.9 (31)	.28***

Note. n.s. = non-significant.

*** $p < .001$

Table C6

Successful Temporary Absences and Work Releases of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Residents

Characteristic	Percentage (<i>n</i>) of offenders				Cramer's <i>V</i>
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (<i>N</i> = 527)		Section 81 Healing Lodge (<i>N</i> = 221)		
Personal Development					
Overall					
ETAs	83.1	(438)	63.8	(141)	.21***
UTAs	7.8	(41)	27.6	(61)	.26***
At release site					
ETAs	80.6	(425)	61.6	(114)	.30***
UTAs	7.8	(41)	26.7	(59)	.25***
Non-personal Development					
Overall					
ETAs	77.4	(408)	48.9	(108)	.28***
UTAs	9.9	(52)	17.2	(38)	.10**
Work release	14.4	(76)	20.8	(46)	.08*
At release site					
ETAs	73.8	(389)	32.1	(71)	.39***
UTAs	9.9	(52)	16.7	(37)	.10**
Work release	13.9	(73)	18.1	(40)	n.s.

Note. ETA = Escorted Temporary Absence; UTA = Unescorted Temporary Absence; n.s. = non-significant.

Personal Development opportunities include treatment activities and spiritual/cultural ceremonies of a rehabilitative nature. Non-personal development opportunities include medical reasons, administrative reasons, community service purposes, family contact purposes, parental responsibilities reasons and compassionate reasons.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Table C7

Release Characteristics of CSC-operated and Section 81 Healing Lodge Releases

Characteristic	Percentage (n) of offenders		Cramer's V
	CSC-operated Healing Lodge (N = 527)	Section 81 Healing Lodge (N = 221)	
Type of Release			n.s.
Day/Full Parole	59.0 (311)	52.5 (116)	
Statutory Release	41.0 (216)	47.5 (105)	
Section 84 Release	60.3 (318)	64.7 (143)	n.s.
In Section 81 During Release	9.7 (51)	28.1 (62)	.23***

Note. n.s. = non-significant.

*** $p < .001$