

LETTING GO OF SHAME AS A TOOL OF PUNISHMENT:
ADVOCATING SUPPORT FOR NOVA SCOTIAN YOUNG ADULT PRISONERS AND
THEIR FAMILIES

by Leah Crowell

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

April 2018

© Copyright by Leah Crowell, 2018

DEDICATION PAGE

I dedicate this work to my dearly departed, loving, and inspiring mother, Sharon Lee Lloyd. Thank you for being my biggest supporter. I know you knew I would get through this and every other challenge life hands me, I just wish you were here to see me graduate and begin what has become a focus for my life's work. I miss you and you will forever be in my heart.

I also dedicate this scholarship to the young people and families I have been so honoured to work with and learn from. I send you all love and light during your difficult journey to persevere, repair relationships, and heal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
Abstract.....	ix
List of Abbreviations Used.....	x
Acknowledgements.....	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 The Issue: A Grave Oversight - You are 18 now so we give up!.....	4
1.3 The Population: Why We Should Not Give Up On Them.....	7
1.4 Family: A Positive Variable.....	10
1.5 The Case for More Research.....	11
1.6 My Approach.....	13
1.7 Overview of Methods and Objectives.....	15
1.8 Thesis Outline.....	17
CHAPTER 2 THE WIDER CONTEXT and Some Methodological Considerations.....	19
2.1 Introduction: The Issue Expanded.....	19
2.2 Cyclic Flow and Uptake of Young Adults in Prison: A Framework.....	22
2.3 The Cycle - An early draft of theory; The Theory of Social Perpetuation.....	25
2.4 The Cultural Climate - Young people, boys, and incarcerated male TAY.....	29
2.5 Cultural Creep - Political philosophies and societal attitudes to corrections and TAY.....	31

2.6 Qualitative Data Sources and Methodology for This Chapter.....	34
2.7 Closing.....	35
CHAPTER 3 METHODS.....	37
3.1 Introduction.....	37
3.2 Overview of The 2014/2015 Project.....	40
3.3 The Population & Setting; Guiding Questionnaire Design, Recruitment, and Ethical Considerations.....	41
3.4 The Sample.....	42
3.5 The 2015 Questionnaire Design: Qualitative Data & Inductive Analyses...	44
3.6 Analytic Processes for Other Important Questions.....	48
3.7 Recoding and Analysis of Quantitative Variables.....	51
3.8 Quantitative Methods Used in SPSS Statistical Analysis.....	52
3.9 Closing.....	53
CHAPTER 4 THE SAMPLE: Common variables.....	54
4.1 Introduction.....	54
4.2 Age of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada.....	54
4.3 Gender of survey respondents and prisoners in Canada.....	56
4.4 Ethnic Background of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada.....	56
4.5 Educational Attainment of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada...	59
4.6 Substance Abuse of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada.....	61
4.7 Previous Arrests/Convictions of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada.....	62
4.8 Closing.....	64
CHAPTER 5 THE SAMPLE: Novel variables.....	65
5.1 Introduction.....	65

5.2 Uncommonly Reported Prisoner Family Characteristics.....	66
5.3 Survey Sample: Family Structure - Who raised you?.....	66
5.4 Prisoners with Children.....	70
5.5 Life Experiences/Context of Children with Incarcerated Parents.....	72
5.6 Exposure to Crime: Familial Incarceration.....	74
5.7 Previous Arrests/Convictions of Respondents & Prisoners in Canada.....	76
5.8 Prisoners' Feedback on Corrections Support & Their Children.....	77
5.9 Family Contact Statistics.....	79
5.10 Closing.....	86

CHAPTER 6 NUANCES OF THE SOCIAL POSITION OF INCARCERATED

TAY - and Their Families.....	87
6.1 The Social Conditions and Emotional State of Incarcerated TAY.....	87
6.2 Shame and the Impact on Incarcerated TAY.....	88
6.3 Shame, Mental Health, and the Dangerous Negative Social Forces Regarding Reintegration.....	91
6.4 Getting Juveniles and TAY to Seek Help.....	92
6.5 Problems Surrounding Mental Health/Addictions Treatment.....	94
6.6 The Potential of Social Support/s in Facilitating Self Care.....	96
6.7 Family Challenges: Access and Connection Supporting TAY.....	97
6.8 Family Assisting TAY in the Quest for Help.....	99
6.9 Family Challenges: Little to No Support for TAY.....	101
6.10 New Family Support in Nova Scotia.....	103
6.11 Maintaining Connection Through Visits and Phone Calls.....	103
6.12 Shame and Its Insidious Impact to Families.....	105
6.13 Closing.....	106

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION	108
7.1 Introduction.....	108
7.2 Recommendations for Macrosystem and Mesosystem: Philosophy, Values, & Legislation.....	109
7.3 Recommendations for Mesosystem: Justice and Corrections Overarching Direction and Approach.....	111
7.4 Recommendations for Correctional Practices Concerning Staff & Prison Culture.....	113
7.5 Recommendations for the Microsystem: Staff Training.....	114
7.6 Continuity in and Comprehensive Support.....	117
7.7 Policy & Practice Fostering Social/Familial Connection.....	120
7.8 Support for Families and Children of Incarcerated People.....	121
7.9 Prospective Areas Of Further Research.....	122
7.10 Final Remarks.....	123
ENDNOTES	125
REFERENCES	128
APPENDICES	147
Appendix A 2015 Mucina & Crowell Adult Survey.....	147
Appendix B 2015 Invitation Letter to Participants.....	163
Appendix C 2015 Consent Form.....	165
Appendix D 2015 Information Letter to Staff.....	167
Appendix E 2015 Facility Fact Sheet.....	168
Appendix F 2018 Permission Letter Dr. Mucina.....	169

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Results for Question: How old are you? Age of Total Sample.....	55
Table 2	Results of Question: What is your gender? Gender of Total Sample.....	55
Table 3	Gender By Age.....	55
Table 4	Results of Question: What is your ethnicity? Ethnicity of Total Sample.....	59
Table 5	Ethnicity By Age.....	59
Table 6	Results of Question: What is the highest level of education that you have? Education Levels of Total Sample.....	60
Table 7	Educational Attainment by Age.....	61
Table 8	Results for Question: Have you ever experienced substance abuse? Breakdown by Age.....	62
Table 9	Experiences (substance abuse) by Gender.....	62
Table 10	Results for Question: Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18 years? Caregivers of Total Sample.....	67
Table 11	Caregivers of Prisoners by Age - Condensed.....	70
Table 12	Results for Question: How many children of your own (including adopted and step children) do you have? Prisoners with Children/Number of Children of Total Sample.....	71
Table 13	Number of Children by Age - Condensed.....	71
Table 14	Parental Involvement/Child's Residence Before And After Incarceration.....	73
Table 15	Familial Incarceration and Age Learned of Familial Incarceration.....	75
Table 16	Family visits/frequencies.....	81
Table 17	Reasons Children Do Not Visit by Age.....	82
Table 18	Reasons Children Do Not Visit by Gender.....	83
Table 19	Family Phone Call Frequencies.....	85

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	2014 data: Offenses which peak during young adulthood and decline rapidly.....	20
Figure 2	2014 data: Offenses which peak during young adulthood and decline gradually.....	20
Figure 3	Urie Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model of Human Development.....	24
Figure 4	Thesis questions of interest that required significant inductive analysis.....	39
Figure 5	Answer key for question 11.....	46
Figure 6	Step one of the inductive analytic process employed to identify caregiver categories.....	46
Figure 7	Complete listing of initial answer combination/types to question 11: "Who cared for you between the ages of 0-18?".....	47
Figure 8	The inquiries/variables that emerged from the analysis of the familial incarceration rates of the sample.....	49
Figure 9	Step one of the inductive analytic process employed to identify visitor categories: who visited and how many times in last six months.....	50
Figure 10	Nathanson's (1993) Compass of Shame.....	90

ABSTRACT

This project used a mixed methods approach to explore and describe the life experiences and the social situation of incarcerated young adults. By analyzing data from a unique survey that was administered to adult prisoners who were incarcerated in Nova Scotia's provincial correctional facilities in December 2015 and drawing on my observations of interactions and relationships between adults and young men from within various milieu, this thesis aims to contextualize and expand our understanding of the social position, and needs, of incarcerated young adult males. More specifically, this research explores a survey administered to adult prisoners in Nova Scotia and assesses for differences between young adults (18-25) and adults over 25 years of age in life experiences, family connection, and family contact during incarceration. At the center of this inquiry is the distinct developmental phase of young adults and the specialized needs associated with this age group. Against the backdrop of human development and research on crime patterns and penal practices, incarcerated young adults stand out as a population in need of advocacy and support because of an important intersection of circumstances. First, it has long been recognized that the majority of crime, including a large portion of violent crime is committed during adolescence and young adulthood. Second, conclusive research indicates that incarcerating people does not facilitate rehabilitation, increases the likelihood a person re-offends, and exacerbates trauma and mental health issues. Third the part of our brain that's responsible for rational thinking and mature decision making is not fully developed until our mid 20s. Findings suggest that young adults have higher needs on several dimensions, similar to juveniles. The discussion and recommendations presented in the last chapter support the proposal for changes in correctional practice with regard to this age group put forth by the Correctional Investigator of Canada in 2017.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

YCJA - Youth Criminal Justice Act

TAY - Transition Age Youth" or a term for 16-to-24 year olds who are transitioning into young adulthood. Phase of life is explicitly recognized as encompassing transformative undertakings such as vocational preparation, coupling, and identity/status formation and planning.

CCSD - Canadian Council of Social Development

CSC - Corrections Services Canada

CFCN - Canadian Families and Corrections Network

CFUYAP - Cyclic Flow and Uptake of Young Adults In Prison

RJ - Restorative Justice

RP - Restorative Practices

CFCN - Canadian Families Corrections Network

IIRP - International Institute for Restorative Practices

EM - Urie Bronnefrennor's Ecological Model of Development UB

SCE - socio-cultural ecological framework - focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of development and examines the various systems acting on the developing person as described in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of development.

CCYS - Certified Child and Youth Studies

CYC - Child and Youth Care

HRM - Halifax Regional Municipality

NSYC - Nova Scotia Youth Center. The province's youth detention center.

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

MSVU - Mount St. Vincent University

CSNS - Correction Services Nova Scotia

DOJ - Department of Justice

OCI - Office of the Correctional Investigator

hrr - high recidivism rates, expressed as '4+hrr' defined as 4 or more times incarcerated.

IWK - Izaak Walton Killam Health Center

ADD - Attention deficit disorder.

ADHD - Attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder.

EFS - *Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada*

JHS - *John Howard Society of Canada*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to acknowledge my two son's Kingsly and Jaxon, thank you for being so accepting of my almost constant state of divided attention during the undertaking of this project. Thankfully you are both so mature and grounded and in turn, unscathed by my 'partial presence', even so, I plan on making up for it in the next few years before you leave the nest. A big thank you goes out to my wonderful little circle of friends as well, for their continued patience and support throughout my entire graduate program. A special thank you to my long-time friend and now editor, Flora. I thank you for all of your patience, dedication, and attention to detail in helping me get my complicated, run-on thoughts onto paper in a way that people can more easily read and digest them. I also want to name and thank Michelle, Helen, and Laura-Lee, all of whom not only listened to me talk about the importance of this kind of research, scholarship, and justice reform over and over again, but engaged in many conversations about related topics, and never let their support wavier. I would not have enjoyed the process of completing this project nearly as much as I did without everyone's expressed interest and ongoing encouragement. I love and adore you all.

I also want to thank Dr. Devi Mucina for encouraging me to apply for scholarships and continue on toward developing my thinking, writing, and research skills. Your mentorship was invaluable and working with you on the 2014/2015 project was a life changing experience that helped me find my way to rewarding work that will hopefully contribute to improving the lives of others. For this I will be forever grateful.

My Dalhousie supervisors, Dr. Robin Oakley and Dr. Don Clairmont, have also been wonderful mentors and never ending sources of support, encouragement, and learning. I simply cannot express the gratitude and appreciation I have for having you both as my graduate supervisors, mentors and friends. I also want to acknowledge and thank Dalhousie's Faculty of Graduate Studies for believing in my project and awarding me scholarship to complete this program at one of the finest universities in Canada. I simply would not have been able to get through the program given the challenges and losses I faced during my studies without your ongoing financial support.

Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge my good friend and her son. You have both been so brave and gracious in allowing me to see you through some incredibly difficult and even fear-filled days and nights, as well as many courageous moments when you shared your emotions and vulnerabilities. You are both brave and have exemplified the strength of the human spirit. You should both feel proud because sharing the experiences you have endured has already helped other families facing similar situations.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In 2016/17, during my master's program, a dear friend of mine was struggling as she tried to support her eldest child, a son, then nineteen years old, who had become involved with the justice system. As most would, my friend reflected on everything from her parenting, his school experiences and peer groups, and their family life to try and understand how her son ended up in trouble with the law. There are many theories about the numerous variables that have been found to contribute or correlate to criminal justice system involvement; however, to understand which variables contributed to an individual's negative life outcomes, we must consider history and context, particularly the personal background of the person in question. Upon review of this young man's adolescence and his life experiences, it is not difficult to identify some of the contributing factors that played a part in how he ended up in this predicament.

The relationship between juveniles, delinquency and divorce has been examined by many (Faisal Khamis, 2016; [Petrosine](#), Derzon, & Lavenberg, 2009; Price & Kunz 2003; Wells, & Rankin, 1991). This is not to insinuate cause and effect. Indeed, divorce as a risk factor is but one of myriad factors. In this case, this was a preface intended to offer context as well as to demonstrate and elucidate the importance of context. For this young man, sometime after his parents divorced in 2012, he started to experiment with alcohol and drugs. His parents, not surprisingly, tried to intervene by grounding him, having family talks, and making strongly worded requests about the company he was keeping. Despite having a decent relationship with their son and their best efforts, he, like most youth, began spending less and less time at either of his parents' homes and more time with friends. Regardless, they continued to be aware of his activities. and crime have given today's divorce rates and unemployment rates, it is a reasonable assumption that half of the young men in this youth's peer group were also from fragmented/divorced families and/or were unemployed

At this time, he was taking part in more typical acts of juvenile delinquency like skipping classes or drinking with friends on the weekend (West, 1984; Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012) yet, he made it through school and graduated with his grade 12 diploma. He informed his

parents that when high school ended in 2015, he, as many likely do, felt the loss of the structure and consistency inherent in attending school and the immediate disconnect from the larger peer group and community he had been engaged in since middle school. At times, he even complained to his parents that he never wanted school to end and would like to return to high school. Within what I call a "recalibration process"¹ that takes place after graduating high school, which includes activities like starting education programs for job training, finding or increasing paid employment opportunities, adjusting to the changes in one's social circles, and finding/connecting with people who compliment the direction one is trying to go in, he fell into a period of limbo as he attempted to figure out what to.

During this time, my friend's son, then feeling disconnected, both at home and socially, began to gravitate to others who were in this "indeterminate state"². This group of peers shared not only his state of limbo but the pressure of the expectant and/or impatient gaze of parents and adults who were waiting for them to figure out what they were going to do with their lives. Although some of us may know what we want to do at this age, it seems most do not. Drawing on experiences from my own youth and my observations as a child and youth practitioner over the past decade, I assert that it is more common for young people to choose training and education programs or jobs hastily under the pressure of needing to do something to forge on into adulthood. With this in mind, it is not surprising that we may find individuals or small clusters of peers that will resist being pushed to commit to a program or job that they are not ready for or interested in.

Both sociological and human development theory and research recognize that peer groups, particularly during adolescence, typically consist of young people, who are of the same age and social position (Giordano, 1995; Maccoby, 1998; McMahan, 2009; Kendall, Linden, & Murray, 2014; Parke, Gauvain, & Schmuckler, 2010). Moreover, peer influence, also referred to as peer pressure, resides in the cultural climate of peer groups and seeps not only into activities, but ways of thinking (Elkind & Handel, 1989; Kohlberg, 1969; Rubin et al., 2006; Ladd, 2005). In addition, the cultural climate of a person's peer group may be a positive or negative source of influence and support (Giordano, 1995; Cillessen & Mayeux, 2004). In this case, the group this young man gravitated to afforded a space for "lost boys"³ with idle hands looking for ways to fill their days. Although his parents knew the shift towards spending time almost exclusively with

peers and friends was normal at his age, they remained concerned about the group he was spending time with and the direction he was headed and tried to stay connected and in tune to what was happening with him. Indeed, for the parent's of this personable and social young man, whom everyone loves, it became difficult for them to tell if and how much he was struggling until he started to come unhinged.

In 2016, when he turned nineteen, a string of events demonstrated the extent to which he had developed serious substance abuse issues. Feeling completely helpless as a parent of someone who was now deemed an independent adult, my friend watched her son get caught up in dangerous and swirling currents of personal pain and self medication. Consequently, he was making poor choices that proceeded to carry him away and put him on a path of self-destructive patterns that led to being incarcerated in one of Nova Scotia's toughest provincial correctional facilities, the Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility (CNSCF), otherwise known as "Burnside". Virtually blindfolded, with no right to any information on his case, this divorced couple tried to seek support from family and friends, professionals in the field that they managed to connect with, and the internet, to try and figure out what they could do for their son who was sick, scared, and behind bars. In the one conversation my friend had with her son upon finally getting to speak to him at the end of his first week of being incarcerated on remand, he pleaded with her, "Don't give up on me mom". This story, graciously shared with me by this young man and his mother in the hope of helping others, is a vignette embrocated in this thesis, illustrates the importance of research on the topic of policy, programs, and provisions for young adults involved with the justice system and their families, and indeed, advocates not giving up on them so easily, as we currently do.

By drawing on related theory and research from several disciplines, exploring the age differences in data from a unique survey administered to Nova Scotian prisoners, and presenting vignettes based on field observations, I will contextualize the challenges and issues involved in "not giving up" on young adults in trouble with the law. I emphasize context as I believe considering a person's background, life experiences, and developmental state when assessing the risks and needs of these "offenders" will expand our understanding of how young people come in contact with the criminal justice system and perhaps more importantly, it can assist us in discovering their needs and how we can help them exit the system. A consideration of context is

particularly important when they are young adults who are members of a visible minority or people who have been marginalized, stigmatized, or traumatized in relation to their personal characteristics or life experiences. Furthermore, I will argue that their social world is vital in understanding pathways to crime and perhaps more importantly, the issue of recidivism and the challenges of facilitating rehabilitation and desistance.

1.2 The Issue: A Grave Oversight - You are 18 now so we give up!

The key objective of this thesis is to support and emphasize existing scholarship and advocacy that proposes and campaigns for differential treatment for incarcerated young adults that more closely aligns to how we respond to juveniles. My compassion for this population, as well as my fervour to make a meaningful contribution toward improving the chances of positive life outcomes for this population, are both grounded in the same tenets. First and foremost, as a child and youth practitioner and scholar, I assert that early young adulthood marks a vital opportunity for the potential to be able to intervene and interrupt the augmentation of antisocial and delinquent psychosocial identities for troubled young adults. Although there has been much debate over the age bracket and stage/s of adolescence and young adulthood or "emerging adulthood" I align with Stanley Hall, named the father of adolescence research, and others who argue that adolescence and human development extends past late adolescence and into young adulthood (Arnett, 1994; Arnett, 2000; Hall, 1931; Erikson, 1997; Sawyer, Azzopardi, Wickremarathne, & Patton, 2018). This claim is now reinforced by neuroscience demonstrating that the key aspects of development that take place during adolescence continue into early adulthood. More specifically, we now know that the frontal cortex of the brain, which is responsible for cognitive and executive functioning, such as rational thinking and mature decision making, is not fully developed until our mid twenties (Cauffman, 2012; Farrington, Loeber & Howell, 2012; Giedd, 2008; Sawyer et al, 2018). Taking this into consideration, it seems unreasonable and careless to incarcerate young adults within adult prisons and treat them exactly as we do fully developed older adults. Indeed, in August 2017, Ivan Zinger, the *Correctional Investigator of Canada*, released a report on young adults in Canada's federal prisons, which emphasizes the differences between these age groups and the need for specialized policies, interventions and programming for young adults (Elman & Zinger, 2017). I will discuss more from this report later.

Given this enhanced understanding of human development, that the 18-25 year old brain is in the midst of these important cognitive developments, I submit that this is sufficient and convincing evidence to support a move to try and intervene with this age group rather than simply put them in an adult prison with those who have more amplified antisocial identities and/or those who are more enmeshed in criminal activities and lifestyles. Indeed, some criminology/psychology scholars and justice system professionals assert that the shift from intervention to punishment at the age of 18 is too abrupt (Abrams, 2013; Cauffman, 2012; Elman & Zinger, 2017; Farrington, et al, 2012). Moreover, in some parts of the world, penal practices give credence to this logic and have taken measures to adjust criminal justice system responses for young adults. In fact, in 2004, the *International Association of Penal Law* explicitly put forth a declaration in support of differential treatment of young adults and "passed a final resolution stating that the applicability of special provisions for juveniles could be extended for people up to the age of 25" (Farrington, Loeber & Howell, 2012, p.737). Yet, so far, this has largely only been integrated into criminal justice practices in Europe, and for the most part, provisions are limited to young adults up to the age of 21.

Secondly, I believe that as a society we have a duty to try and intervene with young people who are at risk of the terrible life outcomes associated with the trauma of adult prison and the life sentence of having a criminal record. The truth is, we are failing these young people by holding strong to laws that we created to the detriment of their futures, their children's futures, and consequently, public safety. From here, I urge policy makers, parents and the public to think about their own children or grandchildren and consider how they would want their young adult/s treated. Should they have the right to protection against abuse, violence, and neglect? What about the right to preventative and primary health care, an adequate standard of living for proper development, or the right to education and opportunities to develop personality and talents? ([United Nations Human Right Office of the High Commissionaire, 2009](#)) What about protection prohibiting torture, cruel treatment, capital punishment, life imprisonment, or unlawful deprivation of liberty? Finally, how about the right to rehabilitative care for victims of conflict, torture, or neglect, or special judicial proceedings when they a commit crime? These are some of the *United Nations Rights of the Child (1989)*, but they do not hold past a person's eighteenth birthday.

There are a myriad of reports and research that expose the morose conditions of our prisons and examples of failures to meet prisoners' rights, or worse, blatant denial of these rights (Iftene, 2011; Kouyoumdjian, Schuler, Hwang & Matheson, 2015; Mehler-Paperny, 2017; Senate of Canada, 2017; White, 2017). In fact, conclusive research indicates that incarcerating people does not facilitate rehabilitation, rather it increases the likelihood that a person will re-offend (Andrews & Bonita, 2006; Elman & Zinger, 2017; Massoglia & Uggen, 2010; Petrosino, Turpin-Petrosino, & Guckenburg, 2010; West, 1984; Smandych et al, 2012; Canadian Council on Social Development, 2016). Further, early involvement with the criminal justice system and incarceration more generally have been shown to exacerbate trauma and mental health issues (Armour, 2012; JHS, 2016; Siegal & McCormick, 2016). Yet, we turn a blind eye to an 18 or 19-year-old in this sensitive developmental stage, typically fresh out of high school, and put them in adult prisons, where even mature adults are struggling to cope, with little consideration for how this can impact their life course and guarantees perpetuating the cycle of incarceration.

This brings me to the third and last tenet driving this scholarship, the lack of integrated and comprehensive rehabilitative programming and support in many of the provincial adult prisons in Canada. Certainly, though crime statistics clearly show that the majority of crime is, and continues to be, committed during this transitional phase of life, (West, 1984; Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012; Elman & Zinger, 2017) minimal resources are available and few efforts are aimed at supporting the unique needs of people in this age range. Instead, early childhood intervention is often cited as the best way to interrupt negative life outcomes, including patterns toward crime (DeLisi & Beaver, 2011; Farrington, 2008; Follari 2011; Mustard, McCain, & McCuaig, 2011; Neuman, 2009). Furthermore, while many in the field support interventions and rehabilitation programming with at-risk youth (Adler, Edwards, Scally, Gill, Puniskis, Gekoski & Horvath, 2016; CFCN, 2003; 2016; CSC, 2006; 2016; DeLisi & Beaver, 2011; Farrington, 2005; Giedd, 2008; Neuman, 2009), there has been very little interest in intervening with people between the ages of 19 and 25 (Cauffman, 2012; Clairmont, 2008; 2014; Farrington, Loeber & Howell, 2012).

Viewed against the backdrop of human development, our social responsibility to support the healthy development of future generations, mitigate crime, and improve public safety, the lack of effort to intervene with troubled young adults and research on crime patterns and penal

practices, incarcerated young adults stands out as a population in need of advocacy and support. Indirectly supporting proposals and scholarship that advocate making a concerted effort to employ an intervention philosophy for this population, the preamble of the *Youth Criminal Justice Act* (YCJA) states that, "members of society have a responsibility to address the developmental challenges and the needs of young people and guide them into adulthood" (Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012, p.56). Again, acknowledging that the legal age of adulthood is 18; it is important to recognize that we have constructed the rules and restrictions that guide our criminal justice responses to this population and that those rules and norms have dramatically transformed. In preindustrial Canada, for example, children aged seven were recognized as responsible adults, and British law held them as potentially accountable for their actions - as adults (Siegel & McCormick, 2016; West, 1984). Criminal law or progressive penal policies that incorporate what we have learned to-date, can be developed so as to interrupt negative life outcomes and reduce recidivism within this criminally active age group. This is not to say that we can reach and save everyone, but to continue with the status quo is irrational, inhumane, and costly in terms of the human toll and for the public coffers as well.

1.3 The Population: Why We Should Not Give Up On Them

Going forward, I will use the term "Transition Age Youth" or (TAY) to make reference to this population /life phase of young people transitioning into young adulthood and young adults. In community services and social work literature, TAY is a term for 16 to 24 year olds who are in transition from state custody or foster care and are at-risk (Gilmer, Ojeda, Fawley-King, Larson & Garcia, 2012; Manteuffel, Stephens, Sondheimer, & Fisher, 2008; Tam, Freisthler, Curry & Abrams, 2016). While spending time in state care is a common experience for a significant number of incarcerated youth and young adults, this is not indicative of my choice in using this term. In youth studies from many disciplines, the term TAY has also been used more generally to represent youth in the transitional stage of life referred to earlier as a state or process of "recalibration" (Eliason, Mortimer, & Vuolo, 2015; Gilmer et al, 2012; Linder, Campbell, Lam, & Santhiveeran, 2016). I will use TAY when discussing incarcerated young adults, however, at times we have 18 and 19-year old's in youth detention centers serving the remainder of their youth sentence thus when I use TAY in statements making generalizations I am often thinking of both. Moreover, I often use TAY to include or emphasize *transition aged*

young people, aged 16-25. I also use 'youth and young adults' when I am explaining differences in treatment or circumstances between 12-17 year olds and 18-25 year olds.

Returning to contextualize this stage of life, the transitional nature of these years are generally recognized as encompassing transformative undertakings such as vocational preparation, coupling, and identity/status formation and planning (Eliason et al 2015; Newgarten, 1979; Peterson, 1996). I posit that during this transitional age, more than any other phase of life, most of us are intensely aware of the notion of a ticking social clock, which has been described as cultural norms regarding age expectations for work, marriage, parenthood, and other milestones (Newgarten, 1979). Regardless, the social clock has long been recognized as having influence on most people (Eliason et al, 2015; Newgarten, 1979; Peterson, 1996), which I declare is a significant source of pressure, stress, and strain for incarcerated TAYs facing continued negative life outcomes upon release.

Further reasoning for intervention and extension of special provisions, such as comprehensive age appropriate rehabilitative programs surfaces when we consider some of the common life experiences and typical backgrounds of incarcerated people. For example, it has been widely recognized through research spanning five decades, that offenders of all ages come from backgrounds with high poverty and low levels of education and are often biomedically labeled as having “learning disabilities”, “addictions”, and “mental health” issues (Canadian Council of Social Development (CCSD), 2003; Clairmont, 2014; Correction Services Canada (CSC), 2010; Day & Wanklyn, 2012; Newman, 2009; West, 1984; Withers & Folsom, 2007) or as outright criminals (Marshall, 2015; Mirchandani & Chan, 2007; Scraton, 2008), and in Canada, social inequality has intensified over the past two decades (Lynk, 2009; Mikkonen & Raphael, 2010; Navarro & Shi, 2001; Raphael, 2002). Identity is essentially our story, or set of stories, that as we become adults, we internalize. The way that society, peers, and professionals label us, react to us, and treat us can have a devastating effect on identity formation, self-image, and self worth (McMahan, 2009; Kendall et al, 2014; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995; Potter, 2013). It follows that if we have a poor self image, our social interactions will presumably be affected, making it difficult to form relationships with others. In Erickson's (1997) theory on psychosocial development, the major developmental challenge of young adulthood is expressed as "intimacy versus isolation" (Erikson, 1997). His theory goes on to explain the objective of this phase; to

develop the ability to open up to another person and form close relationships, and if this social skill set is not developed -- the person risks being isolated from others (Erikson, 1997). In direct connection to this, several theories assert that social bonds and relationships are key factors that mitigate delinquency and promote non-crime coping (Akers, 1998; Bowlby, 1944;1969; Chriss, 2007; Junger & Polder, 1992; Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012; West, 1984). Conversely, a lack of significant social connection has been found to correlate with delinquent and criminal behavior (Bales & Mears, 2008; Berg, & Huebner, 2011; Chriss, 2007; Glowacz & Born, 2015; Hirschi, 1969; Murray & Murray, 2010).

Finally, I have narrowed in on male TAY. My reasoning for focussing on young adult males was previously eluded to and is quite simple; men have historically made up and continue to make up the majority of prison populations consistently accounting for 75 to 90%, depending on the region, and this has been consistent over many decades (West, 1984; Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012; Siegal & McCormick, 2016). Furthermore, young adult males 18 to 25 years of age are often reported to be the age group who reoffend the most and/or commit the majority of violent crimes (Allen, 2016; Clairmont, 2008;2014; Public Safety Canada, 2018; Elman & Zinger, 2017). This is often recognized as a matter of human rights in fair and equitable treatment to what I perceive as society's most marginalized population (Iftene, 2011; McKay-Panos, 2016; Senate of Canada, 2017). With regards to Nova Scotia prisoners, the above is quantified and emphasized in the following statistics, "the adult population accounts for 87% of the reported offenses in HRM" (Clairmont, 2008 p.59). Similarly, in Canada, overall adults under the age of 35 account for 58% of provincial admissions and 54% of federal admissions (CSC, 2014). Moreover, "young adults, 18 to 25 years of age, were charged much more often and for more violent offenses accounting for 40% of all adult charges in Nova Scotia" (Allen, 2016; Clairmont, 2008 p. 22; Clairmont, 2014). Meanwhile, only 20% of the Canadian population are adults 18 to 34 years of age (Statistics Canada, 2015). In light of the sensitive developmental stage of TAY as described, and the above statistics, I submit that there is a strong case in support of research that explores the characteristics and social background/conditions of incarcerated young adults, in particular, male youth transitioning into adulthood, in an effort to understand more about their support needs.

In order to assist this population, we need know whether incarcerated young adults have social support to call upon while they are incarcerated. Are their families and friends checking in with them and trying to maintain social connections with them or are they socially isolated? Do they have any positive social supports to rely on when they are released? How might today's young adult males be different from older adult males with regards to personal or family background and social support? These and other inquiries may further elucidate the risks and needs that are prevalent for incarcerated young men, which can then inform policy, practice, and/or programs and services aimed at interrupting further entrenchment into the system and guide and develop better rehabilitation and reintegration plans. To try and answer some of these questions and propose some recommendations, this thesis explores survey data from a project I was involved in during the last two years of my undergraduate studies in 2014/15, where we administered a questionnaire to adult prisoners in Nova Scotia (Mucina, 2015). As I have indicated, TAY males are at the center of this inquiry; however, I examine the data set for significant differences and trends in age, gender, and ethnicity more generally.

1.4 Family as a Positive Variable

I hypothesize in this thesis that incarcerated young adults in Nova Scotia have lower levels of connection and contact with family as a source of support than do older adults. In addition to the TAY male, I position a prisoner's family as the secondary population of focus in this project, as they are the most readily available, albeit struggling social resource for incarcerated people. Moreover, I posit that by gaining a better understanding of a person's family life experiences, we can begin to identify the nature and extent of their social resources, as well as their support needs. Toward this end, my thesis explores the degree to which incarcerated young adults in Nova Scotia have been connected to and are currently engaged with family as a source of support. In the 2015 survey, referenced above, although most of the data we collected was common demographic data such as age, gender, ethnicity, and education, we also solicited a unique personal data set asking questions about prisoner's life experiences, family connection, and family contact during incarceration (Mucina & Crowell, 2015). Prior to hearing about the struggles of my dear friend and her son and through supporting her as she reviewed her parenting style and their family life, the importance of inquiry and research into the influence of family circumstances during childhood and social connection during incarceration emerged from

research spanning several decades. What follows is a synopsis of the common and enduring themes for how family has been incorporated into studies of crime in the past.

Much of the research on family as a factor or interacting influence on crime has focussed on the negative impacts of incarceration for families and children who experience parental incarceration. For instance, family fragmentation due to incarceration has been found to have devastating effects on the entire family, including a presentation of increased risks in the likelihood of later life incarceration of the children and youth in the family (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010; Bayes, 2017; Foster & Hagen, 2015; Murray, & Farrington, 2005; 2007; Murray & Murray, 2010; Withers & Folsom, 2007). Consequently, a lack of attachment to caregivers and/or weak social ties within society have been theorized as contributing or causal factors of criminal behaviour (Akers, 1998; Bowlby, 1944; 1969; Chriss, 2007; Siegel & McCormick, 2016; Smandych, et al, 2012; West, 1984). Meanwhile, in contrast to the assumptions and conclusions one might draw from social learning theory, which generally posits that criminal skills and motives are learned from intimate personal groups such as family and friends (Akers, 1998; Siegel & McCormick, 2016; Pratt, Cullen, Sellers, Thomas Winfree, Madensen, Daigle, Fearn, & Gau, 2010), other studies have suggested that consistent contact between children and imprisoned parents can significantly reduce the likelihood of later life incarceration of prisoners' children (Akers, 1998; Bales & Mears, 2008; Berg, & Huebner, 2011; Murray & Farrington, 2007; Withers & Folsom, 2007). Moreover, family-friendly penal policy and supporting practices, such as better visitation parameters, increased access to phone calls, and shorter sentences of custody for inmates who are parents, have been found to have positive effects on the children in prisoners' families and on the prisoners themselves (Derkzen, Gobeil, & Gileno, 2009; Gordon & McFelin, 2012; Murray & Farrington, 2007).

1.5 The Case For More Research

When we consider that family fragmentation and discord are common experiences of the young people who find themselves in trouble with the law, (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010; Canadian Families and Corrections Network (CFCN), 2003; Devet, 2017a; Leonardi, 2013; Price & Kunz, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 2003; Siegel & McCormick, 2016), as with my friend's son, one can understand how the topic of family and social support needs of young people in prison surfaced as a topic worth exploring. The need for a better understanding of this topic becomes clear when

we consider that family and social support is not explicitly incorporated into current rehabilitation and reintegration program services and plans; while upon release from a correctional facility, there is an expectation that a person needs to reintegrate back into society. This presents as a huge gap given that family, though what qualifies as 'a family' has been in transition for some time now (McDaniel & Tepperman, 2011), is the fundamental and most enduring unit of society. How, then, do we rehabilitate people and facilitate reintegration without considering, if not involving, their family, or lack thereof, and incorporating a person's social needs into their release plans? For people facing challenges associated with the destructive stigma of having been incarcerated, connections to family and the maintenance of familial bonds and social connections during incarceration, could prove to be a determinant toward the resolve for reform and important supports and resources for reintegration and desistance.

Research on this topic is timely and important given the slow and small scale shift away from the tendency to examine family as a risk factor for delinquency. Demonstrating this shift, Correctional Services Canada (CSC) recently acknowledged that "[family is] the preferred structure for providing and receiving emotional and material support and a primary delivery point for personal growth and change" and in light of this, Correctional Services Canada explicitly advocates that "positive contact with family and friends is a very important factor in the successful reintegration of offenders." (CSC Website, 2016). To this end CSC implemented both general institutional visits and a private family visiting (PVF) program in federal facilities and conducted research on the topic in a sample of prisoner visits between 2005-06 (Derkzen, Gobeil, & Gileno, 2009). Findings from this study "conclusively demonstrated a positive relationship between visits and PVF and lower rates of readmission" (Derkzen et al, 2009, p.iii). In the same vein, over the past decade, social connections to family have begun to be identified in research as a potentially enduring and important source of catalyst for offending persistence, desistance, and change (DeLisis & Beaver, 2014; Giordano, Schroeder, & Cernkovich, 2007; Glowacz & Born, 2015; Smandych et al, 2012). For example, in research testing different family visitation programs and in other projects evaluating different aspects of family contact and visitation patterns, results suggest that more consistent family contact during incarceration benefited prisoners, as these practices appear to result in reduced violent institutional behaviour, improved institutional behaviour, and lower rates of recidivism/decreased readmission (Bales &

Mears, 2008; Derkzen et al, 2009; Hensly, Koshechski, & Tewksbury, 2002; Martnez & Christian, 2009; Schafer, 1994).

If we are to minimize novel findings like this or ignore the neuroscience and continue to maintain the current state of affairs, we continue to put 18-25 year olds entering the system at risk of being further ingrained into tougher more pervasive criminal communities found within adult jails. By comparing the traditional theme of family in studies of crime with research on progressive and innovative practices, we can see the potential for change/s to produce better outcomes and the foreseeable risks of repetition and inaction. With all of this in mind, it is clear that justice system responses and correctional and rehabilitative treatment of young people ought to be as sensitive to the ecology of the young person, just as much as any, as a social policy ought to be socially and culturally sensitive (Oakley & Grosneth, 2007; Shore & Wright, 1997).

1.6 My Approach: A High Level Look at Methodology

Criminologists seek to explain the etiology, extent, and nature of crime while criminal justice scholars study the agencies of social control that handle offenders which includes analyzing the policy, processes, and practices of policing, courts, and correctional facilities (Siegel & McCormick, 2016). This scholarship includes inquiry into both of these areas of study in criminology. Combining a form of cultural criminology with systems thinking and a 'social ecological perspective'; whereby the social position of incarcerated TAYs is viewed within contemporary culture, in relation to their stage of development, is the framework I use to examine the nature of crime. With regards to the criminal justice scholarship, policy, and practice related to maintaining or building social support during incarceration and release, reintegration is the focus. Suffice to say that in true sociological fashion, I frame my inquiry to consider the social and cultural forces guiding and maintaining current penal policy that drive correctional practice and influence how we process TAY and increase their experiences of negative social interactions.

Although I do not venture to examine the adrenaline and emotion that accompanies a commission of crime that is characteristic of Cultural Criminology's interest in the phenomenology of crime, I do draw from Kubler-Ross's (1974) model of the *Phases of Change* and Nathason's (1992) model of *The Compass of Shame* to explore the potential emotional states and responses of incarcerated TAY from arrest to release (Kubler-Ross, 1974; Nathason, 1992;

1997). My interest in the social world of this population, therefore, includes attention to the mental state and emotions of TAY in connection with their social interactions and supports and the influence these aspects of life have on a person's propensity to reform. That said, given that the dataset is largely quantitative, I am limited regarding opportunity to analyze the sample for indicators of emotional states and emotions. I endeavour to discuss these facets of crime and reform regarding TAY in Chapters Two and Six.

Using the survey data previously mentioned, I conducted a deductive analysis of the responses prisoners gave to questions related to the project inquiries and hypothesis as well as an inductive analysis of the data to uncover details about their life experiences that emerged from the data. In doing so, I present the sample statistics and examine some of the findings in relation to crime patterns and criminological theories. The answers to the closed questions about more common demographics asked of survey participants will be examined and discussed objectively; however, the open-ended questions require interpretation, and in turn, are somewhat subjective. For these questions, I also integrate theories of crime and related research where possible. Concepts from Strain Theory, Control Balance Theory, and the Theory of Informed Social Control are incorporated in conjunction with the sample findings and the discussion in Chapters Two and Five.

To look at any social issue in isolation from the larger culture and social life of the region, gives an incomplete picture. Thus, throughout this thesis, I aim to present a holistic view of the social life and/or social position of incarcerated TAY by integrating individual and cultural conditions into criminological and ecological levels of explanation. In addition to the common demographic information, the survey collected information about family contact during incarceration, including how prisoners stay connected to loved ones and issues faced around maintaining family bonds while in custody. It is here, analyzing these novel variables, where inductive methods and inquiry were utilized more so than deductive approaches. This portion of the analysis also employs a social ecological lens that incorporates culture and theories of crime. Although the survey did not solicit as much information on maintaining connections with social ties on the outside as it did on backgrounds and life experiences, contemplating policy and correctional practise on this topic is the focus of the concluding chapter.

The unsettling overrepresentation of young males in Canada's jails, the emphasis placed by *Correction Services Canada (CSC)* on “the family”, and the dearth of actual policy and practice that signifies an acknowledgment of the potential salience of family for young incarcerated males, begs a response. In search of alternative approaches away from punishment toward intervention, rehabilitation, and reintegration, I postulate that 'family'⁴ (including quasi-family bonds) can function or be leveraged as a resource toward rehabilitation and desistance in Nova Scotia and policy should be shaped to strengthen or provide these social bonds for young, primarily male, incarcerated adults. I ask the question, to what degree do incarcerated persons in Nova Scotia appear to value and maintain connection and contact with family during incarceration? Exactly how are incarcerated persons in Nova Scotia maintaining connection and contact with family while incarcerated? How does this sample reflect or contradict the family background characteristics that have become part of the general profile of incarcerated persons? In order to attempt to answer these questions in more detail, I will explore the following linked hypotheses:

- 1) Young adult males, who are incarcerated, have lower levels of connection and contact to family during incarceration as compared to either juveniles or older adult males or female prisoners of any age.
- 2) Contact and connection to family during incarceration is an important resource and motivation for rehabilitation.
- 3) Contact and connection to family during incarceration and post-release is currently a source of stress interfering with the potential of family as a positive hook for change.

1.7 Overview of Methods and Objectives

In developing an exploratory, interpretive, descriptive summary of the survey data, this project offers a modest contribution to our understanding of intergenerational criminality, family structure, and the levels of social connectivity of present-day Canadian prisoners. These concepts and several other variables, which are either "general profile" or "family contact" variables, are examined for trends in age, gender, and ethnicity. Many of the commonly reported demographic variables we collected in this survey are comparable to variables reported on in similar cross-sectional snapshot surveys, one of which was administered by CSC; the other was

conducted by *Nova Scotia Corrections Services* (NSCS). A deductive analysis of the questions that yield statistical data facilitate a descriptive summary of findings and tests of theory, which accounts for the bulk of the results presented here. In addition, however, survey answers illustrated the current contact practices and needs of Nova Scotia's prisoners, and their families. Inductive methods used include an analysis of the open comments to document the voice of this population and any themes that emerged (Krippendorff, 2013; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). In addition, the way many of the answer keys were designed solicited answer sets that required an inductive analysis to compile and sort them into similar answers and identify, categorize, and recode them with concise answer descriptors to present the categories and themes of the answers found (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Once the answers were re-coded, SPSS statistical analysis software was used to produce reports and create tables to provide visual representations of the survey variables and results.

I originally planned to conduct a summative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Krippendorff, 2013) of Nova Scotia Correctional Services and external support organizations, with regards to existing programs and services for adult prisoners compared with programs and services available to juvenile prisoners. Instead, over the course of working with families of incarcerated TAY, what emerged as the more salient inquiry, were the issues faced in relation to getting incarcerated people the social support and services they needed. The growing number of families that I support all emphasize the importance of issues associated with maintaining connections with their incarcerated loved ones. Furthermore, getting young adults engaged in the supports and services they need for rehabilitation and reintegration upon release has repeatedly been cited as a key source of stress for the family. The latter was identified as a huge challenge given that despite their incomplete cognitive development, they are legally adults, and in turn, their families and social supports have virtually no "right" or opportunity to give input or be involved in rehabilitation or reintegration plans. Thus, I focus on identifying and describing the needs of young prisoners and ex-prisoners regarding some of the difficulties they face in relation to family connection/social support during and after incarceration. I also explore how their connections to family, both while in prison and upon release, can interact or not, with their chances of getting the support they need and the problems they encounter with regards to access, continuity, and appropriateness of services and programs.

Given the data set, the analysis for this project is primarily centered on describing and contextualizing the common characteristics, experiences, and family/social situations of young adults compared to older adults. Although the sample is relatively small, with only 69 surveys, I am optimistic that the findings reflect the general adult prisoner profile and in turn offer plausible insight in regards to sample statistics for novel variables of familial/social contact and connection. I present this work as a contribution to further understanding the etiology of crime by offering a unique snapshot of the personal lives and experiences of incarcerated people, and incarcerated TAY more specifically, in contemporary western culture to better understand their risks and needs. At the very least, perhaps this research will be a useful example of a mixed methods approach emphasizing the value and importance of the larger context of developmental and social ecological aspects of patterns of crime, as well as influencing or inspiring changes in social welfare policies for young adults in trouble with the law and for changes within the criminal justice system via advocating for more family friendly policy, processes, and practices for the benefit of all adult prisoners and their families. Finally, I hope that this research might be useful toward informing or encouraging future research, developing more effective/less criminogenic and less costly penal policy/practices, or by enhancing programs and services intended to be preventative or intervene with at-risk youth and young adults, rehabilitate during incarceration, or reintegrate people back into society.

1.8 Thesis Outline

Chapter Two offers an in-depth examination of the cultural and social climate surrounding incarcerated TAY males today. By drawing on research and observations from the field in my work with young males and at-risk and incarcerated youth and young adults, I expand on the wider context of the population of interest and the challenges and issues they face with regards to rehabilitation and reintegration within society and social structures that are currently harsh and unforgiving. After the discussion on cultural forces and social conditions, I assess for variations between these two age brackets with regards to the challenges of rehabilitation and reintegration. In Chapter Three, I cover methods and methodology in more detail and discuss the variables that emerged, the inductive recoding strategies used, theoretical frameworks applied, and the limitations and weaknesses of the data. In Chapter Four, I present and discuss the sample and all the findings for commonly reported prisoner background/profile variables such as

age, gender, education, substance abuse, and previous convictions. Chapter Five presents and discusses the novel variables about family connection and contact that were collected in the survey. In Chapter Six I explore the nuances of the social position and life of incarcerated TAY and of the social conditions surrounding incarcerated people's families. Finally, Chapter Seven concludes with a discussion of the current situation and atmosphere surrounding penal and correctional policy and presents recommendations made by industry experts, as well as recommendations for family friendly policy, practice, and processes that support prisoners and their families during incarceration that emerged from this study.

Chapter Two: The Wider Context

2.1 Introduction & The Issue Expanded

The methodology developed for this chapter is interpretive and exploratory. Describing and explaining the intersections of the cultural and social environment and conditions that culminate to create the social climate incarcerated people experience over time is the intent of Chapter Two. Much of what is presented is based on observations and informal conversations; it is therefore subjective. Interpretive research, however, "realises the necessary subjectivity involved in interpreting often qualitative data, in order to reach a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny" (Bernard, 2018 p.167; Gillard, Simons, Turner, Lucock, & Edwards, 2012; Miner-Romanoff, 2012). To this end, throughout the chapter, my biases and subjective perceptions are called to the forefront. To begin the chapter, a brief overview of the issue is in order to more fully explain the lenses employed to examine and discuss the wider context of incarcerated TAY.

Prisoner demographics of age have been consistent for decades (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Siegal & McCormick, 2016; Smandych et al, 2012; West, 1984). To summarize the pattern known as the "age crime curve", the onset of criminal happens during younger adolescence, criminal activity generally peaks at 17 or 18, and then young people begin to 'age-out'. Although theory and crime statistics have generally supported the belief that criminal activity immediately starts to drop in late adolescence, current Canadian data indicate that onset may be later for many young people today, and that some crimes only slightly decrease into the early to twenties before we see a more dramatic rate of desistance happening around the age of 24 or 25 (See Figures 1 & 2 below) (Statistics Canada, 2014; Elman & Zinger, 2017). Nevertheless, it has long been known that all people, regardless of background, commit fewer crimes as they age, (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Laub & Sampson, 2003; Siegal & McCormick, 2016; Smandych et al, 2012; West, 1984). Some may question a move to intervene with young adults, seeing as their criminal activity will slow down and drop off in their mid-twenties regardless of what we do. I challenge such a "non-proposal" of apathy and inaction and reiterate a few previously made points.

Figure 1. 2014 data: Offences which peak during young adulthood and decline rapidly

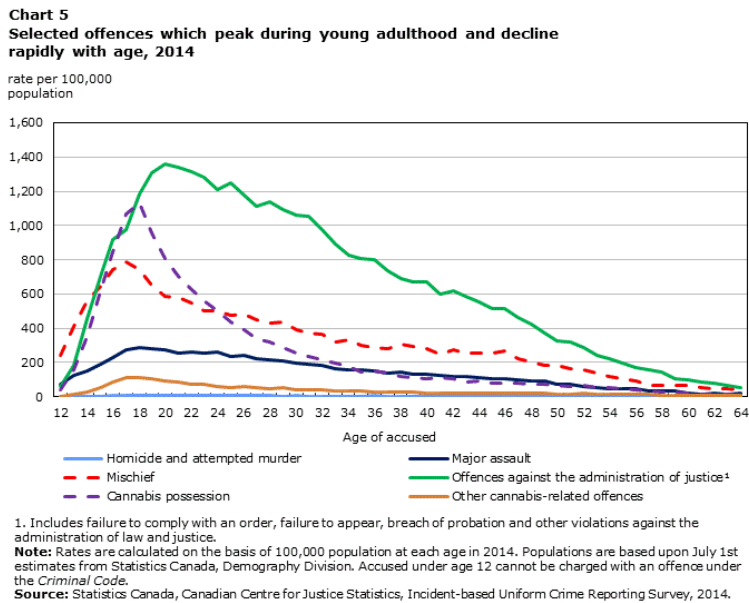
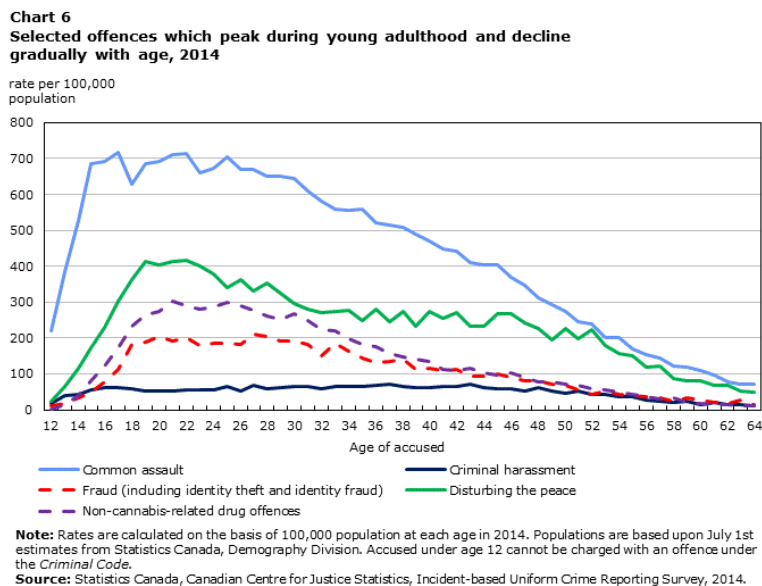


Figure 2: 2014 data: Offences which peak during young adulthood and decline gradually



Admissions to adult correctional facilities in Canada and the United States are reported to be predominantly young adults, "typically male, single, and under the age of 25", (Abrams, 2013; Allen, 2016; Cauffman, 2012; Clairmont, 2008;2014; Farrington et al, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2011; 2015; Venkatesh 2008). People in this age range, 18-25 years old, are in a distinct and widely recognized transitional phase of development; whereby important facets of identity formation, social relationships, and vocational plans are shaped and constructed. Despite the awareness of the important processes taking place during this stage of life, we continue to incarcerate TAY in adult jails with no differential provisions to assist them toward healthy development in these areas. Moreover, juxtaposed to rehabilitation objectives, having been incarcerated is considered to be the key determinant of 'prisonization', recidivism and future incarceration (Siegal & McCormick, 2016; Smandych et al, 2012; Walters, 2003; West, 1984). Therefore, once incarcerated, they are at a higher risk of remaining in, or returning to, the criminal justice system until they are over the age of 25. Since there has been next to no interest in intervening with this age group or creating targeted justice system or correctional reforms to build an exit point or offer and support pathways toward desistance, those caught in this cycle often remain there until/unless they age out. Given that this is not simply an issue with "today's youth" and is instead an enduring pattern of the churn of TAY in criminal justice and corrections processing, I move to look at this problem as a system.

The salience of age is front and center again when we consider prevailing attitudes and trends in responses to crime, specifically with regards to intervention and rehabilitation. We know that transition aged youth are in a sensitive and crucial phase of cognitive and social development with regards to skills and maturity in rational thinking and forming and augmenting their adult identity and social relationships, yet our current responses to this population do not acknowledge or apply this knowledge. Again, early childhood has been recognized to be the stage of development with the most promise in regards to interrupting negative life outcomes including later life incarceration (DeLisi & Beaver, 2011; Farrington, 2008; Follari, 2011; Mustard, McCain, & McCuaig, 2011; Neuman, 2009; Schweinhart, 2003). Although the case for resourcing early childhood intervention programming is strong within theory and research on child and human development, (Bracey, 2003; Follari 2011; Neuman, 2009; Schweinhart, 2003) this should not impact the level of effort made or justify a lack of interest or effort toward intervening with older young people. Of course, in Canada, the youth justice system and the

YCJA allow for differential treatment and alternative measures on how we process 12-17 year olds; however, interventions and rehabilitation programs with this age group vary by region and are neither consistent nor sufficiently comprehensive (Nunn, 2006; Oudshoorn, 2015; Smandych, & Winterdyk, 2012).

Despite the slow and piecemeal development of rehabilitation programs for youth under 18, this stance is also reasonably well supported in the field. Indeed, in an extensive research initiative commissioned by the city of Halifax, Dr. Don Clairmont of the *Atlantic Institute of Criminology*, noted the oversight of consideration for interventions and /or rehabilitation efforts for young adults reporting that in Nova Scotia, “public attention and initiatives by criminal justice system officials have focused primarily on youth between the ages of 12 and 17 or younger” (Clairmont, 2008, p 22.). With these things in mind, again it seems that for many young people who get in trouble with the law, they are at a high risk of being pulled into the criminal justice system with minimal opportunity to escape until their mid twenties. Since the majority of crime is committed during this age/stage of development, it is important that we leverage resources to make efforts to interrupt this cycle and create strong exit opportunities to assist TAY in desisting sooner than later. For justice system personnel who may worry that if we help everyone rehabilitate, there will be great job loss, this is not only narcissistic, but it is also an unrealistic fear. The pattern of the age crime curve has shown that there is a regular uptake of young people who are in trouble and need help. It is impractical to think we can fix all our incarcerated youth and young adults resulting in unemployment in this field. The work of corrections would change if we are to be more effective in mitigating crime and facilitating rehabilitation and desistance, but it is unlikely that work in this field would wane significantly.

2.2 Cyclic Flow and Uptake of Young Adults in Prison: A Framework

This inquiry views the flow of people who enter and exit the justice system as a 'stream' of the movement of people. This is built on scholarship that expands Luhman's systems theory and posits new concepts of the 'metric and non metric' flow of human beings (Guy, 2014). The metric here is troubled TAY. More specifically, this thesis explores the social conditions and forces acting on this metric through the criminal justice system. Using systems thinking to analyze the social connections and supports of the people coming through the criminal justice system by demographics, this thesis aims to explore the enduring relationship of age and crime

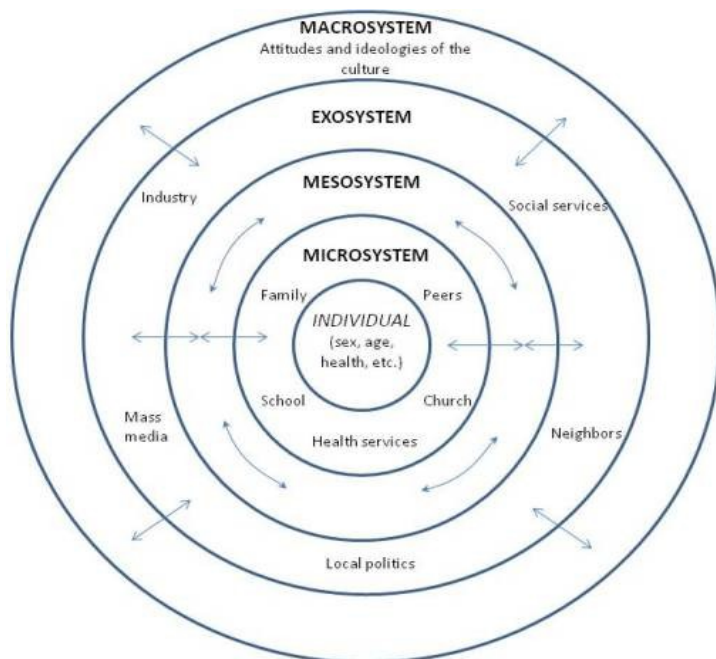
and the over-representation of young adults in our prisons from another angle. The objective is to provide an overview of the key aspects of the wider social context of the social conditions of this 'system', while examining for patterns of interactions between young people's social conditions and experiences of criminal justice system involvement. I refer to the proposed system as the "cyclic flow and uptake of young adults in prison" (CFUYAP).

The overall grounds for the focus on the social is more broadly related to the thesis inquiry as to how familial/social connections may influence a person's chances for reform. Indeed, while many theories support a general hypothesis that relationships can impact trajectories of offending, studies have typically looked at peer influence and marital relationships (Giordano et al, 2007; Berg & Huebner, 2011; Martnez & Christian, 2009). In addition to this general lack of inquiry into the salience of family/social connections for incarcerated persons, my rationale for a focus on the social is grounded first in the fundamental truth that we are social creatures. Second, as a proponent of restorative justice (RJ) principles and practices (RP), I agree that crime can be defined as harm and/or wrong-doings that affect people and relationships, and the goal of justice in this sense has been defined as achieving, protecting, and maintaining just social relations (Foqué, 2008; *International Institute for Restorative Practices* (IIRP), 2017; Llewellyn, 2011; Llewellyn & Philpott, 2014; Zehr, 2003). Thirdly, correctional philosophies and their ultimate rehabilitation objective 'to reintegrate those who have done wrong back into society' again involves people and relationships in that successfully achieving this goal, requires that a person reintegrate back into their families and communities.

In working from this view, I hope to present a unique analysis that demonstrates the value of considering the social conditions that surround this population and their familial/social support circles toward achieving an enriched understanding of the life circumstances incarcerated TAY face during this stage of development. It is my expectation that an enhanced picture of the larger social climate and CFUYAP conditions should then prove useful toward increasing our knowledge about TAY struggles, challenges, and needs with regards to social support. From here, we may be able to identify trends, gaps, and opportunities regarding the social conditions and connections of incarcerated TAY and document where strengths or weaknesses present throughout the cycle. To further frame this systems approach and the focus on the social aspect, this inquiry is organized using Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Model (EM) of Human*

Development, which takes into account all of the social, cultural, and ecological factors interacting with the growing child (See Image 1) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Stuart, 2009). The model I propose focuses on the socio-cultural aspects of development and examines the various systems acting on the developing person as described in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of development. Moreover, my model contemplates the ongoing processes of growth and development in young adulthood for incarcerated young people. This socio-cultural ecological (SCE) framework seeks to expand upon and provide more context of 'the stage' upon which criminal justice system involved TAY develop into adults.

Figure 3: Urie Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model of Human Development



At the center of the model, the developing person is surrounded by family, peers, school, and health services. Family and peers are some examples of the elements in the growing person's microsystem, which is the layer closest to the person that contains the structures with which they have direct contact (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Stuart, 2009). At this level, bi-directional influences among and between all the facets of these systems are strongest and have the greatest impact on the developing human. Several human development theories support this and explain in detail how the people and social structures, which an individual has direct contact with, have

great influence on the developing person's personality, attitudes, coping skills, and self-identity (Bowlby, 1944; Parke et al, 2010; McMahan; 2009; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995; Stuart, 2009). In addition to theory on human identity development, theory from Sociology also supports the idea that identity formation is intimately connected to our interactions and social relations with others (Brym, Roberts, Strohschein & Lie, 2016; Kendall et al, 2014; Parke et al, 2010; Passer, 2008). Cooley's (1902) Symbolic Interactionism states that by judging how others evaluate us, we develop our concept of self and warned that negative evaluations by teachers may impact the formation of a negative self-image (Cooley, 1902). Furthermore, Mead's (1934) work on the formation of self-identity highlights the significance of 'other' described in Cooley's theory and further emphasizes its importance and the affect of, perspective taking, and culture, in the formation of self (Mead, 1934).

Finally, both General Strain Theory and Social Control Theory underscore the value of social relationships and attachment to family or more accurately, deficiencies or problems in this area (Agnew, 1992; Akers, 1998; Andrews & Bonta, 2006; Murray, & Murray, 2010; Smandych, & Winterdyk, 2012; Seigel & McCormick, 2016). In regards to contributing to an individual's likelihood of engaging in delinquent behaviour or criminal activity, these theories also identify negative social relations within daily life as increasing a person's experiences and perceptions of injustice. They posit that these daily injustices can cultivate anger, which then create or intensify conditions that are conducive to delinquency and crime (Agnew, 1992; Akers, 1998; Seigel & McCormick, 2016; Smandych, & Winterdyk, 2012). Given all the support on the salience of our social experiences in regards to development, one can imagine how the frustration and stress of daily jailhouse politics and the extreme disparities of power and status set up for negative and damaging interactions, informal judgements, and/or overt negative evaluations between prisoners and guards, and how these conditions can further impact anti-social identity formation and perhaps even accelerate the process. In sum, I argue that the enduring system or CFUYAP is in part maintained by an ongoing convergence of social conditions that surround incarcerated TAY. What follows is my high-level interpretation of the key elements and conditions of this cycle.

2.3 The Cycle - An Early Draft of Theory: The Theory of Social Perpetuation

The following proposed Theory of Social Perpetuation is a hypothesis about how the pressure and force of the socio-cultural climate is pushing and pulling young people, once

sentenced to time in prison, to become caught up or trapped in a cycle of recidivism to the detriment of their cognitive and psycho-social development. At the outermost layer of the EM is the chronosystem, which encompasses the dimension of time as it relates to the developing person's environment. In this case, this is the time spent in the prison environment during this phase of life. As another aspect of the chronosystem, this phase of development is now widely recognized as being a tumultuous stage of life, where youth have a higher propensity for risk-taking actions and behaviours and underdeveloped cognitive functioning that impacts rational thinking and decision making (Abrams, 2013; Arnette, 2000; Cauffman, 2012; Giedd, 2008; Parke et al, 2010; Zinger & Irwin, 2017). Moreover, this stage of life is known to be a crucial time of transition into adulthood that can be fraught with stress driven by the race to meet cultural expectations of the social clock (Giroux 2013;2014; Newgarten, 1979; [Twenge, 2011](#)). These are key aspects of time and timing of the individual context of all transition aged youth. At the core of the EM, the individual's personal, social, and physiological circumstances are crucial as they pertain to continued development. The CFUYAP model keeps the aforementioned elements of this demographic front and centre, while analyzing the flow of young adults into the criminal justice system, including their entrance into the prison milieu, their high recidivism rates, low rehabilitation rates, desistance predictability, and potential for intervention and successful reintegration.

Most of the key social milestones that are expected to have been completed between high school and our mid-twenties, such as getting further education, finding employment, finding a partner, and starting a family are challenging tasks for many of us. Indeed, these defining life goals often continue to be sources of disappointment well into adulthood for lots of people. Although the expectations for some of these milestones may have shifted to 30 years of age, it seems as though society is pretty harsh on the 28 or 29-year-old who is not at least married or gainfully employed. Indeed, in talking with young people, it seems that many still believe that they must succeed in, or "complete" either a marriage with children or a career by their early to mid-twenties and openly admit, or unwittingly display, that they judge themselves and others harshly using employment success and relationship status as key goals and measures of maturity and success (Arnett, 1994). When a young person who has been displaced, disadvantaged, traumatized, and/or marginalized enters this phase of development, they are in a compromised position in comparison to the general public. Indeed, they have already had negative life

experiences beyond typical family struggles and in turn, are often more likely to be at risk of facing continued challenges and difficulties achieving dominant cultural and social milestones.

Given this tendency for judgement and the general lack of empathy that is characteristic of the current cultural climate of North America, which will be discussed in detail in the next section, it is presumable that young people, who have been marginalized or disadvantaged, would feel a deeper frustration or embarrassment around these failures. Furthermore, I posit that young people who flow into the criminal justice system are those who act out or engage in delinquent or criminal activity as a result of compounded and ongoing unhealthy relationships, damaging life experiences, and experiences of injustices and negative judgements by others as is posited by several social structure and social process theories such as strain theory and several integrated theories. It is here where many may argue that plenty of young people feel the stress of the social clock ticking and most do not lash out in acts of crime; therefore, concluding that disadvantage is no excuse for the commission of a crime. I acknowledge this and believe, as do others, that we should study successful youth from at-risk populations to identify the strengths and resources that help them avoid becoming involved in crime (Glowacz & Born, 2015; Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Masten, Coatsworth, Fowler, & Hetherington, 1998; Oudshoorn, 2015). I also challenge the idea that most young people do not engage in delinquent acts under the stress or pressure of meeting social expectations by highlighting an enduring finding in studies of crime. For almost 40 years now in Canada, self-reported data on victimization and delinquency have consistently indicated that 90% of all young people report committing a delinquent act in the past year with no differences in gender, class, race, or ethnicity. Yet, on average, males make up 80-90% of the prisoner population, and in Canada, both Indigenous and Black males continue to be incarcerated at grossly disproportionate rates (West, 1984; Smandych et al, 2012; Seigel & McCormick, 2016).

Returning to explain the proposed theory, I have perceived that for TAY, there is an intensified sense of failure that accompanies having been arrested and incarcerated. Hypothetically, feelings of embarrassment and disgrace, likely accompany arrest and increase with the immediate onset and ongoing experience of shame through the TAYs own expectations and disappointment in themselves and through their interpretations of the judgements and reactions others have toward them. This hypersensitivity of what people must think of them, in

light of the colossal mistake of committing a crime and getting caught, can combine with immature cognitive functioning to put these young people in a hopeless mindset and/or defensive and volatile state. Furthermore, if they come from a history of marginalization, shaming, belittling, and negative labels, I put forth that being arrested and incarcerated are potential catalysts for a shift and/or acceleration toward an acceptance of an anti-social identity. Building on Labelling Theory⁶ (Goffman, 1990; 1963; Gove, 1975; Loland, 1969), I propose that once young people who are caught perceive that their person is associated with damning labels, such as "delinquent" or "criminal", their lack of foresight, poor planning, and immature decision-making skills intersects with the fear or anger surrounding their arrest and pending incarceration, and this subsequently cultivates and amplifies feelings and perceptions of hopelessness and a belief that they are stuck as this labelled persona. Moreover, if they are without social supports or compassionate people working to try and reach them, I posit that they more readily conclude that redemption is impossible and, therefore, come to believe it is easier to continue as they are. In this way young people with little support stand to be at an even higher risk for taking on these labels and accepting negative self-images and delinquent social identities as true, unchangeable, and final. This perceived hopelessness and consequential 'state of resignation'⁷ then offers a potential explanation and/or sets the stage for the high rates of recidivism for this age group.

In short, I hypothesize that the treatment of youthful offenders within the system and /or within society in everyday responses to them as 'criminal' or 'social delinquent', is similarly, if not more damaging and instigating than the social strains in their interpersonal lives. Nevertheless, we can presume that this adds strain to their interpersonal lives. Moreover, given the daily convergence of their cognitively immature state, extreme disparities in power and status with staff, and jailhouse politics, the prison subculture is conducive to compounded experiences and perceptions of injustice and in turn, more humiliation, frustration, anger, and crime. In addition, in the current corrections environment, staff support, health care, and programming are limited, especially in our provincial prisons. In this environment, the chances of young people becoming engaged or involved in therapeutic relationships, rehabilitative programs or activities are low; hence TAY get caught in the churn of the system. Finally, similar to Social Control Theory, I hypothesize that this vicious cycle is especially damaging and dangerous for the TAY, who have no social connections or conventional social commitments (Hirschi, 1969). I further

suggest that when all these conditions are present, it not only sets unsupported TAY up for higher risks of recidivism, but also increases their potential to be involved in violent offenses.

2.4 The Cultural Climate - Young People, Boys, and Incarcerated Male TAY

To further explore the conditions of the synopsis of the proposed theory described above, I move next to describing how facets of culture, politics, social services, and mass media act on young people in trouble with the law, as well as how these forces interact with TAYs direct supports such as family, peers, schools, and health care. The 'macrosystem' of the EM, similar to 'macrolevel' analysis in sociological theory more generally, refers to large scale social aspects of life such as the attitudes and ideologies of the developing person's culture (Kendall et al, 2014; Brym, et al, 2014; Pratt & Cullen, 2005; Stuart, 2009). Culture impacts both the wider social climate and political will of a region, including how a society reacts and responds to people in need of social welfare supports. Moreover, culture has been recognized to have great impacts on the developing person (Brym, et al, 2016; Crowell, 2014; Erikson, 1997; Mead, 1934; Weisner, 2002). Finally, research and theory on subcultures and peer groups recognizes that environments or situational cultures common to smaller portions of the population, can create subcultures that can shape and mold people (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Hollingworth, 2015; Trussell, 1999; Walters, 2003).

In North America, our western individualistic worldview is not conducive to facilitating or valuing relationships, respect for differences, or empathy. It instead encourages and values independence, competition, and autonomous achievement in hopes of surpassing others (Crowell 2014; 2016; Elkind, 2007; Giroux 2008; 2013; 2014; [Twenge, 2011](#)). In this environment, economic disadvantage and personal issues or challenges can be a painful source of shame and help-seeking can be perceived as a sign of weakness. Based on my observations, these mindsets have culminated to create an omnipresent 'defensive, and/or judgemental, competitive social climate' that can be heard in a relentless tendency for 'one up-man-ship₈' in our daycares, on local playgrounds, in school hallways, and within our workplaces. Supporting this troublesome overview of contemporary culture, attitudes and behaviours toward others that lack compassion have come to be recognized as characteristic responses of societies that value individualism and competition associated with capitalism and consumerism, which have been written about by scholars from many disciplines (Carson, Brannigan, Augustine, & Pavlich, 2007; Giroux 2013;

2014; Hogeveen, 2006; Twenge, 2011). Given this backdrop, it is no surprise that few politicians or members of the general public have little compassion for support allocating resources to young adults who 'failed to make something of themselves' and 'turned to crime'. Nor should it require a leap to begin to understand how ongoing negative interactions and social experiences within prisons, as well as having a criminal record upon release, do not encourage reform.

To further contextualize the position of young adults in trouble with the law, it is important to consider how our individualistic worldview has influenced overarching attitudes toward young people more generally (Albanese, 2009; Brooks, & Schissel, 2015; Giroux, 2013; 2014; 2015; Schissel, 2006; 2011). Throughout the past 17 years of working with children and youth, I have consistently observed stress in youth from what Elkind (1989) wrote about regarding socialization processes with children. Expanding upon his earlier work his book *The Hurried Child* described and detailed the many ways contemporary culture socializes stress through strong tendencies of pressuring young people today--to succeed and achieve (Elkind, 2007). Indeed, the competition and expectation for school success begins when children are toddlers, if not in the womb, as has been seen in many of the trends in 'learning enhancement products' for expecting parents and babies. Today, I continue to hear evidence of this competition and the achievement demands placed on children in increasingly common expressions of unreasonable expectations and faulty assumptions about what young people should be capable of ...and when, particularly for boys. In my experience, this quite often plays out to impose a form of alienation and shaming on children and youth that sounds like, 'how many times do I have to tell you?', 'grow up', 'figure it out, you're X years old already!', or 'you should know better'. Sentiments like these are expressed to both female and male children and youth, but they are often less gentle and more consistently being directed at children and adolescent males.

I believe this contributes to creating additional and unrealistic pressures to 'be a man' much earlier than what is appropriate. From what I have witnessed, this often worsens in the shaming and disapproving tones as they become young adults. Indeed, there are articles, books, and documentaries that explore how cultural codes and ideals of masculinity and manhood are linked to violence and crime (Carson et al, 2007; Katz & Earp, 1999; 2006; Nolot, 2017;

Walklate & McGarry, 2015). Imagine if you will, what this discourse sounds like playing out with young adult males who have broken the law and who we assume should 'know better'. When we do this without any consideration of a young person's background and life experiences or any thought as to how they may have been socialized, we increase the risk of creating animosity and conflict between us and them. Furthermore, if a young man tries to articulate what troubles have contributed to his mistakes, he can be, and often is, shamed for 'being a baby', 'a liar', or 'crazy' (Crowell, 2014; 2016). Over the years, I have heard many TAY, specifically males, articulate not liking being told to 'grow up', and some say they despise this comment and perceive it to insinuate that the speaker thinks they are still a kid or worse, 'not [successfully being] a man'.

2.5 Macrosystem Influences Filter Down - Political Philosophy and Societal Attitudes

Impacts on Corrections and TAY

Attitudes and beliefs associated with the individualistic worldview that are characteristic of the neo-liberal state have come to be topics among criminology scholarship and have also permeated penal and correctional responses and practices, media, and public response to young people who break the law (Bazemore, 2001; Chahal, 2017; Giroux 2008;2015; Hogeveen & Woolford, 2006; Carson et al, 2007; Faucher, 2009; Foster & Hagen, 2015; Schissel, 2006). For example, almost four decades ago, American Sociologist Robert Martinson's study, "*What Works*", was highly influential in creating the "nothing works" doctrine, which became widely believed by criminologists and policymakers, and this contributed to a strong shift in guiding correctional philosophy that concluded that "rehabilitation is/[was] dead" (Cullen, 2005, p.6). Although this was later dispelled and the turn of the century saw a vibrant movement to reaffirm the value of programs based on the principles of effective intervention towards rehabilitation, it seems that decades later, this shift has yet to infiltrate penal policies and practices in significant and consistent ways for youth, young adults, or adult corrections in general. Indeed, there have been several recent reports on just how punishing the prison system is, with cases of medical needs being dismissed, guard-to-prisoner abuse, extended use of solitary confinement, overlooked prisoner-to-prisoner abuse, and unexplained deaths (Anonymous, 2011; Boisvert, 2017; Devet, 2017b; Lupick, 2014; Mochama, 2018; Malone, 2016; Senate of Canada, 2017; White, 2017). In reaction to these injustices, research and scholarship in criminology,

specifically critical criminology, have been unpacking everything, putting the state and its dogma, the criminal justice system and its law makers, and 'correctional' services under the microscope (Hogeveen & Woolford, 2006; Fraser, 2008; Potter, 2013; Walklate & McGarry, 2015). The Nothing Works doctrine may have been a catalyst in laying the groundwork for 'tough on crime [criminals] policies' and given way to the pervasive apathy. Indeed, the 'lock them up and throw away the key' attitudinal stance toward this population (Lacayo, 1994; Schissel, 2006; Webster, Doob, Tubex, & Green, 2015) is still commonly held, in my estimation, by the majority of adults alive today and punishment dogma has been recognized as having its teeth in the current social consciousness (Carson et al, 2007; Giroux, 2014; 2015; Hogeveen & Woolford, 2006; Walklate & McGarry, 2015).

Within the microsystem of incarcerated TAY in the correctional milieu, it appears that there is a punishment stronghold, despite the fact that rehabilitation is the overarching corrections directive in Canada. Even with supportive politicians, prison officials, and guards who advocate for intervention policies and programs, there remains a division among correctional staff regarding guiding correctional philosophies. A common theme expressed by some, in particular, long-term corrections staff, is a belief that anything other than punishment and sanctions equates to not holding prisoners accountable, which puts everyone's personal safety at risk. Comments I have overheard like, 'If you are nice to them, you look weak, and they will take advantage' demonstrates this more concisely. Indeed, although the CSC mission states "we believe in the human capacity for positive change and recognize that relationships are at the core of our work" (CSC, 2013), what I have interpreted and observed is a great deal of apprehension around building or cultivating relationships between prisoners and staff, so much so, that I would suggest this may be as big a barrier to assisting rehabilitation as is the lack of access to formal services. In sum, full use of the available fixed resources (staff) is impeded and limited through stressful working conditions related to poor relations with inmates and coworkers or a workforce at odds.

Although I have met and observed some outstanding and progressive professionals who are engaged, interested, and committed to helping young people in trouble with the law, this is not very common. In the same vein, throughout my study, work, and casual conversations with people from all walks of life, I have spoken with some compassionate and caring professionals

and members of the general public who whole heartedly believe that we should be doing everything we can to intervene and rehabilitate TAY; however, there are many who think they are "degenerates" or "garbage" as well (Belware, 2016; Lear, Alpert & Cowan; 2016; Lacayo, 1994). Nevertheless, economic and 'perceived' social inequalities fuel discrimination that bares down on typically young people of color, at grossly disproportionate rates which further serves to perpetuate stereotypes (Carson et al, 2007; Chahal, 2017; Giroux, 2013;2014; Goffam, 1963; Katz & Earp, 1999; Walklate & McGarry, 2015). This is another example of how macrosystem factors influence and put pressure on the lives of incarcerated TAY; how the rather negative or apathetic attitudes toward this population finds implicit justification in the legal age of adulthood (Schissel, 2011).

More pointedly, in my experience, the majority of people lose all compassion for this population once they hit the magic age that we have decided marks adulthood. Indeed, when a young person reaches this point, the shift in attitude can be summed up in sentiments such as, 'they are 18 years old! what do they expect, that someone will hold their hand?' or, 'they need to figure out how to fly straight now - they are 18 years old!' (Crowell, 2014; 2016). I hear this kind of language and attitude from even the most caring of parents at times, and professional staff working with transition aged males all the time. This narrative is again fraught with shame, judgement, and unrealistic expectations that stand to diminish help seeking. Moreover, this language is completely counterproductive when used in speaking with incarcerated and/or previously incarcerated young men. Many of these young men have been struggling with mental health issues, addictions, learning disabilities, and/or behavioural issues that have been present for many years; therefore, the use of compassionate and empathetic language would be more effective when we are trying to help them find and build support toward reform.

Sadly, most people do not stop to consider the life experiences or background of a person in trouble. One case in point, during the writing of this project, I created a petition on *Change.org* soliciting signatures in support of Canadian law makers leveraging the 2004 international resolution toward implementing change in the way we sentence and incarcerate young adults. Although I saw success past what most petitions see (as per *Change.org*), the growth of the petition has died off and is currently at a near standstill. I suspect this lack of support is closely tied to the prevailing cultural attitudes that gave way to the shift from the

social-democratic welfare state to the neo-liberal state (Navarro & Shi, 2001; O'Conner & Olsen, 1998), and increasingly negative and invasive media representation of young people who have broken the law (Faucher, 2009; Giroux, 2013; Hogeveen, 2006; Katz, 2002; Scraton, 2008; Schissel, 2006). To this point, one scholar who studied the media's representation of young people in trouble with the law, noted that over time, news and media images of this population have shifted in the public domain from 'misguided children' in the mid twenty-first century to "dangerous and menacing...young men or women" in the latter half of the century (Faucher, 2009, p. 441). The latter was evident in explicit negative comments about the petition made to my Facebook page. Although I will not spend much more time discussing the powerful influence of media and social media, I think it is important to acknowledge how vital a role these streams of information and venues of public discourse play in shaping contemporary ideologies of youth culture, social status and success, and crime and punishment.

2.6 Qualitative Data Sources and Methodology for This Chapter

The methodology used to arrive at the descriptive overview of this chapter is largely interpretive and "does not concern itself with scientific accuracy and significance testing, neither does it strive to uncover an objective truth" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Gillard et al, 2012 p. 1129; Guest, Namey, & Mitchell 2013; Walsham, 1993). Instead, this methodology involves relational inquiry and reflexivity and "realises the necessary subjectivity involved in interpreting often-qualitative data, in order to reach a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny" (Gillard et al 2012 p. 1131; Bellefeuille & Ricks, 2010; Maton, 2003; Miner-Romanoff, 2012). In the same vein, this chapter presented a synthesized overview of the observations, reflective unpacking, and journaling I have done over the past decade. Observations were made while engaging in activities and speaking with youth and adults in all settings, as well as holding space as an observer among the many interactions and personal dynamics. Reflective unpacking and journaling about what I had observed were often completed soon after my observations; however, at times the topics and themes that emerged percolated for months as additional and similar observations enriched or expanded my understanding of the social dynamics under scrutiny.

My skills in formal observation of these nuances were developed as a Certified Child and Youth Studies (CCYS) practitioner for the past five years. Observations and careful

documentation emphasized in this field, as well as paying close attention to details, such as kinesthetics, proxemics, and verbal/signed language are notable. Throughout my relevant work experience, I have made a concerted effort to cultivate my observation skills when it comes to detecting the tone of interactions between mature adults, older adolescents, and young adult males. When applying these strategies, my writing strives to encapsulate the "thick" description (Geertz 1973; Guest et al 2013; Maton, 2003) in order to convey the more nebulous aspects of the interpersonal dynamics commonly playing out between these populations. In this fashion, the above overview captures my interpretation of the operative discourses influencing the social climate and relational experiences of the daily lives of boys and men.

My experiences and observations as a mother of two sons, who are now TAY, have consequently provided and continue to provide a multitude of opportunities for observations of the general treatment, responses, and attitudes toward boys and young men. Furthermore, in 2006, I began making a directed effort to build my skills and experience working with young people by organizing and/or volunteering for many extra-curricular activities and events for young people, and in 2008, I started working for the *Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) School Board*. In addition, since 2012, I have worked in a number of settings involving at-risk or incarcerated young males, including my volunteerism in formal restorative justice circles with youth and young adults and my recent involvement in a project that is evaluating a restorative practice program at the *Nova Scotia Youth Center (NSYC)*. To date, I have participated in 25 restorative justice circles and over 30 restorative practice circles with incarcerated youth/young adults. I have also conducted almost 100 interviews with incarcerated youth/young adults, as well as over 30 interviews with staff at the NSYC as part of the aforementioned project. Further, my interpretive analysis and the resulting synopsis of the social climate of incarcerated youth/young adult males has also been informed through my involvement over the past two years supporting a growing number of families of incarcerated young adults, the majority of which are males. In other words, I come with many years of understanding and empathy on the topic (Bernard 2006; 2011; Garfat, 2009; Greene, 2007; Holmes, 2013; Scheper-Hughes, 1993).

2.7 Closing

My approach to this chapter was framed up using Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of development while integrating parts of other social theories to explain the focus on the

social/sociocultural aspects of life. In my expanded SCE model, highlighting the social facets of Bronfenbrenner's systems, I emphasize how there has been little interest in intervening or making focussed rehabilitation efforts with incarcerated young adults and assert, as do others, that this is a manifestation of the current political and social conditions of North American culture in an ongoing and insidious condemnation of marginalized young people (Brooks & Schissel, 2015; Chahal, 2017; Giroux 2014; 2015; Walklate & McGarry, 2015). Bronfenbrenner has urged psychologists to consider the role of contextual factors at the level of the microsystem (e.g. family), exosystem (e.g. neighborhood), and macrosystem (e.g. culture) in influencing and being influenced by the developing individual (in this case incarcerated young adults), and this was the basic goal of this chapter. The synopsis provided also presents as a preface to this exploratory research undertaken in this thesis. By attempting to offer an enriched, yet anonymizing view, of the context of incarcerated peoples' lives and the processes whereby at-risk or incarcerated TAY continue to become clients of the criminal justice system, I aim to arrive at more accurate (or at least more holistic) representation of the social phenomenon under study.

I have put forth a model of the '*Cyclic Flow and Uptake of Young Adults in Prison*' (CFUYAP) offering a theory as to why most crime and the majority of violent crime has continued to be committed by older male youth and young adult men. This view was supported with examples of how our individualistic worldview has influenced and continues to influence social and political will and the focus and tone of scholarship and media, with regards to crime and punishment and penal policy and practice. Indeed, I assert that North American culture and ideologies have advanced what is described as an empathy deficit society (Carson et al, 2007; Giroux, 2013;2014; Twenge, 2011; Walklate & McGarry, 2015), which maintains a hostile social environment for those who have not or cannot achieve and maintain the maturity expectations held by often uninformed and unforgiving adults, especially for those who do not meet gender expectations of "men". I next move to detail the methods used in the survey project and this thesis.

Chapter Three: Methods

3.1 Introduction

Early studies in the field of Criminology were largely qualitative and consisted of the analysis of individual cases or small samples of life-history narratives and case studies of offenders (Siegel & McCormick, 2016; West, 1984; Wright & Bouffard, 2016). As the scientific study of crime has progressed, qualitative methods were replaced with quantitative methods and "modeling techniques that could control for, transform, impute, and ultimately predict the messy human behavior" that was previously painstakingly documented over a lengthy time period (Wright & Bouffard, 2016, p.124). This trend toward quantitative data continues to dominate in many disciplines for many reasons. Some scholars assert that the "recurring sequence of hegemonic statistical methods" (Sampson & Laub, 2005, p. 905) in criminology has somewhat handicapped the ability to document the complex contexts, processes, and conditions that lead to criminal behavior (Maltz & Mullany, 2000). Even so, as Wright and Bouffard (2016) point out that "there has been consistent (and arguably increasing) support for the use of mixed-methods approaches to knowledge creation in the social sciences" (Brent & Kraska, 2010; Giordano, Cernkovich, & Rudolph, 2002; Maruna, 2010; Merriam, 2009; Wright & Bouffard, 2016).

This thesis employed a mixed-methods design to document a richer overview of the incarceration of young adults by integrating a qualitative exploration the context of the lives of Canadian modern day young adult males (at risk and incarcerated) with a sample of quantitative data on a snapshot of the Nova Scotian prison population that is analyzed for differences in age both quantitatively and qualitatively. More on this later. Essentially, mixed methods approaches "argue for the qualitative inspection of individual cases to complement and contextualize the findings of quantitative analyses" (Wright & Bouffard, 2016, p.125, Maruna, 2010; Brent & Kraska, 2010). I chose this approach as I strive to achieve mixed methods intent and potential to "create a dialogue between different ways of seeing, interpreting and knowing" given that the study of any element of 'social life' is innately, a mixture of perspectives and interpretations (Jick, 1979; Maxwell, 2010 p. 478; Greene, 2007; van den Hoonard, 2015). Finally, in the spirit of Critical Criminology I recognize that using mixed methods is essential to capture the voice of the population under study toward a gaining a more accurate picture of social issues and

contributing to social change (Hogeveen & Woolford, 2006; Fraser, 2008; Potter, 2013; Walklate & McGarry, 2015).

Although a discussion about the methods used to analyze the dataset is central to this chapter, the mixed methods used in both data analysis and to a lesser degree, data collection will also be presented. To begin, the questionnaire dataset used in this thesis was entered into the statistical analysis software program SPSS. In terms of the data analysis of the SPSS data, some of the quantitative statistics were easily calculated by performing simple descriptive statistical computations, such as frequency tables and crosstab tables. That said, only a little over 20% of the survey questions were quantitative in that they only solicited one answer in a defined set of answers. Indeed, much of the survey data demanded that I employ "scrutiny techniques", where I looked at each set of answers in every questionnaire to identify answer repetitions, similarities, and differences in order to discover themes and categories of answers for recoding and condensing the data, as well as more complex "processing techniques" of answer keys that involved a lot of copying/pasting, sorting, and coding using pen and paper or excel spreadsheets (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p.89).

After transferring raw data answer sets to paper or stand-alone excel worksheets, I then searched the data for patterns, experimenting how I might transfer complex answer datasets into one meaningful and concise answer. Essentially my goal was, as Bernard (2006) puts it, "the search for patterns in data and for ideas that explain why those patterns are there in the first place" (Bernard, 2006, p. 453). This analysis included four key stages or processes as identified by Ryan and Bernard (2003), identifying themes, winnowing the list, building hierarchies or in this case, building the results or story, and finally, linking it to theory which is done in the chapters that present the survey results. This data mining process was incredibly valuable as answer groupings, categories, and themes emerged from the data, which not only pulled the story out of the data, served to guide the organization of my thinking and writing.

With regards to methods used in data collection, besides the administration of the questionnaire, my observations and experiences supporting families of incarcerated people (currently mostly young adult men) has providing me more insight into the struggles of these young men and their families and a case study, which are also drawn on. In addition, several other methods were used to render sources that informed the interpretations put forth in the

previous chapter on the wider context of the social position and climate within which boys and young men and at-risk and incarcerated young men, grow and exist. To begin to describe the mixed-methods design and approaches utilized in this thesis, an overview of the 2014/15 project that generated the primary dataset used will be discussed. Included in this overview are descriptions of that project's research setting and data collection procedures, the population, questionnaire design, recruitment, ethical considerations, and the sample itself. Following the overview of the 2014/15 project, the questionnaire design and its impact to the qualitative data analysis strategies used in this project are discussed at length. I use several examples that detail the inductive analysis processes that were conducted on key questions of interest for the current thesis project (See Figure 4). This section is followed by a summary of the quantitative data analysis strategies used that includes examples of many of the key quantitative variables that were analyzed. Finally, the qualitative data sources and methodology that contributed to and guided the synopsis of the wider context of the population under study was presented at the end of Chapter Two. Research limitations and weakness are considered throughout the entire chapter.

Figure 4: Thesis questions of interest that required significant inductive analysis

Questions of interest with answer keys asking (Mark an x in all boxes that apply) with space for "Other"
<p>From Section 1:</p> <p>7. How do you describe your ethnic background?</p> <p>8. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?</p> <p>11. Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18 years?</p> <p>12. To your knowledge, which family members have been arrested or incarcerated?</p> <p>15. What is the ethnic background of the family member/s that were arrested or incarcerated?</p> <p>19. Within the last 6 months, which family members have visited you in prison/how many times?</p> <p>21. Within the last 6 months, which family members have you talked to on the phone/how many times?</p> <p>22. Have any of these things made it difficult for you and your family to communicate on the phone?</p> <p>From Section 2:</p> <p>1. Have any of these things made it hard for children you are connected with to visit?</p> <p>From Section 3:</p> <p>13. Please indicate the methods and frequencies you use to stay in contact with this child.</p> <p>14. Do any of these things make it difficult for you and this child to talk on the phone?</p>

3.2 Overview of 2014/15 Project

The dataset used in this thesis is the product of a research project I worked on with Dr. Devi Mucina during my undergraduate studies at *Mount St. Vincent University* (MSVU). This research was set up as a cross-sectional study with a descriptive design that set out to examine the correlation between familial incarceration and later life incarceration of the children of incarcerated persons. The project was entitled: *How Does Parental and Familial Incarceration in the Canadian Context Predict Later-Life Incarceration among Prisoners' Children?* (Mucina, 2014). In order to answer this question, we developed a 12-page questionnaire (See Appendix 1) to solicit and capture information about the family experiences of the people who were incarcerated in our provincial adult facilities on the date/s the questionnaires were administered. As Dr. Mucina's sole continuous research assistant throughout the project, I had the privilege of helping to develop the questionnaire, making first contact with CSNS, and seeing it through to at last, obtaining final approval from CSNS and the *MSVU Research Ethics Board*. The final survey entitled: *A Survey About The Impacts Of Arrest And Incarceration On Inmates And Children*, was administered during the latter part of December 2015 (Crowell & Mucina, 2015).

The key research activities of that project were expected to be data collection and analysis. The lead investigator originally intended to lead a small research team in delivering the self-administered questionnaire in a group setting to Nova Scotia prisoners. It was planned this way so the research team could answer questions/offer immediate assistance for those who volunteered to participate in the study by filling out a questionnaire. On a conference call days before the research team was scheduled to leave and travel around the province to deliver the questionnaire, CSNS offered to administer it for us in all but one facility. The lead investigator accepted their offer as it would expedite data collection and reduce travel costs. In turn, the research team only administered the questionnaire in one facility, while parole officers administered it at the rest of the facilities on behalf of Dr. Mucina. This is the first potential flaw in the dataset. Having people other than the research team administer and supervise the completion of questionnaires, one on one, as opposed to the planned group sessions, is a source of weakness as it is unknown how this inconsistency could have impacted questionnaire completion. Ultimately, we are uncertain as to whether or not DOJ staff sat with questionnaire participants one on one, whether participants were left to complete it somewhere private, or if in

some facilities, more than one person at a time sat and completed questionnaires. Each of these situations could have impacted a participants understanding of questions, their answers, and their access to support for the questionnaire instructions or wording.

3.3 The Population & Setting; Questionnaire Design, Recruitment, and Ethical Considerations

Throughout the entire project, the vulnerability of the population was a primary concern. An awareness and consideration of the range of people who may participate in the questionnaire guided everything from the wording of the questions, to recruitment strategies, and ethical considerations. Given the diversity of the population in terms of age, gender, and the fact that the average level of education in prison populations has been documented to be low, we were very careful not to use leading or complicated language or inconsistent terms. Where possible, we also grouped similar questions/answer keys together so participants could more readily find a flow in the question phrasing and format. In addition, I tested the survey with someone within this demographic. This exercise proved useful and allowed for additional improvements in flow and clarity. The introduction to the survey was also carefully worded to explicitly ensure participants that it was confidential and voluntary, and we included a sentence that specifically gave permission to skip questions or stop the survey if they chose to (see Appendix 2). We recruited participants with an introduction letter that explained the purpose of the questionnaire and research project (Appendix 2). This letter was circulated to inmates and/or reviewed by correctional staff a couple of days before the survey commenced. As stated previously, because the delivery did not go as planned, it is unclear as to how exactly corrections staff went about recruiting volunteers and how the introduction letter was circulated. In the original plan, recruitment strategies were going to be discussed and determined with staff at each facility.

A number of ethical considerations were addressed in Dr. Mucina's project. For example, since many of the questions solicited information about loved ones, details about their arrest, their children's life experiences, and contact with family since incarceration, we worried that reading the questions and thinking about the impact of their incarceration may be upsetting. Moreover, we were concerned that potential emotional upset due to the reflective nature of completing this process, could impede their ability to get through the entire questionnaire. In addition, we wanted to be cautious of possible consequences of stress or depression which could

arise and negatively impact someone's mental health or result in/contribute to problems for staff or others in the facility. With these concerns in mind, the questions were framed so as to avoid highlighting upsetting, shaming, or guilt inducing concepts.

For instance, instead of asking: "Did your parents raise you? If not, who did?", question 11 asks: "Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18?", and we provided an answer key that included a full array of family members /types of caregivers. Worded this way, we did not directly draw anyone's attention to not being raised by their parents and instead opened it up to include all of the people who helped raise them. Furthermore, how to support a prisoner who may have been emotionally triggered by the questionnaire was a crucial concern for this project. For guidance, we sought direction from the people who would have to deal with any emotional upset incurred, CSNS; they led the way to outline the course of action prisoners would follow to get support. They forwarded a description of the exact process a prisoner would need to follow if their participation in the study caused them any emotional hardship. This process was added to the information letter sent to correctional staff (See Appendix 3) and added to the recruitment letter, which presumably would have been reviewed with each volunteer participant.

3.4 The Sample

In total, the sample consisted of 69 of the people who were in Nova Scotia prisons in December 2015 and who volunteered to participate in the survey. Of those, 68 fully completed the questionnaire. Of the 68 completed questionnaires, 18 were completed by young adults aged 18-25 years of age, and 50 were completed by adults 26 years of age and older. Though probability theory and the law of large numbers of mainstream quantitative sociology (cite who makes these claims) would assert that a sample of 68 is insufficient in terms of being able to make any predictions or generalizations about the representativeness of the sample, several of the sample statistics match enduring *Statistics Canada* and *Department of Justice* (DOJ) published reports and statistical data. Bernard, however, indicates that for qualitative research, a sample under 100 is suitable, and can be both reliable and valid when scrutinised through content analysis for information on the cultural domain involved (Bernard, 2011). For example, by employing the three content analysis approaches: conventional (derived from the text), directed (derived from theory or previous research) or summative (counting and comparisons of

keywords or content with subsequent interpretation) (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) the reliability and validity of smaller datasets are strengthened. Furthermore, when considering the prevalence of the qualitative approaches used here and seeing it as a qualitative/mixed data study, 68 is a large sample.

There were no criteria to participate in the survey and no one was turned away for any reason; therefore, it was a convenience cluster sampling procedure (Bernard, 2011; Del Balso & Lewis, 2012) administered to the population on a convenience sample basis—those who volunteered for the study. A sampling frame for this project could not be obtained as the names and personal information of the total population was not available due to privacy and confidentiality laws and rights. Developing one's own sampling frame is very common for populations where data does not exist or that you are not privy to (Bernard, 2011). As a result, generalizability is once again in question, as we have no way of knowing or determining if the group of volunteers we attracted is a biased sample. For example, given the title of the study/questionnaire, it is possible that all of the prisoners who were parents were the ones who volunteered. Indeed, most of the questionnaire participants, both young adults and older adults, indicated that they were parents, so it is plausible that the name of the study attracted all the prisoners who had children. Finally, all volunteer participants were given the same questionnaire, and there were no other sampling procedures.

The questionnaires were printed ahead of time and other than the copies the research team took with them to the session they administered, the rest were delivered to Corrections Nova Scotia. I also created a facility fact sheet to record details such as: each facility's total population, gender and ethnic distribution, and number of study volunteers; however, since the research team did not deliver and oversee the questionnaire at most of the facilities, this information was not gathered. Without this data, it is not possible to analyze sample representativeness, (of the prison population in December 2015), which facility had the highest participation rates, and/or what percentage of participation we had overall. As a result, although the questionnaires were completed at four different provincial correctional facilities in Nova Scotia, differences between facilities are not explored here.

3.5 The 2015 Questionnaire Design: Qualitative Data and Inductive Analyses

The 2015 questionnaire design had significant impact on how I went about analyzing much of the data for the present project. Throughout the development of the questionnaire, as we revised and refined our questions, we tried to keep the total number at a minimum so it would not be too cumbersome to complete. Despite these efforts, we ended up with three sections and a total of 49 questions, many of which consist of a series of questions. In fact, there is a total of 104 questions if all of the sub-questions are counted. In addition, 29 of the 49 questions have answer keys or keys and have the potential to solicit several answers. In hindsight, I assert that the questions, answer keys, and resulting dataset were unnecessarily complicated as is illustrated in the large number of variables, 1530, compared to the 'official' number of questions. About two-thirds of the variables are related to my thesis topic. For this project, I am working with variables that are specific to the research questions put forth in this project, roughly one-quarter of the questionnaire variables.

The questionnaire has some binary questions, contingency questions, key questions, and a couple direct or open-ended questions. The key questions with large answer keys yielded answers that required considerable attention in order to recode the data and conduct meaningful analyses. Inductive analyses methods were developed for this project to examine the answers to discover if and what types of common categories exist among the questionnaire answers. As eluded to above, methods used in mining the data began with identifying themes and listing them after which, I would winnow the list and build the results summaries (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). In terms of the content analyses approaches employed in the examination of answers, I looked for conventional themes in the words themselves first (answer-word combinations), and then moved to looking for summative themes by comparing and counting keywords/word combinations and content and making subsequent interpretations (Krippendorff, 2013). In addition, my enquiry also employed a directed content analysis to a smaller degree in that my research questions and hypothesis were derived from theory or previous research (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Finally, the three types of themes listed for qualitative analysis of text, which can be separate stages of coding according to Welsh (2002) serve well to describe the pragmatic strategy of my scrutiny process and coding steps: first, a documentation of the "literal" (the words and answer word

combinations), second, a high level "interpretive" analysis (about their meaning), and third, a "reflexive" contemplation (about how they relate to the subject) (Welsh, 2002).

The categories that emerged were then utilized to compile, simplify, and recode the answers in order to present the sample statistics that relate to my thesis questions and hypothesis in a more concise manner. In many cases, inductive analysis work was completed in Excel spreadsheets by copying and pasting respondent age, gender, or recidivism columns along with the variable columns/dataset answers of interest into a worksheet and examining them there. This preserved the integrity of the database and allowed for condensed, more manageable screens of data, which also aided accuracy and reduced errors. For example, in all of the Excel spreadsheet analyses that were performed, the columns were guaranteed to be copied from the unsorted database as the order of the records and columns had not been manipulated from the original. Furthermore, no sorting by age or any other variable was ever conducted before all necessary unsorted, copied columns were added to the question analysis worksheet. The only changes made to the copy of the SPSS database was the revised/condensed answers being added to the appropriate answer sets 'Other variable' column.

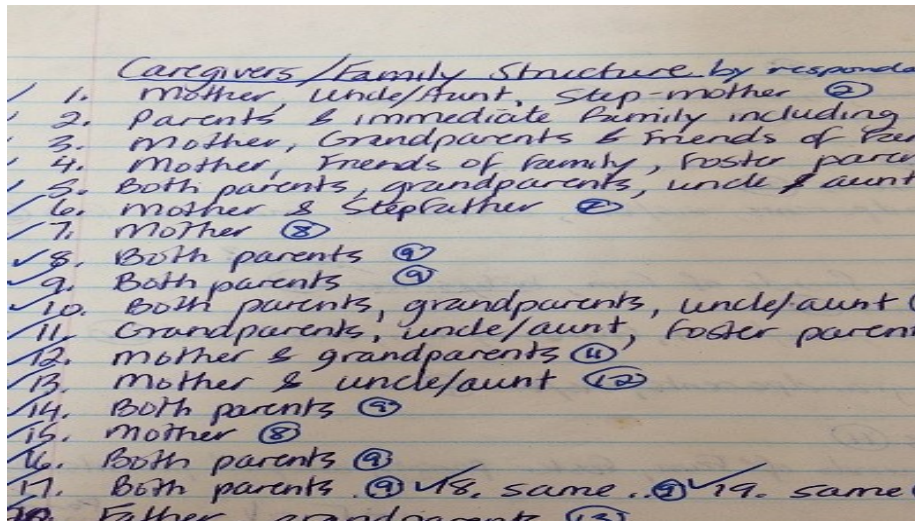
To demonstrate the complexity of the questions that have answer keys and the inductive analytic processes developed to compress answers, I return to question 11. "Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18?" The answer key for this question offers 11 options from grandmother or grandfather to mother, brother, or niece, to non-traditional options such as friend of family, foster parents, adopted parents, or no one, and also offers a space for 'Other' (see Figure 5). Participants were instructed to "mark an x in all boxes that apply". The intention here was to capture all and any combinations or types of caregivers/family structures people may have experienced. To identify the common family structure types found in the sample and recode participants' selections, I performed an inductive analysis of all the caregivers each of the participants selected as people who 'cared for them'. Each participant's complete selections, including whatever they recorded in 'Other' were written out on a piece of paper line by line in order to look at the caregiver data without needing to scroll back and forth across 12 columns and up and down 3 pages of data in the SPSS database. Once each participant's complete selections were documented on one piece of paper, a visual snapshot of the data (Image 6) made it easier to identify common categories. As image 6 illustrates, 'Both

parents', 'Mother', and 'Mother' combined with various other family members, for instance, 'Mother and Grandparents' or 'Mother and Uncle/Aunt' were quickly identified as recurrent caregiver/family structure types. In the first review and assessment, 27 caregiver/family type categories were identified.

Figure 5: Answer key for question 11

11. Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18 years? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Both parents	g	<input type="checkbox"/> Friends of the family
<input type="checkbox"/> Father	h	<input type="checkbox"/> Foster parents
<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	i	<input type="checkbox"/> Adopted parents
<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather and/or Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Sister and/or Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> No one
<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle and/or Aunt		

Figure 6: Step one of the inductive analytic process employed to identify caregiver categories



Continuing with the above example of question 11, I proceed to describe the process used to analyse and condense the responses to questions with answer keys. When the first assessment of question 11 was complete, all response combinations were assigned a number that corresponded to one of the original 27 family/caregiver categories (see Figure 7). The next step was to review the 27 categories and collapse them into a shorter list of more concise caregiver/

family structure archetypes. For example, selections of 'mother and grandparent' or 'mother and immediate family (sibling or uncle/aunt)' emerged as conventional themes of caregiver types in the words/word-combinations themselves and then were collapsed and recoded under a more general grouping of people, who were brought up by their 'mother and small social circle'. which was one of the summative themes I identified by comparing and counting keywords and content and making subsequent interpretations. This exercise reduced the original 27 caregiver types down to 11 'family structure categories' of which each of the participant's responses were assigned.

Figure 7: Complete listing of initial answer combination/types to question 11: "Who cared for you between the ages of 0-18?"

Answer Combination Types
Mother and External Family
Mother, External Family, and Step Parent
Parents and Immediate Family
Parents, Immediate Family and Grandparents
Mother, Grandparents, and Friends of Family
Mother, Friends, and Foster Care
Mother and Step Father
Mother Only
Both Parents Only
Grandparents, Other Family, and Foster Care
Mother and Grandparents Only
Mother and Aunt/Uncle Only
Father and Grandparents Only
Both Parents and Grandparents Only
Both Parents (Separately), Grandparents, and Foster Care
Mother, Immediate Family, Foster Care, and God Parents
Both Parents, External Family, and Friends of Family
Both Parents and Mother - listed separately
Both Parents and Father - listed separately
Mother, Foster Care and Adoptive Parents
Both Parents, Immediate Family, External Family, and Friends of Family
Both Parents, (each also listed separately), Immediate Family, and Extended Family
Immediate Family, Extended Family, Foster Care and Adoptive Parents
Father Only
Foster Care and Adoptive Family Only
Grandparents Only
Both Parents, (each also listed separately) Only

Once I had the 11 categories, I was able to assign all 68 of the research participants to a family structure category that best represented their selection of family members who cared for them. Each person's family structure type was recorded in question 11's, "Other variable" column of the SPSS database. This was done after recording what participants added in the "Other" answer space alongside of any other selections they made. By doing the recode this way, the number of variables in the database did not increase and answer sets were collapsed and recorded into one variable at the end of each set of the database spreadsheet columns for all the variables that were in the question's answer keys. This process was used for all of the questions that had answer keys which instructed/required that participants mark all boxes that apply and also offered an "Other" space. (See Figure 4 for a complete listing of these questions). Where it is pertinent, the inductive thematic analyses processes and rationale for other questions will be discussed in more detail in the Chapter Four and Five.

3.6 Analytic Processes For Other Important Questions

The questionnaire also includes direct and closed questions; however, similar to answer key questions, many of these question answer keys also included a space for "Other" so people could enter something different than the answers we offered. This again required some additional inductive analysis for some questions. For example, question seven asks: How do you describe your ethnic background? The answer key here showed eight different ethnic groups, similar to those found on CSNS and CSC reports, and provided a space to record "Other" to allow respondents to specify an additional or different ethnic heritage. Where people answered "Other", some interpretation was required. Of the completed questionnaires, 25 respondents reported their ethnic background as "Other". Eighteen of the 25 respondents told us they were "White" or "Caucasian". The remaining seven "Other" ethnicity entries were: two Irish, one Spanish, one Ukrainian, one Black, and two "Canadian". Before I recoded the "Whites" and "Canadians" to the broader category of "European descent", I analysed all respondents' answers to question 15, regarding the ethnic background of any incarcerated family members they reported. The reason for this analysis evolved from Clairmont's observations around a tendency for First Nation peoples to identify as "White" or "Canadian" as opposed to "Indigenous" (Clairmont, 2016). This rationale was based on the possibility that a person may not identify with the ethnic background of grandparents or parents from minority groups if/when

they themselves had been brought up as part of the dominant cultural heritage and/or aspired to be a part of it on their own terms.

Upon reviewing the answers to question 15, I found that two of the respondents who identified as "White/Canadian" also indicated they had a grandparent or parent who was "Native or Indigenous"; therefore, these cases were re-coded as "Indigenous Non-Status" to reflect their heritage. The Irish, Ukraine, and Spanish "Others" were re-coded as "European descent", and finally, the one participant who identified as "Black" was re-coded to be included in the "African descent" ethnic category. This process also functioned as a cross check of participants' response consistency; however, it was less than perfect, due to the fact that we only asked for the ethnic background of family members who had been arrested or incarcerated. Hence, if someone who identified as "White" did not have a family member who had been incarcerated, there was no way to know if any family members were of a different ethnic heritage. Similarly, if a person indicated that only one brother had been incarcerated and named them as "White", there were no other questions about family heritage to determine or verify if the person was of "European descent" or if they had any key family members who were from a different ethnic group. I conducted this cross check by copying and pasting participants' responses to "ethnic background" and "ethnic background of their incarcerated family member" into an Excel spreadsheet for comparison. I then looked for discrepancies between each respondent's selections. Finally, I entered all of the cross checked/recoded answers into the "Other variable" column to have all of the answers on ethnicity documented in one variable and column -- similar to what was done for question 11 to summarize and condense the answers.

Figure 8: The inquiries/variables that emerged from the analysis of the familial incarceration rates of the sample

Familial Incarceration Inquiries/Analysis
Was there familial incarceration?
Parental incarceration only?
Were other family member/s incarcerated?
Were 2 or more family members incarcerated?
How many times was the participant incarcerated?

Other important questions requiring considerable inductive analysis to identify themes and synthesize and recode answers into more concise and meaningful categories include, as seen in Section 3.1 (Figure 4), are questions 19 and 21. The answer keys for these questions asked participants to record how many visits (or phone calls) they had with each family member (listing 15 potential family members) in the last six months. Here, again, I recorded each participant's selections of family members and the number of times each family member visited or called on one piece of paper (see Image 9). I then added up how many visits and phone calls each person had in total and scrutinized who and what combinations of family visited or called. Using the same inductive recoding strategies described earlier this exercise first identified 34 types of visitor-combinations/number of visits, which was later reduced to 14 types of visitors/number of visits. Taking direction from the data and the trends and patterns that emerged from it, I have chosen not to collapse the categories any further, as I am interested in illuminating themes in the type of social contact and support these incarcerated people were getting while demonstrating and documenting the different types of novel variables that emerged from the data collected in this project. More details and the findings from this sample on these and all other variables will be presented in Chapter Four and Five.

Figure 9: Step one of the inductive analytic process employed to identify visitor categories: who visited and how many times in last six months

Handwritten data table on lined paper showing visitor categories and counts for question 19. The text is written in blue ink.

Category	Count
1. Grandfather, grandmother, Brother/sister (1)	8
2. Sister (1), Girlfriend (3)	6
3. Friend (4)?	1
4. Father, mother, brother (1)	5
5. I chose not to have visitors	0
6. Father (1), mother (1)	2
7. Both parents together (1), Friend (3)	8
8. Friends of family (1)	1
9. No one	0
10. Father (1)	1

3.7 Recoding and Analysis of Quantitative Variables

Though some of the variables are quantitative, in that they only solicit one answer by directing participants to "Mark an x in the box that applies", many of these same questions also had an empty line for "Other" to allow a space for another answer. This created a qualitative element requiring an inductive data analysis toward distilling and recoding answers as well. In this section I first present some of the key variables that did not require any recoding and then discuss the recoding and variable compression of some more of the pertinent quantitative questions/variables here, while others are explained in Chapter Four and Five. The gender variable did not require any analyses, as all of the answers indicated participants were either male or female and no one selected "Other". Question 6, "How many times have you been arrested or incarcerated?", did not require an analysis toward recoding either, as there were only three possible answers for each, "how many times arrested" and "how many times incarcerated". The answer options describe "number of times" and the ranges given including: "1-3 times, 4-6 times, or 7-9 times". For this project, only the "number of times incarcerated" is examined against other variables. In addition, questions 9 and 10: "Have you ever experienced (answer listing of negative life experiences given)"; and "Have you ever been (answer listing of challenging living situations given)" do not offer an "Other" space, and consequently did not require any preliminary analyses either. Finally, question 13: "How old were you when you first learned about a family member being arrested/incarcerated?", also had fixed answers of age ranges with no space for "Other".

The age variable is front and center in the project and because each participant recorded their exact age in years, this variable was recoded to have only two answer categories. The value of zero was given to those who were 25 years old or younger, and the number 1 was given to everyone who was 26 years of age and older. Every participant's age was recorded in the one "Age" variable column, which allowed for all other analyses and statistical computations to be sorted by age. All of the recoding was completed in a copy of the original SPSS database so as to maintain the integrity of the original variables for cross checking column alignment accuracy and data validation as needed. Educational attainment is another fairly straightforward question and answer dataset; however, in order to present a more concise picture of the highest level of education achieved, a simple recode of the answers was conducted. The answer key originally

had nine options with a tenth option for "Other". After reviewing the handful of entries given in the "Other" space, I determined that I could reduce and collapse the answers into five types of "highest educational attainment". These changes regrouped the answers to align with the more commonly reported categories of educational attainment in criminological literature and DOJ statistics and reports. The categories and sample results for education will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

3.8 Quantitative Methods Used in SPSS Statistical Analysis

SPSS analytic strategies under "Descriptive Statistics", such as "Frequency Tables" and "Crosstab Tables", were useful to compute the basic statistics of sample. Simple frequency tables calculated statistics for variables, such as the age break down of participants (after the recode), the gender break down, the recurrence rate of troublesome life experiences and home life situations, and the age participants first learned a family member was incarcerated for the total sample. The crosstab tables in SPSS were used to calculate sample statistics for variables of interest by age, gender, and ethnicity. These quantitative data analysis methods proved useful in creating statistics for the total sample, as well as for gaining an overall picture of the differences between young adults and older adults with regards to family structures, family support, contact with children, personal background, and life experiences. That said, as discussed above, many of these variables required inductive analysis and recoding prior to being able to run statistical computations. Nevertheless, once the recoded compressed answers were entered into the SPSS database, frequency tables and crosstab tables were run in order to generate sample statistics for all variables pertinent to my research questions and this thesis hypotheses.

3.9 Closing

In this chapter, I have described the project that generated the dataset used in this thesis and the importance and intent of choosing a mixed methods design, explained the rationale and pragmatics of the inductive data analyses methods used, and detailed the data analysis methods employed in my research study. My research plan expected that in some cases, questionnaire variables would be combined as proxies of characteristics or life histories in order to interpret and describe findings in light of related theories. As data analysis progressed, this process was omitted as it became more important to narrow in on and examine each variable that was specific to the research questions and hypotheses separately. That said, although the key goal of this

project is to deduce whether or not, and how, the sample answered my predetermined research questions, I also mean to examine and discuss the data inductively by considering findings that emerged which are not directly related to my projects' research questions and hypotheses. While the sample is small from a strictly quantitative data point of view, as a rare text on Nova Scotia inmates, it affords the opportunity to examine the data using a qualitative approach. To date no other analyses of this data have been synthesized and published therefore, comparisons of interpretations and results are not possible at this time.

Chapter Four: Exploring the Survey Sample

4.1 Introduction:

As was outlined in the Introduction, the results of the 2015 survey data are presented in this chapter and in Chapter Five. This chapter reviews and discusses several of the more common offender profile variables collected in the survey. The next chapter endeavors to interpret the survey data for the novel variables related to family connection and contact. To begin this chapter I return to the research question, how does this sample reflect or contradict general profile and family background characteristics that are part of the general "offender profile"? The survey data of common variables will be examined and compared to prison demographic data collected in a 1996 CSC report entitled: *A One-Day Snapshot of Inmates in Canada's Adult Correctional Facilities* and a 2010 CSNS report called: *One Day Snapshot of Offenders* to allow for statistical comparisons over time. Both of these reports provide cross-sectional data on common profile variables that are of interest to this project including age, gender, ethnic background, education, substance abuse, mental health issues, and previous convictions. Throughout this section, I also appraise the survey results against criminological theories that are related to youth and young adults. For example, in the discussion on age, I deduce whether or not the 2015 sample shows the expected overrepresentation of young adults in the criminal justice system and consistent patterns of the age-crime curve.

4.2 Age of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

As was discussed in Chapter Three, the age variable in the project's survey data was recoded to have only two variables. This allowed for an analysis that examined all the survey variables for differences between "young adults" up to the age of 25 and "mature adults" 26 years of age and older. Of the 68 completed surveys, 18 respondents classify as young adults all of whom were between the ages of 20 and 25, making up 26.5 % of the 2015 sample (See Table 1). This is consistent with CSC 1999 national profile data on the age distribution of incarcerated individuals, which indicated that males aged 18-24 in provincial/territorial facilities made up more than one-quarter (26%) of the male inmate population, while 18-24 year-old males only accounted for 13% of the adult male population in Canada at that time (Statistics Canada, 1999). Demonstrating a consistent age breakdown of prisoners, in the Nova Scotia 2010 snapshot, it was

again reported that 26% of Nova Scotia's prisoners were young adults between the ages of 18-25, while *Statistics Canada* reported that in 2011, people 15-24 years of age (male and female) still only accounted for approximately 13% of Canada's total population. Clearly, the 2015 survey sample accurately reflects the general profile with regards to age; the key variable of interest in this thesis. Moreover, these statistics exemplify a major characteristic of the age-crime curve, that as expected, showed young adults as the most over-represented age group of prison populations. This is further explained by the enduring age-crime curve pattern as was described in Chapter One and Two. ; for decades crime statistics have shown that the age of onset for involvement in criminal activity is mid-to-late adolescence, peaks in early adulthood, and comes to an end in a person's mid-to-late 20's.

Table 1: Results for Question: How old are you? Age of Total Sample

Age Range	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
19-25	18	26.5	26.5	26.5
26-60	50	73.5	73.5	100.0
Total	68	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: Results of Question: What is your gender? Gender of Total

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	56	82.4	82.4	82.4
Female	12	17.6	17.6	100.0
Total	68	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: Gender By Age

	Age		Total
	19-25	26+	
Male	15	41	56
Female	3	9	12
Total	18	50	68

4.3 Gender of Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

The typical gender ratio of prisoners in most developed countries is consistently reported to be between 85-95% male and 5-15% female (Katz, 2002; Siegal & McCormick, 2016; Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012; West, 1984; Withers & Folsom, 2007). Demonstrating this in the 1999 snapshot of inmates in Canada's adult correctional facilities, 96% of the inmates on register in Nova Scotia were male. Similarly, in the 2010 Nova Scotia report, the vast majority of both adults (94%) and youth (91%) were males. More recently, according to *Statistics Canada* in 2014/15, women made up a larger share of admissions to both remand and sentenced custody in the provinces and territories, 13% and 11% respectively, and 7% federally (Statistics Canada, 2015). Our 2015 survey sample reflects numbers that are more closely aligned with the jump seen in the 2015 statistics, where 82.4% were male and 17.6% were female. As for the even larger ratio of female prisoners in our sample, one simple and plausible explanation for this may be that the survey topic of 'Family' attracted female inmates disproportionately. Although the ratio of women was higher, the sample reflected the general demographic at the time which further supports concluding that the sample is representative of typical prison populations. It is worth noting that there was almost no difference in gender by age in our sample; almost 17% of young adult prisoners were female, and 18% of the adult population (26 years of age and older) were female (See Table 3). Although in the past few years, there has been some recent hype that the North American penal system has seen a sharp increase in the incarceration rates of women, DOJ published statistics and data have not supported this claim.

4.4 Ethnic Background of Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

Historically, profile statistics on the ethnic background of inmates have not always been reported. When they have been, they have not always been calculated or presented in the same way (Potter, 2013). With this in mind, it is no surprise that statistics on the ethnic background of inmates have not shown the same consistency as age and gender have over time. Moreover, it is very difficult to determine how issues, such as racial profiling and other systemic and/or human processes within the justice system have impacted both the number of minorities that have been arrested/incarcerated, as well as the way in which inmate ethnicity has been reported. In my research, I found that the national and provincial statistics on ethnicity show increases in the

incarceration rates of some minorities while for others groups, the data needed to identify trends or make comparisons is missing or incomplete.

For example, while Aboriginal persons accounted for approximately 1% of the adult population in Nova Scotia in 1996, they accounted for 5% of the inmates on the 1999 snapshot day. Seven years later, according to the *2006 Census*, those who identified as Aboriginal comprised nearly 3% of the provincial population, while the 2010 snapshot reported that 7% of inmates in Nova Scotia were Aboriginal. In the *2011 Census*, almost 4% (3.7%) of the population of Nova Scotia, identified as Aboriginal, while 26.5% of prisoners from our 2015 survey sample identified as Aboriginal (including both status and non-status individuals) or of having Indigenous ancestry. At first glance, this finding suggested that our sample may not be representative of the inmate population that year; however, when I looked at 2015 data from *Statistics Canada*, a much higher ratio of this population made up the prison population. Indeed, it was reported that this population accounted for one-quarter (25%) of admissions to provincial/territorial correctional services in 2014/2015. Meanwhile we find that Aboriginals still only account for about 3% of the Canadian adult population of which Nova Scotia is in line with (Statistics Canada, 2015).

Although these numbers are alarming for Nova Scotia, they are not as disturbing as the western provinces with larger Indigenous populations. In 1996, for example, Aboriginal persons accounted for approximately 9% of the adult population, yet they accounted for 61% of the inmates on the 1999 snapshot day. It is interesting to note that the 2015 CSC data from *Statistics Canada* did not include a table that showed all Aboriginal inmates, but it did demonstrate that this disparity existed in statistics of female prisoners. It reported that 55% (or more) of female inmates were Aboriginal in prisons in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. Similarly, of the Indigenous respondents who took part in our 2015 survey in Nova Scotia, almost 42% (41.6%) were female. Although male/female Aboriginal populations in the previously mentioned provinces were larger than Nova Scotia's, it does not explain this extreme overrepresentation. Moreover, keeping in mind that Nova Scotia's Indigenous population is notably lower and closer to the national average of 3%, the 2015 survey finding is very concerning. All of this demonstrates the need for extreme measures with regards to the urgent requirement for the Canadian government to continue with reconciliation efforts

with First Nations People of Canada in addressing the disproportionate incarceration rates of this population. It is my intention that the policy and practice recommendations I will outline in my thesis will prompt initiatives that can expedite rectifying the grossly disproportionate incarceration rates of Indigenous people nation-wide.

Demonstrating the inconsistency of reporting on the ethnic background of inmates, the 1999 snapshot does not explicitly report on the number of African Canadians in the justice system, although all ethnic backgrounds were listed as options in the snapshot survey. According to the *2006 Census*, African Nova Scotians comprised about 2% of Nova Scotia's population; however, the 2010 snapshot reported that 15% of the provinces' prisoners were African Nova Scotian. Of the 68 survey respondents, almost 9% identified as people of African descent (as seen in Table 4), all of whom were male. This is indicative of the significantly larger number of young minority males involved with the justice system as is also seen in the overrepresentation of the Indigenous population found in the 2015 sample. Preliminary statistics taken from a research project at NSYC, revealed that of the 24 male youth who were interviewed in 2016, 25% of them were African Nova Scotian (Clairmont, 2016). In comparison to the Indigenous population, when we looked at the survey data by ethnicity and age, we saw a significantly higher rate of incarceration among young Indigenous people. Almost 40% of incarcerated young adults in the 2015 sample, identified as being Indigenous compared to 22% of older adults as seen in Table 5 below. This is in part explained by the age-crime curve demonstrating the enduring pattern of the flow and uptake of young people into the criminal justice system with the majority of crime committed by TAY and the fact that almost 50% of the total Indigenous population in Canada is age 24 and under (Aylsworth & Trovato, 2012). This was not the case for the African Nova Scotian TAY/adult ratio of the 2015 sample; however, it is unclear as to what this ratio was in provincial correctional facilities at that time. Although these statistics still do not offer a complete picture, these facts again draw attention to the need for equitable responses to youth and young adults involved with the criminal justice system, especially those from ethnic minorities.

Table 4: Results of Question: What is your ethnicity? Ethnicity of Total Sample

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
African descent	6	8.8	8.8	8.8
European descent	43	63.2	63.2	72.1
Indigenous Ancestry Non Status	7	10.3	10.3	82.4
Indigenous Non Status	4	5.9	5.9	88.2
Indigenous Status	7	10.3	10.3	98.5
Middle Eastern European	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	68	100.0	100.0	

Table 5: Ethnicity By Age

		Age		Total
		19-25	26+	
Ethnicity	African descent	1	5	6
	European descent	10	33	43
	Indigenous Ancestry Non Status	1	6	7
	Indigenous Non Status	2	2	4
	Indigenous Status	4	3	7
	Middle Eastern European	0	1	1
Total		18	50	68

4.5 Educational Attainment of Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, low educational attainment is part of the general inmate profile internationally. Unfortunately, this has been found to be consistent in the profile statistics of inmates in Nova Scotia. For example, in the 1999 snapshot, almost half (42%) of all those incarcerated, had only achieved a grade 9 education (or less) compared to 19% of the non-incarcerated adult population in Nova Scotia. The remaining 58% had a grade 12 education or higher. In the 2010 snapshot, it was reported that in the larger Canadian prison population, 62% of adult offenders had less than a high school education and just 7% had graduated from a post-secondary program (Census, 2006). In comparison, in 2006, 23% of the

non-incarcerated adult population in Nova Scotia had less than a high school education and more than half (55%) had completed some form of post-secondary education (Census, 2006). In our 2015 sample, almost 68% of survey respondents had completed grade 12 or less. When analyzing for age differences in education, I found that 88% of young incarcerated adults and 60% of incarcerated adults 26 years and older had completed grade 12 or less (Table 6). Understandably, only 11% of incarcerated young adults had education past grade 12 and 34% of incarcerated adults over 26 had education past grade 12 (Table 7). Vocational training and education is a huge part of the 'work' of young adulthood and plays a big part in identity formation. The implications and needs associated with this aspect of personal development for incarcerated young adults will be discussed at greater length in the last chapter.

Table 6: Results of Question: What is the highest level of education that you have?

Education Levels of Total Sample

Education	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
8th grade or less	6	8.8	8.8	8.8
Some high school	24	35.3	35.3	44.1
Highschool/GE D	16	23.5	23.5	67.6
Some College	4	5.9	5.9	73.5
College diploma	7	10.3	10.3	83.8
Some university	5	7.4	7.4	91.2
University degree	2	2.9	2.9	94.1
Some Graduate	1	1.5	1.5	95.6
Other	3	4.4	4.4	100.0
Total	68	100.0	100.0	

Table 7: Educational Attainment by Age

Education	Age		Total
	19-25	26+	
8th grade or less	1	5	6
Some high school	9	15	24
Highschool/GED	6	10	16
Some College	1	3	4
College diploma	1	6	7
Some university	0	5	5
University degree	0	2	2
Some Graduate	0	1	1
Other	0	3	3
Total	18	50	68

4.6 Substance Abuse of Survey Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

Substance abuse issues, mental health diagnoses, psychiatric hospitalizations, isolation and troubles with anger have all been examined by age. Unfortunately, the variables measured and the metrics reported on vary, so it is not a straight comparison. That said, it appears as though the prevalence of substance abuse among prisoners has increased over the past 15 years. Starting with the 1999 report, risk-assessment data on inmates indicated that substance abuse was the most frequently occurring high-needs area at 38%. This snapshot also revealed that in most provinces in Canada, except for Prince Edward Island, substance abuse was the most frequently occurring treatment need, and that larger proportions of Aboriginal inmates had high needs with regard to treatment and support for substance abuse issues (71% versus 36% for non-Aboriginal). In the 2010 snapshot, almost one-in-five adults (19%) and nearly one-quarter of youth (24%), reported drinking alcohol almost every day in the year preceding their incarceration. Furthermore, over half of adults (55%) and more than three-quarters of young offenders (76%), reported using drugs daily. In our 2015 survey, an alarming 76% had reported having substance abuse issues at some point. Assessing for differences by age, 83% of the 18-25-year-old survey respondents reported having substance abuse issues, almost 10% more than adults over 26 years of age (as seen in Table 8). When assessing for differences in gender, I found that 71% of the male respondents in our 2015 survey, indicated they experienced issues with substance abuse,

while all of the females reported that they had had substance abuse issues at some point in their lives (Table 9). Finally, in terms of the variance between the ethnic groups, 16% of African Nova Scotians reported substance abuse issues, while a much higher rate 79% for Caucasians, and 88% of Indigenous respondents reported substance abuse at some point in their life.

Table 8: Results for Question: Have you ever experienced substance abuse? Breakdown by Age

		Age		Total
		19-25	26+	
Experiences (Substance abuse)	No	3	13	16
	Yes	15	37	52
Total		18	50	68

Table 9: Experiences (substance abuse) by Gender

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Experiences (Substance abuse)	No	16	0	16
	Yes	40	12	52
Total		56	12	68

4.7 Mental Health of Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

For decades, reported prevalence rates of mental disorder among prisoners has varied considerably across studies in remand centres, jails, and provincial and federal prisons (Brink & Boer, 2001). Although the variable measured and definitions in these reports can differ as well, in the majority of research and published statistics from the past decade, the rates of people who enter the criminal justice system do so with existing mental health problems or illnesses at a much higher than the rest of the population (Armour, 2012; Brink, Doherty & Boer, 2001; CSC, 2008; 2009; 2015; John Howard Society, 2015; Livingston, 2009; Province of Nova Scotia, 2011; Smandych & Winterdyk, 2012). Indeed, the 2006 *Nunn Report*, included a summary statement of mental health for criminal-justice-system-involved youth which stated that "studies of repeat young offenders tend to consistently show that approximately 80% are living with mental health disorders" (Nunn, 2006, p.269). A more recent Canadian text reported that

"research consistently shows that as many as 90% of young offenders have experienced some sort of trauma in their childhood" (Oudshoorn, 2015, p. xvii). Interestingly, within a couple years of each other research out of Europe revealed an equally high prevalence of trauma in a sample of 658 justice involved youth (Dierkhising, Ko, Woods-Jaeger, Briggs, Lee, & Pynoos, 2013)

In terms of adult prisoners' mental health rates, statistics again vary by type of detention and region and reports are often very specific and draw upon various iterations of the DSM. Furthermore, in many reports there is little mention of the co-occurrence of mental health issues in one individual making it very difficult to get a comprehensive overview of the number of adults that may be struggling with a mental health disorder in prison (Kouyoumdjian, et al, 2015). That said, at an August 2017 community event in Halifax for *Prisoners Justice Day*, organized by *Books Beyond Bars* and the *East Coast Prison Justice Society*, Dr. Ivan Zinger, the Correctional Investigator of Canada, an ombudsman for prisoners, presented the following statistic: upon admission, 65% of federal offenders require psychological or psychiatric services (The Nova Scotia Advocate, 2017). Painting an even bleaker picture research from Edmonton showed that among provincial inmates in the city, 91.7 per cent of inmates had a diagnosable mental illness, 87.2 per cent had a substance-abuse issue and 56.7 per cent had an antisocial personality disorder (Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015). Meanwhile, a CSC Quick Facts webpage, *Research Results - Mental Health (2015)*, stated that since 2009, incoming federal offenders in CSC are screened for mental health concerns using a computerized screening assessment known as CoMHISS and results show that 62% of incoming female offenders and 50% of incoming male offenders required further mental health evaluation (CSC, 2015). The CSC also reported that "based on clinical interviews with incoming male offenders from three regions, the most prevalent problems are substance use disorders while over 40% of offenders met the criteria for a current diagnosis other than substance abuse or antisocial personality disorder" (CSC, 2015).

In the 2015 survey sample 72% of the TAY, and 52% of the older adults had had mental health diagnoses. Moreover, 33% of the TAY and 18% of the older adults experienced psychiatric hospitalization. Some might say the higher prevalence of TAYs involvement with mental health services is a manifestation of shifts in culture and the medical profession; being more open to considering and treating young people for mental health disorders and learning

disabilities that are said to impact behavior. Others would argue that this exemplifies negative consequences and expressions of labeling theory, while some may point to changes in how we are responding to/or treating youth and young adults who become involved with the justice system. Nevertheless these findings support my claim that there are significant differences not only in young peoples' cognitive maturity and psychosocial development, but also in their coping skills, their ability to process stress and trauma, and a higher prevalence of negative life experiences. Demonstrating this further, 26% of the older adults and 50% of the TAY told us they had been abandoned at some point in their lives. The TAY in this sample also reported higher rates of loneliness, isolation, and poor school performance. Finally, reports of sexual abuse, gang involvement and anger issues are also higher for the young adult cohort of the sample with, 100% of the women reporting having experienced sexual abuse. In line with the myriad of negative life experiences prevalent in this sample, Kouyoumdjian et al, found that half of the inmate population in their study reported a history of sexual, physical or emotional abuse in childhood (Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015).

4.8 Closing

In this chapter, I have presented the 2015 survey statistics on age, gender, ethnicity, education, and substance abuse and mental health rates and compared the results with data on these variables that was collected in 1999 and 2010. This comparison has demonstrated that several of the basic profile statistics of the 2015 sample are in line with provincial and national statistics documented in the DOJ produced snapshot reports. That said, this does not guarantee that surprising or novel findings regarding prisoners' ethnicity, family life, and/or family connections put forth in this thesis are accurate representations of prisoner profiles, or the typical life/family life experiences of the people who come to be imprisoned in Canada's correctional facilities. Nevertheless, the fact that most of the variables examined in this chapter either, aligned with enduring trends in crime, demonstrated known reporting inconsistencies, or reflected theories or concepts from criminological or sociological scholarship also stands in support of the question of the validity of the survey data and supports considering the sample as representative of the provincial prison population at the time, and the Canadian prison population more generally.

Chapter Five: Novel Survey Statistics-Family Connectivity

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, offender profile variables related to prisoner's life experiences and family that have been explored within studies of crime, are presented along with findings on novel variables inductively gleaned from examining the answers given on the 2015 surveys. To begin, survey data on the more commonly reported offender family profile statistics, such as the rate of family incarceration, recidivism, and the common family structure of prisoners, are presented and discussed before moving on to highlight and consider the key findings related to this thesis on family connection and family contact during incarceration. Due to the limited amount of Canadian research conducted on this topic, little is known about Canadian prisoners' families and their relationships during incarceration (Cunningham & Baker, 2003; Withers & Folsom, 2007); therefore, there is little to weigh this research against. Indeed, much of the research that has examined 'family structure' focuses on how divorce/divorce rates interact with delinquency (Faisal Khamis, 2016; Price & Kunz, 2003; Well & Rankin, 1991). However, sparse research from other countries provide for limited comparisons. Given this situation, using Canadian crime statistics from Statistics Canada and the DOJ, while drawing on several criminological theories that incorporate the family into hypotheses about crime, rehabilitation, and reintegration, statistically significant findings about prisoners' families and/or their family connections found in the survey data will be identified and examined.

The "Family Contact Statistics" section will directly answer how this sample of prisoners maintained connection with family while they were in jail. This chapter also discusses survey questions and feedback given concerning difficulties maintaining contact with family which helps to convey both, concerns related to the challenge of maintaining connections, and interest in maintaining connections with family. The answers to several of these questions feed into the central research question: to what degree do prisoners in Nova Scotia appear to value maintaining connection and contact with family while in jail? In acknowledging that the dialogue regarding how much people appear to "value" aspects of life such as family, which was teased out of the sample responses, includes only one researcher's interpretations, I tried to balance the interpretive aspect of my analysis by limiting the discussion to highlight and emphasize questions that more directly demonstrated, or not, the way in which prisoners value

family. This chapter ends with a brief synopsis of the implications of the findings with regards to my linked hypotheses.

5.2 Un-Commonly Reported Prisoner Family Variables

The first section of the 2015 survey collected information on the prisoners' families of origin, their parents, and their family life as a child. Then in the second section, it moved to solicit information about prisoners' current family, their familial relationships, and circumstances with regards to their children. Given that participants were able to identify anyone or any combination of family members, friends, or formal caregivers, i.e. foster parents or the state, the definition of family for this project was broad and inclusive to reflect the family diversity recognized in sociological studies of family in today's fluid society (McDaniel, & Tepperman, 2011). By gathering information on the prisoners' families of origin, the survey also captured data about prisoners' parents' upbringing and family life for some variables. Finally, similar questions were asked about their children's family life in the third section of the survey. Through the design of the questions, this project ultimately gave us a unique snapshot of the family background and life experiences of three generations of people. Due to the number of variables the survey had, the focus here is on survey questions or groups of questions that demonstrate or contradict this project's hypotheses and on the survey questions that answer or expand on one of the research questions. This thesis will not provide a full analysis of the survey data on family dimensions, as they are not all related to this project.

5.3 Prisoners' Parents-Family Structure: Who raised you?

Some reports have indicated that a large portion of offenders are born or raised in single-mother families (CCSD, 2004; Withers & Folsom, 2007), while the findings from this sample and research out of the United Kingdom challenge this old and unfounded stereotype and suggest that differences driven by larger sociological forces exist. As is shown in Table 10 below, almost 27% of the prisoners reported being raised in traditional nuclear families (cared for by "Both Parents Only"). In addition, when all of the "Both Parents" categories are combined, almost 40% of the 68 prisoners surveyed said they grew up in two-parent families. Similarly, in a 2012 report from the *Ministry of Justice* in the United Kingdom, 1435 prisoners were asked who they lived with as a child (up to the age of 17), and 47% stated that they lived with both parents (Williams, Papadopoulou & Booth, 2012). When examining for differences between the

two age groups, I found that while 30% of the entire sample who said they grew up with both parents were older adults, only 16.7% of the young adults reported having both parents as caregivers. Put another way, of those who selected "Both Parents Only" or the traditional nuclear family as their caregiver/family structure, 83% were adults over 25 years of age. Given that divorce laws in Canada changed in the 1980's, and consequently, Canada saw an increase in divorce rates, the significant difference in family structure by age that was found in this small sample aligns with what one would expect; a higher percentage of older prisoners would come from intact or two-parent families than young adult prisoners. As for gender differences found in the 2015 sample for this variable, 50% of the females said they grew up with "Both Parents" as opposed to only 37.5% of the males.

Table 10: Results for Question: Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18 years? Caregivers of Total Sample.

Caregiver Types Reported	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
"Both Parents" and Lrg Circle	8	11.8	11.8	11.8
"Both Parents" and Small Circle	1	1.5	1.5	13.2
"Both Parents" Only	18	26.5	26.5	39.7
"Father" and Small Circle	1	1.5	1.5	41.2
"Father" Only	1	1.5	1.5	42.6
"Mother" and Large Circle	4	5.9	5.9	48.5
"Mother" and Small Circle	8	11.8	11.8	60.3
"Mother" Only	8	11.8	11.8	72.1
Fragmented: External Care Givers	13	19.1	19.1	91.2
Fragmented: Large Circle	2	2.9	2.9	94.1
Fragmented: Small Circle	4	5.9	5.9	100.0
Total	68	100.0	100.0	

The second most common family structure type reported in the 2015 sample was mother-led families¹⁰. When all of the results from the categories labelled "Mother" were combined, just under 30% of the entire sample indicated they grew up in mother-led families. In terms of age and gender variances within those who said they were raised by their mother, there was very little difference in age for this variable with almost one-third of the young adults and one-third of the older adults reporting being from mother-led families. In contrast a significantly smaller ratio of the female respondents reported growing up in mother-led families. Finally, with regards to variance in ethnicity of "single mother"/mother-led families, there were some notable differences. Almost 66% of the prisoners of African descent, 33% of the prisoners of Indigenous descent, and 20% of the prisoners of European descent grew up in mother-led families. As for which group had the highest prevalence of "Mother Only" family types, just over 10% of prisoners of European and Indigenous decent reported that they were cared for primarily by their "mothers only", while almost 18% of the prisoners of African descent reported being raised by their "mothers only". This is an instance where the small sample size may be influencing the results, and in turn, brings up the question of the representativeness of the findings on ethnicity with regards to novel variables.

Having covered the highlights of sample findings on the family structures most commonly reported in the survey, a significant amount of attention will now be given to the presentation and discussion of sample statistics on the prevalence of prisoners' involvement in the social services system, i.e. state care. As seen in Table 10, "Fragmented" is another family type or caregiver experience that was identified in the data analysis of survey participants' answers. "Fragmented: External caregivers" was assigned as the caregiver type if they selected only adoption, foster care, or group homes as their answer/s to the question: "which family member cared for you between 0-18?". Just over 19% of the total 2015 survey sample reported that they grew up in care with some significant differences by age. First, however, it is important to explain the other category of answers that are combined with "External caregivers" to give a more complete picture of those who were involved in care environments outside of the family and/or unstable family environments growing up. "Fragmented: Large or small circle" was assigned as the caregiver/family type if participants selected a combination of one or more family members and a group home, foster care, or residential care. Another 8.8% of the 2015 survey participants said they had spent at least some time in a group/residential home or foster

care during their youth. This means that in total almost 30% of the entire 2015 survey sample reported they had some experience with state care. Neither the 1999 nor the 2010 snapshots of offenders collected information on experience in state care. *The National Prison Survey*, 1991, reported that 26% of prisoners had been cared for by a local authority at some point (Dodd & Hunter, 1992). In a more recent report specific to the Canadian prison population, from the *Office of the Correctional Investigator (OCI)* of Canada, social services were said to have been "extensively involved in the lives of 25% of federally incarcerated young adults" interviewed in 2015/16 (Elman & Zinger, 2017). Further analysis of this data uncovered some disconcerting implications when analysing for differences in age, gender, and ethnicity.

Looking at Table 11, which presents condensed caregiver-type data, what we see is, when comparing TAY to older adults, double the ratio of older prisoners grew up with "Both Parents". What this table also shows is that the number of older adults who experienced growing up in a nuclear family is almost exactly inverse with the number of TAY who experienced living in care. If this one finding is representative of the incarcerated young adult population, it poses many questions. In particular, two questions that relate to the topic of this thesis are: is this indicative of the impact of higher divorce rates/broken families and no social support or, is this evidence of more active/intrusive child services involvement? One senior social worker I spoke with asserts that we need to stop taking teenagers from their parents, pointing out that when we do this we put them out into the world in a broken social support system -- essentially, to fend for themselves. Additional sample statistics return us to this point later in this chapter.

Before moving on to examine another variable of interest, a little more on exactly which prisoners had experience with child welfare/social systems. In this sample, nearly all (92%) of the 13 prisoners who reported external care as their primary caregiver were male, almost 39% were young adults, and 77% were of European descent, with the other 23% being of Indigenous background. This may suggest that there could be great differences in how culture and family values or family resources intersect with regard to a willingness to support troubled sons. Indeed, the sample may not be demonstrating a pattern related to cultural heritage at all. Instead, this may be a manifestation of changing family values more generally, or perhaps differences in the way child welfare/social services intervene with troubled young men and their families today. These findings support claims that time spent in care, is linked to increased risk of later life

incarceration (Dodd & Hunter, 1992; Elman & Zinger, 2017; Ontario Ministry of Children and Youth Services, 2014; Sherlock & Culbert, 2014; Williams et al, 2012).

Gender differences were also discussed in the 2012 report from the United Kingdom with reference to research out of London in the late 1990's that examined living arrangements and experiences of state care among prisoners. This study found that 15% of their sample of female prisoners had grown up in children's homes, while 20% of their overall sample had ever been taken into care (Caddle and Crisp, 1997). Additional research and analysis of age or gender differences for this "offender profile" variable is sparse. With this in mind, given that these statistics have strong implications for troubled male youth and young adults of European and Indigenous descent, more research on the topic is needed in order to gauge the reliability of this finding and/or identify patterns that demand attention.

Table 11: Caregivers of Prisoners by Age - Condensed

Family Structure	TAY	25+
Both Parents Only	16%	30%
Both Parents and Other		
Family	22%	10%
Mother	27%	30%
External Care	27%	16%
Fragmented (Includes Ext		
Care)	33%	26%

5.4 Prisoners with Children

A large number of the prisoners who participated in the survey reported having had children, with a little over 91% indicating they were parents to at least one child. Most of the survey participants 26%, had one child, another 20% had two children, and another 20% had four children (Table 15). The differences in the number of children between the two age groups are what one would expect as illustrated in Table 15. Of the young adults, only 17% indicated that they had more than two children, and 83% reported having just one or two children. Similarly, of the 21 participants who reported having large families, with four or more children, 95% were older adults. Furthermore, almost 92% of the female prisoners that took part in the 2015 survey told us they were parents. Moreover, the sample statistics demonstrated a significant imbalance by gender and ethnicity revealing that almost 42% of the females who reported they were parents

were of Indigenous descent. In terms of other notable differences by ethnicity, of the prisoners who reported having four or more children, 14% were African Nova Scotian, 28.5% were Indigenous (Status or Non Status) and almost 52.5% were of European descent. As was discussed in Chapter Two, the research on the impacts of incarceration to family and children focusses largely on the effects of parental incarceration. Parental incarceration and the family fragmentation with parent-child separation due to incarceration, is often considered a key risk factor that contributes to increased risk of later life incarceration of these children (Aaron & Dallaire, 2010; Bayes, 2017; Foster & Hagen, 2015; Murray, & Farrington, 2005; Murray & Murray, 2010;). Before moving on to look at the sample's statistics on familial incarceration, a couple of questions that give context to the lives of these prisoners' children will be examined and discussed.

Table 12: Results for Question: How many children of your own (including adopted and step children) do you have? Prisoners with Children/Number of Children of Total Sample.

# of Children	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
.00	6	8.8	8.8	8.8
1.00	18	26.5	26.5	35.3
2.00	14	20.6	20.6	55.9
2.50	1	1.5	1.5	57.4
3.00	8	11.8	11.8	69.1
4.00	14	20.6	20.6	89.7
5.00	6	8.8	8.8	98.5
7.00	1	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	68	100.0	100.0	

Table 13: Number of Children by Age - Condensed

# of Children	Age		Total
	19-25	26+	
0	3	3	6
1 or 2	12	20	18
2.5	1	0	1
3	1	7	8
4 +	1	20	14
Totals	18	50	68

5.5 Life Experience/Context of Children with Incarcerated Parents

The most obvious thing to look at in gauging family fragmentation due to incarceration is where children lived before their parents' incarceration and where they lived during or after. Among many other questions specific to the care of children, the survey specifically asks: "Before incarceration where was the child living?" and "where is the child living currently?". With regard to who children were living with before incarceration, at least 50% of each age group said their child lived with them. Where the rest of these children lived before and after incarceration paints a picture of distinct generational differences in family support and family responses to incarceration, as well as potential trends in our social support system's (child welfare) responses to parental incarceration. For instance, though half of each age group's children lived with them before incarceration, only 6% of the young adults' children and 25% of the older adults' children lived with the other parent before incarceration. At first glance, this suggests that a higher ratio of families of the older adults in this sample had likely experienced divorce or separation and lost or resigned custody of their children prior to being incarcerated, given that older adults had more time to marry and divorce/separate. Nevertheless, according to this sample, almost 38% of the young adults' children had not lived with them before incarceration. These survey results are shown in Table 17. The survey also asked, "Before incarceration, did you have contact with your child?". Almost 70% of the participants from each age group said they had frequent contact with their child. In addition, a higher ratio of the young adults also reported having contact "Sometimes".

The results of these questions also show 12.5% of the children of young adult prisoners lived with their grandparents before incarceration and 25% were reported to be in foster care prior to incarceration. This is in stark contrast to the life experiences of the children of older adult prisoners, with only 7% living with their grandparents and none in foster care prior to incarceration. This may be indicative of growth or change in either the role extended family plays in response to crime and incarceration in modern families or the role the state has played/is playing with regards to the removal of children from the family today. The statistics on experiences with state/foster care vary from province to province, as do child welfare services and processes, however, in general reports indicate that the number of children in care has been on the rise (Jones, Sinha & Trocmé, 2015; Trocmé, Fallon, MacLaurin, & Neves, 2005). In this

sample external care/state care involvement was reported to only shift slightly post-incarceration. The story the data tells gets more interesting when we look at where prisoners' children were living at the time of the survey. Here it appears as though there is significant growth or change in the key social support response to incarceration with regard to the children of prisoners; an increase in support from grandparents. Indeed, survey participants in both age groups reported significant increases in grandparent involvement for child care after/during incarceration. Finally, just over 41% of the families who had grandparents involved in child care were Indigenous, 53% were Caucasian/European descent, almost 6% were of "Other descent", and one prisoner of African descent said that the child was being cared for by an "Other relative".

Table 14: Parental Involvement/Child's Residence Before and After Incarceration

Questions asked: Before incarceration...		YA	26+	Total
Did you have contact with child?	Frequently	69%	68%	41
	Sometimes	25%	18%	12
Where was the child living?	With you	50%	57%	6
	With other parent	6%	25%	12
	With their grandparents	12.5%	7%	5
	In foster care	25%	0	4
Child's CURRENT residence?	With parent	31%	54%	29
	With your partner	6%	9%	5
	With grandparents	44%	23%	17
	In foster care	19%	2%	4
Total #'s by age - who answered questions.	-----	16	44	60

Does not account for "No answers" within the total number who said they had children.

In an attempt to capture a more general measure of family fragmentation experienced by prisoner's children in this sample, my analysis assessed, compared, and counted several aspects of these variables. Firstly, of the 60 people who answered these questions, almost 62% reported that children experienced changes in residence or caregivers since incarceration. Moreover,

based on the answers to the question, "Have your children been separated from their siblings since incarceration?", the ratio of young adults' children who were separated from their siblings since incarceration was triple the ratio of older adults' children. This suggests that children in today's incarcerated young adults' families experience compounded family fragmentation at higher rates than the children of older adults did in the past. If this is representative of what happens with prisoners and their children upon incarceration, more children and families are experiencing state intervention and being separated (and in turn, experiencing further and more dramatic family fragmentation) today. The importance of the implications of these findings should not be overlooked, and more research on the topic should be conducted sooner than later in order to address the need, quality, and frequency of state interventions toward the welfare of children of incarcerated people.

5.6 Exposure to Crime: Familial Incarceration

A key aspect of 'the family' discussed in the literature is incarcerated parents and the risks associated with their incarceration. More specifically, scholars have examined whether having experienced parental incarceration increases the child's risk for later life incarceration (Bayes, 2017; Murray & Murray, 2010; Aaron & Dallaire, 2010). Research also more frequently examines prisoners' children and their families' experiences where the incarcerated person are fathers, which is a logical focus given that males account for the majority of prison populations. Recalling that the 2015 project and survey set out specifically to assess whether or not children are at higher risk of later life incarceration due to the impacts of any family members' incarceration, I now present the survey statistics that speak to this and prisoners' children's knowledge of familial incarceration. For this project, the age at which people found out they had a family member in jail, which family member was in jail, and recidivism were the key variables of interest in order to get a better picture of exposure to crime and criminal system involvement for this sample. Almost all (97%) of the participants in this survey had had a family member who was incarcerated at some point, and there appears to be a difference in the younger cohort with regards to access or knowledge of family incarceration. In Table 18, we see that close to a third of the older adults reported not knowing of familial incarceration until 15 years of age or older; whereas over 90% of the young adults knew about familial incarceration before the age of 15. This could be an indication of a general change in society's social practices of being more

open with young people as this type of information was more likely to have been maintained as family secrets in past generations. Or perhaps it is a result of easier access to information through social media; indeed, without more research the meaning of these results are unclear.

Table 15: Familial Incarceration and Age Learned of Familial Incarceration

Variable Measured/Exposure to Crime	YA	26+
Parental Incarceration Only	22%	28%
Familial Incarceration	78%	74%
Learned of Fam Incarceration -10 yr	47%	37%
Learned of Fam Incarceration 11-15 yr	47%	31%
Learned of Fam Incarceration +15	6%	31%

As Table 18 also shows, the survey statistics for parental and familial incarceration were similar for both age groups. In contrast to what one might expect, just 25% of the total survey participants reported that only their parent/s had been incarcerated, while at the same time over 75% of the sample reported a family member other than a parent had been incarcerated. Which relations were most frequently reported to be the family member who was incarcerated offered potentially interesting insights into the social influences discussed in social theories of crime that can be forces that work to increase or decrease the risk of criminality. Almost 52% of the participants reported that they had brothers who had been incarcerated, 44% had uncles, and 40% had fathers named as one of their family members who had been incarcerated⁵ (not adjusting for having multiple family members incarcerated). These statistics suggest that it would be important to examine social factors/risks with a harder look at the peer aspect, and more specifically, the "familial-peer" incarceration factor in risks/pathways to crime. That said, given the strong link between poverty and crime, prisoners' community of origin are often economically disadvantaged areas that, like the rest of Canada, have suffered from cut backs to recreational programs and access to libraries and community centers. An analysis of the geographic region of this sample of prisoners' home communities would be another worthwhile inquiry which would, based on amassing evidence, reveal that families who experience the incarceration of multiple family members are from fiscally neglected and marginalized communities (Chilton, 1964; Seigel & McCormick, 2016; Messner & Tardiff, 1986; Mikkonen

& Raphael, 2010; Pratt & Godsey, 2003; Pratt & Cullen, 2005; West, 1984; Wikstrom & Dolmen, 1990)

If these findings prove representative to familial incarceration rates in Canada, specialized and targeted interventions and initiatives and community/crime preventions strategies and responses are needed to provide/create opportunities for meaningful and culturally sensitive support for families/siblings who have incarcerated loved ones. Toward this end, there is much to be said for the power of peer-to-peer mentoring and support systems, especially during adolescence and young adulthood, while our peer groups are so important to us/influential. Moreover, there are rehabilitation programs and education models using peer mentoring as a staple in their client's personal and organizational success seen in projects with marginalized or vulnerable populations of young people who are in need of social supports, as well as with the general youth population in peer-to-peer programs in public schools. (Budny, Paul, & Newborg, 2010; Ellis, Small-McGinley, & De Fabrizio, 2001; Latzman, 2008; Stoltz & Sandoval, 2005). Unfortunately, comprehensive programs for special populations are piecemeal across the country and typically only funded for 2 to 5 years. Indeed, the state has not bothered to invest in youth in Canada, and North American youth more generally, as is demonstrated in the out-dated, broken, and troubled education systems and annual reductions in funding for the education, training, and recreation more generally (Bazemore, 2001; Giroux, 2013; Schissel, 2006). Ultimately, in the current political and economic climate young people are being treated as if they are a disposable cheap labour force (Bazemore, 2001; Giroux 2013; 2014; 2015; Walklate & McGarry, 2015).

5.7 Previous Arrests/Convictions of Respondents and Prisoners in Canada

In the 1999 snapshot of inmates in Canada's adult correctional facilities, Nova Scotia data showed that the majority of inmates (82%) had at least one previous adult conviction. Further, 58% of the inmates had a prior term of provincial/territorial incarceration and 12% had a prior term of federal incarceration. In terms of gender differences in this sample, a larger proportion of male versus female inmates in Nova Scotia had previous convictions (82% male versus 64% female). In the 2010 snapshot, previous convictions data was collected for offenders who were serving an aggregate sentence of more than 30 days. Of the 255 adult offenders about whom information was collected, 60% had 10 or more previous adult convictions and only 10% had no previous adult convictions. In the same report, information was also collected on youth serving

time on the day of the snapshot. Of the 30 young offenders, 63% had ten or more previous convictions in youth court and only one young offender had no previous convictions.

To query participants about their recidivism in the 2015 sample, the survey asked how many times participants had been incarcerated giving three options of answers: "1-3 times, 4-7 times, and 7-9 times". Almost 50% of the total sample (33 of 68), said they had been incarcerated 4-7 times, and over 33% reported having been incarcerated 1-3 times. Examining the group who indicated that they had 'high recidivism rates' (hrr), expressed as '4+hrr', defined as 4 or more times incarcerated, the statistics show that 54% of this group (18) had been incarcerated 7 or more times. Of this 'highest recidivism group' (the 18 with a 7+hrr), 77% of these people reported that two or more family members had been incarcerated at some point. With most of the sample reporting some familial incarceration and indicating they had been previously incarcerated, it was difficult to identify many additional statistical differences by age, gender, or ethnicity. That said, as per age-crime patterns and reports there were higher rates of recidivism among young adults. The data showed that 55% of the young adults were 4+hrr, while 48% of the older adults were 4+hrr. Another difference between the age groups among 4+hrr individuals was that a higher percentage (80%) of the 4+hrr TAY had two or more family members incarcerated than was present with the 4+hrr older adults (62%). Finally, almost 25% of the older adults reported that only their fathers had been incarcerated; whereas only 16% of the young adults' fathers were the only family member incarcerated.

5.8 Prisoners' Feedback on Corrections Support and Their Children

In a 2010 review of public opinion, findings indicated that most people believe that serving time in a prison is not only comfortable but includes many privileges (Roberts & Hough, 2005). If this were accurate, maintaining family connections during incarceration could presumably be one of the basic privileges that would be supported in correctional policy and practice. In contrast, 85% of this sample of prisoners said that the provincial facility they were in did not support them in maintaining family/community engagement. According to the 2015 survey results, there are several issues surrounding access to/frequency of contact by phone and 'in person visits' and the data presents as evidence of low levels of family/social contact during incarceration. Although what suffices as a 'low level' of contact is debatable and subjective, the contact data from the 2015 survey provides a baseline for 'low' contact levels that would not be

argued by many. Furthermore, if this myth of prisoners 'having it good' and living better than the average citizen were true, then surely this would include full health care, correct? Wrong. New reports of insufficient, delayed or negligent medical care for prisoners in Canadian prisons are surfacing in the media regularly (Devet, 2017a; Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015; White, 2017). In line with this, almost 87% of the sample said that the facility does not support them in accessing medical interventions in a timely manner. This group of prisoners also agreed that the provincial facilities were doing poorly in providing culturally appropriate interventions, support, and access to information on government policies that affect them, support in understanding their legal rights, and access to education.

In contrast to this last claim and the known tendency for provincial facilities being limited in programming opportunities as remand centres, 14 of 68 survey participants had taken part in parenting classes; just over 31% of the young adults and almost 19% of the older adults. This shows a desire for personal betterment and concern for family. This finding was surprising in that a parenting program had been offered in a provincial facility, given the myriad of challenges around delivering programs to provincially sentenced individuals - being in custody for shorter or intermittent periods of time. The main point here is, that we had 25% of our snapshot sample participate in this parenting course, which I later found out does not run regularly, demonstrates a high level of interest, engagement, and follow through toward learning programs. Another survey question that speaks to the query of prisoner's care and concern about their children was: "Are you concerned your children will be incarcerated?". Perhaps surprising to those who have exaggerated vilified images of who all of the people in our prisons are, 45% of the entire sample said they were concerned their children will be incarcerated₁₁.

The survey also asked participants if they had talked to any of the children connected to them about the realities of being incarcerated. A little over one third of the sample reported having discussed this topic with their children, 90% of them being older adults. This is not surprising given that older adults children would be of older ages where these conversations have had time to unfold. Nor is it surprising when we once again consider the lack of social support and safe space for discussing the challenges and turmoil that prisoners and their families face in response to incarceration. Clearly those with less life experience would be less apt or equipped to have these discussions with their children and/or, younger prisoners would not have had to have

these conversations with their children yet, presumably because their children would be much younger than the older adult's children.

Returning to examine some characteristics that go along with the stereotype young adult males, and more specifically young adult prisoners, I also attempted to assess whether or not incarcerated young adults are cut off from their families or show less care or concern about maintaining family connections than older adults. Several questions solicited answers that could loosely speak to if and how each age group valued their families and or valued maintaining family connection while incarcerated. One question asked: Upon release will you have contact with your child? Almost 85% of the entire sample said they would have contact with their children when they got out of jail. In this set of questions about connecting with their children upon release, we also ask: Upon release, will you visit your child? Of the young adults, 81% said they would visit their children when they get out; whereas only 65% of the older adults said they would visit upon release. Finally, almost 45% of the young adult parents and 30% of the older adults said they would like to work on their relationships with their children upon release.

5.9 Family Contact Statistics

This section of this chapter moves on to query the degree to which this 2015 sample of prisoners appears to value and maintain contact with family. The family contact statistics presented also show exactly how, and how much, this sample of prisoners was maintaining family contact and connection. In one question about the methods and frequencies used to stay in contact with children, it became clear that most of these men and women were losing touch with their children while they were serving their sentences. The question that provided an overall picture of the methods and frequencies used to stay in contact with children is where this section begins. The survey asks participants to: "Please indicate the methods and frequencies used to stay in contact with your child", and we specified "mark an X in the box for each" contact method they used and listed contact methods with five frequency options ranging from "Never" to "Weekly". Letters, phone calls, and visits were most commonly used while audio/video messages, family reunion program/s, and teleconference were reported to be used by less than 5% of the sample participants. Letters, as well, had minimal use with 20% of the sample indicating they sent letters 3 to 4 times a year, and another 27% indicating they sent letters monthly or weekly. As one might expect, almost double the ratio of the older adults wrote

letters and wrote more frequently than did TAY. In light of these results, the rest of this chapter focuses on visits and phone calls, as they are the key means by which prisoner stay connected with family.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, each survey participant recorded each person who had visited them in prison and how many times each person visited in the six months previous to the survey. The same information was collected about each person with whom they had had telephone calls, and this data was scrutinized for patterns in the answers. By compiling, grouping, and compressing all 68 reports of prisoners contact information with supports outside of the prison into meaningful "visit types" and "phone call types", the data was summarized. Table 19 shows the results for visit frequencies for each age group and the total sample. What is most striking is that the most commonly reported visit type was "No Visits". Indeed, almost one third of the sample had not had face-to-face contact with anyone from their family in the six months previous. Moreover, when we add up all the family/frequency types of visits, less than half of the survey participants had seen a family member in the six months previous to the survey. Although the research on visits is limited making it difficult to gauge these findings, the 2009 Canadian study found that of those who had visits between 2005-06, the average number of visits was 6.7 (Derkzen et al, 2009).

It is important to note at this time, that some of these results should be considered cautiously given the potential for the various forms of response bias or variation common to self-report structured interviews or surveys. In this case, responses accuracy issues may be high with regard to how people might think about and calculate visits due to the question wording/the specific way the question is posed. For example, due to the short sentences and recidivism characteristic of criminal justice system processing through provincial facilities, a person who served two months at the beginning of 2015 and four months in the fall of 2015 leading up to the administration of the survey, may or may not have counted visits over the entire six months that they served in 2015 or, they may have answered based on only four months (the four previous months) as opposed to the "last six months", as the survey question indicated. Similarly, a participant who had only been in the facility for a month at the time of the survey may have answered with just that month in mind. Though this would be accurate, their total visits would present as low for the six month period the question is asking about.

Table 16: Family visits/frequencies.

Visit Types	TAY	Adults	Sample
1-3 Visits	6%	13%	10%
4-9 Visits	41%	19%	23%
10+ Visits	18%	13.00%	13%
No Visits	23%	38%	32%

(Does not account for the complete numbers /types of answers_{1,2})

Also on this topic, in the first question about visitors not one of the young adults who participated in the survey reported seeing their children/having a visit from their child in the previous six months of incarceration, and only 14% (7) of the older adults saw their children in the previous six months. As I worked through my analysis I found some discrepancies between answer counts of the question, "Within the last six months which family members have visited you and how many times?" and the answer counts of the question, "Please indicate the methods and frequencies you used to stay in contact with this child". Though this comparison did not uncover dramatic inconsistencies, the difference between these two answer sets draws attention to the myriad forms of response bias that can also be a result of question format and survey design. In the contact method and frequency question, one (1) young adult said they had seen their child in the past six months, not a huge discrepancy; however; the older adults' response to this question showed a significant jump with now 27% (12) reporting that they had a visit from their child in the previous six months. Nevertheless, the number of prisoners in this sample who had seen their child in the last six months is still low.

The survey also asked participants about what made it hard for their children to visit. For answers, a list of potential issues was provided so participants could check the issues they felt were problematic as was a section for open comments about challenges related to children visiting. Based on the most common reasons selected as to why the majority of those who participated in the survey had not seen their children, it was not because they did not care, or that the child's other parent (or their family members) had cut them off or did not allow it. In fact, only one person from this sample said that their child /children did not want to visit. Indeed, the answers to this question suggest that this sample of prisoners value family and are especially concerned about how their incarceration and a visit to see them in prison may affect their children. The most common reason given for not seeing their child was, "I do not want my children to see me in prison", selected by 62% of the sample. The second most common reason

given was, "the visiting space is not good for children" cited by 50% of survey participants. Furthermore, almost 28% said that visiting in prison was too stressful and 11% made comments about the difficulties for children with regards to visits through glass. Finally, 45% reported that children did not visit them in prison because it was too far to travel from their home.

Table 17: Reasons Children Do Not Visit - by Age.

Reason for no/low visits	Age		
	TAY	Adults	Total
Children Visit (Children don't want to visit)	0	1	1
Children Visit (Too stressful)	4	14	18
Too Far	8	21	29
Children Visit (Visiting space not good)	10	22	32
Children Visit (Don't want them to see in prison)	11	29	40
No Contact/Glass	1	6	7
Total	16	48	64

These variables were also examined for differences in gender, which brought forth several significant findings that, at first glance, lend support to some of the more popular clichés about the differences between men and women. To begin, the most striking difference is that almost 70% of the men were concerned about being seen in prison by their children while only 33% of the women were concerned about this. Some may interpret this difference as a matter of male pride or as a result of the pressure/awareness males have about stereotypical expectations of "being men" and the belief that they need to hide their mistakes. Others may infer this to be a display of women as mothers on an a priori basis; that they naturally understand the importance of parent-child connection and attachment. I interpret these results to completely contradict enduring stereotypes of masculinity and fathers more generally and more specifically, the profile of male prisoners. Indeed, I understand this as a demonstration of men and fathers as being sensitive, empathetic, and concerned or fearful; not wanting their children to go through what they went through or to be negatively impacted by seeing them in prison. Nevertheless, these findings suggest there is an unfair requirement for a posteriori knowledge of 'parental concern and care' among male prisoners who are fathers. This also suggests heightened levels of shame

for male offenders who are role models to children, and in turn their increased needs when it comes to carrying this burden and redeeming themselves in the public and private domains.

In order to understand these results more fully, further research into visitation patterns and prisoners’ perspectives of the problems they face with regards to family and children visiting would need to be conducted. Also, over 50% of the men were concerned about the visiting space not being good for children as compared to 25% of the women. Though many would likely agree that visiting with children in a prison space may not be an appropriate or sufficient environment for children, the importance of parent-child connection through regular contact is essential for healthy development. It is plausible that as a result of inequities in the legal system, which give female prisoners who are mothers a priori, more legal rights than male prisoners who are fathers, female prisoners who are mothers more readily come to care less about the potential stress or the quality of the visit/visiting space, and instead leverage their rights as parents to maximize their visitor privileges, devoid of considerations for their child. Despite the thought processes or policies that contribute to these striking gender differences, prisoners who are parents would be well advised to overlook the qualities of the visiting space in favour of visiting with their children whenever possible seeing as attachment theory holds that face-to-face physical contact with parents and caregivers alike are essential for a healthy human development (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Bowlby, 1944; 1969; Murray & Murray, 2010). Moreover, as has been discussed, novel studies have shown that regular contact and visitation with children can reduce their risk of later life incarceration.

Table 18: Reasons Children Do Not Visit – by Gender.

Reason for no/low visits	Gender		
	Male	Female	Total
Children Visit (Children don't want to visit)	0	1	1
Children Visit (Too stressful)	16	2	18
Children Visit (Too far)	23	6	29
Children Visit (Visiting space not good)	29	3	32
Children Visit (Don't want them to see in prison)	36	4	40
No Contact/ Glass	5	2	7
Total	52	12	64

While many would argue that being removed from your family and friends is part of the punishment for committing a crime, I have yet to hear how we justify doing this to the children of prisoners, given what has been established about the negative impact family fragmentation and separation due to incarceration. In response to this, many may believe that prison is no place for children and that prisoners can keep in touch through phone calls. Based on the 2015 survey results for the question, "who have you spoken to on the phone in the last six months and how many times?", prisoners are not able to make up for the lack of face-to-face contact with their children by regular phone calls. Indeed, the most outstanding finding here was that none of the young adults had spoken to their children in the six months previous to the administration of the 2015 survey. Again, there were discrepancies between the answers given to the two questions about contact methods and frequency. As previously stated in the first question, no one reported talking to their children on the telephone, while almost half (8) of the young adults reported that they spoke to their children at least monthly in the second question which asked participants to indicate all the contact methods they were using. In the case of the older adults, 54% of them said they talked to their children on the telephone in the six months previous in the second question about contact methods and frequency. Looking at the data with the higher reports of phone calls, the best case scenario is that 60% of the entire sample spoke with their children at least monthly. Based on the experiences of the families I am working with, they speak to their sons once a week; however, calling one's parent is presumably quite different than calling one's child. Once again, more research with other samples/larger samples would provide for a clearer picture.

Working with the compiled answer data from the first question, which is presented in Table 19, the following observations can be made. Adding together the total prisoners who had six or more phone calls with those who had 15 or more phone calls, questionnaire results suggest that 66% of the sample made verbal contact with loved ones at least six times in the six-month period (176 days) prior to the administration of the survey. Even at 15 phone calls in six months, prisoners would have only made contact with loved ones every 12 days. Indeed, when you add those who had 0-5 calls to those who had calls from "Mother or Parents Only" and "No One Selected/No Family" for each of the age groups, 23% of the young adults and 42% of the older adults reported minimal contact family over the phone during the six months previous to completing the survey. Similar to the questions on visiting, survey participants were also asked

what made it difficult for you and your child to talk on the phone. Again, there is a list given as well as space to provide written feedback. The cost of collect calls and the prison calling system was the most consistently cited issue with regards to maintaining contact/family connection during incarceration. In total, 60% of the total sample said the cost of telephone calls was impacting their ability to stay in touch with family using the telephone. This should come as no surprise given the attention companies like Cal2Talk, the leading provider of collect calls specializing in prison/jail telephone service across Canada, have had in reports and news stories over the past couple of years (Devet, 2017a; Donovan, 2017; Graveland, 2016; Trinh, 2017).

Table 19: Family Phone Call Frequencies

Call Types	TAY	Adults	Sample
0-5 Calls	6%	20%	12%
6-14 Calls	44%	44%	44%
15+ Calls	39%	16%	22%
Mother or Parents Only	6%	8%	7%
No One Selected/No Family	11%	14%	9%

Access to telephones and scheduling issues with the regards to the availability of family/family and prison schedules of telephone use were the two more of the common issues identified in this sample. Among the growing number of families/family members I support, these same troubles have been cited as significant obstacles with regard to staying in touch with their incarcerated loved one by telephone. As was discussed earlier, a few researchers have looked at different family visitation programs and have found evidence which suggests that more consistent contact with family is a mitigating force for later life incarceration among prisoners' children. Likewise, as noted previously some studies have shown that more contact with family and children appeared to be a motivating factor that reduced prisoner recidivism is this in elsewhere?). If this is the case, there is much room for change and improvement within correctional policies and practices. It seems the caveat here is having the courage and industry support to run family programs in our prisons, and in turn, the opportunity to conduct more research to determine how much of a motivating force children and family can be in the quest to assist reform or reintegration. These and other suggestions and recommendations will be discussed in the final chapter.

5.10 Closing

In this chapter, I have presented the 2015 survey statistics on caregiver/family structure of participants, number of children, prisoner's parental involvement levels, children's place of residence through arrest to incarceration and family fragmentation levels, prisoner's and their children's exposure to crime, and familial incarceration levels. By exploring difference in age, gender, ethnicity many novel and interesting findings emerged. Indeed, some of the results offered expanded understandings of TAY/prisoner's and their children's life experiences. At the same time the results for several variables align with the more common personal/variables examined and discussed within crime statistics and the study of crime, such as high rates of family fragmentation, time spent in care, and criminality via exposure to crime and parental/familial incarceration. In this sample a large portion of prisoners were parents and the common family types of prisoners were: both parent, mother-led, and fragmented families.

These findings demonstrated differences in the generations on an individual and societal level; however, the sample size, as well as the dearth of comparable research makes further comment mere speculation and is, therefore, futile. Moreover, these statistics should not be taken as evidence or support to blame the family as a priori risk factors or negative influences. Indeed, based on the results, a lack of family support and cohesion is apparent. We see evidence of today's divorce rates in the survey results for primary caregiver. Not everyone is capable of coping or healing from family fragmentation due to divorce and even fewer are capable of coping or healing from family fragmentation due to incarceration. As for social supports, re-enter shame and stigmatization beyond what most can even imagine.

If the survey statistics are representative of young adults and their children's experiences with the criminal justice system and social services, more of today's young adults and their children experience additional family fragmentation due to family changes and/or separation from integral family members as a result of incarceration than did the older cohort in this study. Even more troubling, according to the survey data, is that more of these young adults and their children were/are at a higher risk of experiencing traumatic separation through state intervention than were the older cohorts and their children. Family fragmentation and dissolution removes the most fundamental and reliable source of social support available to children and young people whose lives have been impacted by familial incarceration while they are in a family crisis.

Chapter Six: Nuances of the Social Position Of Incarcerated TAY And Their Families

6.1 The Social Conditions and Emotional States of Incarcerated TAY

What I interpret to be a major block impeding the likelihood that TAY will get the rehabilitative support they need, is a lack of access to positive, supportive people. Recalling that within the developing person's microsystem, where they have direct contact with family, school, peers, and health services, I re-emphasize that the bi-directional influences between these facets of this system and the individual have the greatest impact on development. Now consider a month or a year as a prisoner in a provincial facility interacting and competing with equally marginalized peers on a day-to-day basis. You are supervised by guards who typically remain separated from prisoners watching from behind glass, where even progressive and caring staff does not interact with you often. Moreover, when you do get to interact with staff, many are apprehensive, apathetic, or non-empathetic in their dealings with you. This place, where we house prisoners, is in essence a prisoner's community, their school, and their health care center all wrapped up in one. Rather than an interest to learn about a young man's background or a concerted effort to understand or help these young men, I have observed time and again a defensiveness and 'one up man-ship', discrimination, judgment, and fault seeking as forms of social levelling and exertions of power to put, or keep, TAY in their place and "show them who's boss" in various milieu (Crowell, 2014). I have also heard several accounts of how sarcasm, rudeness, disrespect, impatience, unfair treatment/enforcement of sanctions, and the dismissal of inmates needs have TAY completely disengaged, or worse, angry with staff and easily agitated with others in their group home or unit/range.

Applying Kübler-Ross's (1974) work of the *Phases of Change Model* for grieving and emotional reactions to loss and change to frame arrest and incarceration helps elucidate the emotional states people would experience going through such a dramatic event. From here, it is easy to speculate how the typical responses to change would be intensified, especially for youth and TAY, given their incomplete cognitive development. Reactions to change have been recognized as starting with surprise and resistance, followed by confusion, and finally integration or adjustment (Kübler-Ross, 1974). Interestingly, but not surprisingly, the emotional states common to the first three stages of change are frustration, stress, fear, anxiety, worry, depression,

and discouragement (Kübler-Ross, 1974). Similarly, in another model for change, any challenge/change is said to bring on growing uncertainties, feelings of threat, a build up of stress, decline in health and effectiveness, reduced satisfaction, victimization, and disengagement (Kübler-Ross, 1974). Considering the extreme differences between the prison environment and freedom on the outside, it is likely that few incarcerated people get to the integration or adjustment stages of change and certainly not upon their first incarceration. This is especially true in the current atmosphere of provincial adult facilities where there is little interaction with safe and supportive people and few options or limited access to support services and programs.

6.2 Shame and The Impact on Incarcerated TAY

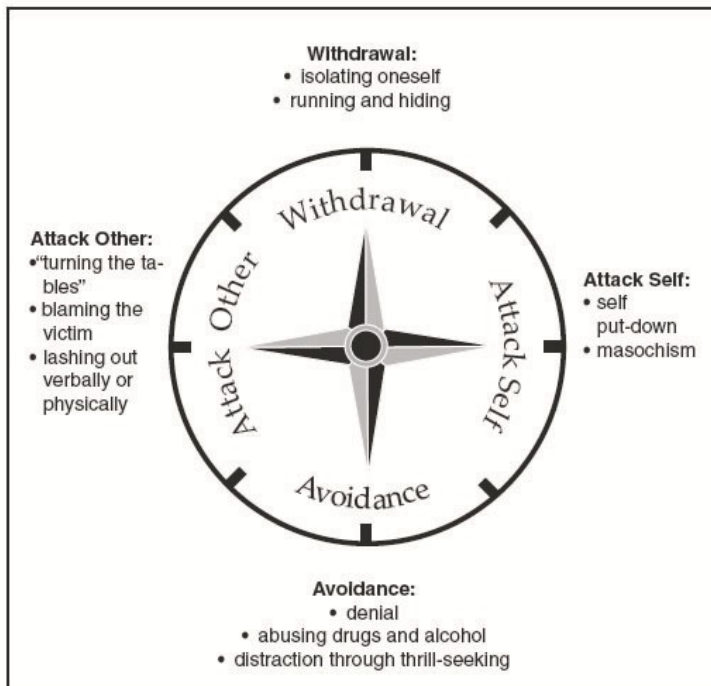
As I posited in the proposed Theory of Social Perpetuation, shame is an instrumental and negative force in the pursuit of rehabilitation and reintegration, and as such, shame as it relates to the topic of social support is further explored here. I hypothesize that in the current climate in Nova Scotia, there would be an immediate increase in the potential and likelihood for people convicted of a crime (and their families) to interpret, feel, and experience harsh and overt judgement and/or shame about their actions/mistakes (regarding their family member's situation). Theory on shame describes opportunities for shame as occurring any time that our experience of positive effects is interrupted (Tomkins, 1987) and further suggests that a person does not have to do anything wrong to feel shame (Nathanson, 1997a; 1997b). Shaming is a common reaction experienced by young people (and adults) who have made mistakes and have fallen into the criminal justice system. Indeed, I have observed shame used as a tool, unwittingly or intentionally, as an informal teaching strategy or consequence of wrong doing in an array of institutional settings every day (Crowell, 2014). If we do indeed feel shame over "interrupted positive effects" in what could be considered "little things", the probability of intense shame for people who committed a crime and/or for the people related to someone who has been convicted of a crime is high.

In restorative justice theory, shame is used in reference to the reactions victims experience in feelings of shame despite the fact that they are not the offenders (IIRP, 2017; Zehr, 2002). In fact, little is said about shame in relation to the offender and soliciting apologies or demonstrations of remorse are not explicit objectives of restorative justice. Nevertheless, in the RJ facilitation training I attended and in some of the circles I have participated in, many people

appear to have trouble with this. While everyone attending circles gets coached on managing expectations about apologies and displays of remorse, there are times when someone slips and uses shaming language. This comes in the form of comments about the perceptions or expectations a circle participant has around the RJ client's degree of articulated accountability and/or displays of responsibility, guilt, or regret. In my experience, this is often the parent of a youth going through restorative justice. Although the sessions are usually months after the incident, parents sometimes get emotional, and as I interpret it, shame their children so as to show the other adults that they have been/are being responsible parents who are holding their children accountable. Indeed, at one circle in 2017, it was clear that some still hope that through the offender's role of accepting responsibility for their act, they also come to feel, and more importantly, show remorse. While I understand this desire, I assert that being caught for a crime and having to first face family and friends, and later a room (or court) full of strangers to talk about your worst day, is wrought with shame. Moreover, being incarcerated is a daily reminder of mistakes made.

I propose this 'shame effect' is further magnified and recurs regularly upon speaking to family and dealing with the guards and professionals in their lives. In either case, being confrontational, coercive, or passive aggressive in soliciting remorse and apologies is forceful and unjust. Furthermore, shaming someone will not help them rebound from their already shame-filled position. Theory on shame is useful in gaining a better understanding about what an individual (and their family) experience in the aftermath of a commission of a crime, during incarceration, and post-release. Facing the social consequences of incarceration, the daily treatment and responses of correctional staff, family's reactions, issues, and stressors due to their incarceration, and then the stigma of having a criminal record, it seems there is huge potential to get stuck in shame. Some years ago, Nathanson (1992) developed *The Compass of Shame* (figure 10). While it was developed two and a half decades ago, it is still a powerful model to illustrate the ways people react to shame.

Image 10: Nathanson's (1992) Compass of Shame



In Nathanson's (1992) model, there are four poles of the compass and with each pole he has described the feelings and behaviours associated with the reaction. The first pole is Withdrawal, where Nathanson purports we isolate ourselves or run and hide. The second pole is Attack Self. In this response, we attack ourselves and use self-deprecating language and self-harm. The third is Avoidance. Here he claims we are in denial, use escapism and distraction tactics such as drug abuse or thrill seeking. The final pole or response to shame according to Nathanson is Attack Others. When we are reacting from this state, we try to turn the tables, blame others, and/or lash out verbally or physically. My friend's son experienced a three month long vicious cycle of interpreting intense judgement and feelings of shame from all angles, which compounded his self-shame, whereby, he continued to display all of these responses, including expressions of self-loathing, escapism through drug abuse, and self-harm. All too often, I have observed at-risk and incarcerated TAY and youth who appeared to be in one of these stages, make comments that were indicative of the shame related responses I interpreted. To Nathanson's model, I would add a fifth pole, Renouncing Redemption. I add this element in relation to the ways that using shame as a tool in this justice system only serves to render the

potential for redemption as hopeless; thereby perpetuating the cycle of recidivism and other debilitating results in their social lives.

6.3 Shame, Mental Health, and the Dangers of Negative Social Forces Regarding Reintegration

Soon after his release, I sat down with my friend's son for coffee a few times. Knowing about my research, he welcomed the opportunity to talk about some of his experiences 'inside' with someone who understood prison subculture. True to his nature, he was forthcoming and talked openly about many of the struggles he was facing since his release. He shared that he was anxious about seeing family and friends as he was ashamed and embarrassed about the mistakes he had made and worried that they would forever see him differently. He also spoke about the pressure he felt and self-doubt with regards to being able to take care of himself and not be a burden to his parents. In one conversation, he explicitly articulated that he was worried about being capable of stepping up to "be a man", find a job, and ultimately, secure and maintain a decent place to live given that he now has a criminal record. In addition, he also told me he had anxiety around managing and responding to his peer group and the challenges ahead -- of keeping his distance from those who were negative influences without creating bad vibes. During these early conversations, he repeatedly said things like, "My god, I'm 20 years old, and I'm such a loser!" and "I cannot lean on my parents, it's time to be a man!" These sentiments illustrate that this young man has judged himself harshly against the age-based expectations discussed earlier. Though I pointed out to him that anyone would need support and help to work through this transition and urged him to recognize how fortunate he is to have a supportive family and friends, he kept returning to his earlier point and reiterating that because he is a man now, he should not need to ask family for support or help.

My friend's son was thought to have issues with anxiety prior to the commission of his crime. He told his parents the medication he was prescribed near the middle of his sentence was helping him. When he was released in the spring of 2017, he seemed stable. Upon release, there were shared concerns regarding continuity protocols related to medication. Within a week of being released and without a script to continue his medication regime, we began to see an increase in his anxiety. His family attempted to assist him in obtaining a prescription from their family doctor; however, they observed that he returned from this appointment with feelings of

self-doubt and embarrassment and no prescription. When I spoke with him two weeks later, his anxiety levels were noticeable in his actions and expressions, and he indicated that during the appointment with his family doctor, he felt judgement and shame due to the language his doctor used with him. Ultimately, this failed doctor's appointment resulted in no further treatment or continuation of his prescription causing a downward spiral into self-medication with street drugs. His regression and subsequent instability continued to be a major source of stress to his family and friends for months. Indeed, five months after his release in 2017, it appeared to his parents and that his anxiety had reached extreme levels and worse, there were several indications that he was struggling with depression and PTSD. During these months, when we were able to locate him, he presented as not only emotionally shaken, as was heard in his incessant expressions of self-doubt, shame, and talk of worries about his future, he was physically shaky, could not finish a thought, and simply could not sit still as was demonstrated in constant pacing. Despite our best efforts to intervene and convince him to seek professional support, he continued to withdraw and deteriorate. He was ultimately arrested and incarcerated again in late 2017 for petty crimes committed while under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

6.4 Getting Juveniles and TAY to Seek Help

Having worked with at-risk or incarcerated youth for the last few years, and through my experiences with several families who have a son involved with the criminal justice system, I have identified what appears to be a common challenge that social supports and professionals face in getting 'young men' the mental health and rehabilitative support they need. This equates to a lack of positive relationships, which does not provide for any opportunity for coaching or important dialogue. Getting juveniles and TAYs to let down their guard and open up is a major block in setting them on the road to rehabilitation and reform. Where trusting and opening up is a novel activity for many of these young men, thinking about the statistics on trauma and mental health, it would take time to build therapeutic relationships with them. In addition, people coming from broken or dysfunctional family lives, damaging school/life experiences, or otherwise volatile backgrounds, would need empathetic role models and practice participating in respectful conversations. From my observations, even young adults with support, like those who I am working with, need social support and assistance in order to seek guidance in managing and repairing damaged relationships and harms within the family. Considering their cognitive

immaturity and lack of life experience within social relationships, this is a difficult position to be in with no social support to draw on. The most difficult challenge is in getting TAY to engage with professionals to talk about their issues and acknowledge they need help given their stage of development and perceived personal, if not, public disgrace surrounding the idea of downgraded social status (convicted criminal) and their potentially higher levels of stress in dealing with the challenges of reintegration.

Furthermore, for young adult males, the perpetuation of masculine ideals that supports a general reluctance to admit they have issues or need help, compounds the problem. Given that these ideals are magnified in prison culture, it is extremely difficult for professionals, even compassionate ones, to help in meaningful ways since TAY generally eschew any help and do not ask for any. The two previously incarcerated TAY I spoke with, perceived a distinct need to put forth and maintain a tough guise and saw the adult correctional environment as unsafe for them. Indeed, both of these young men of slight physical builds told me they tried to look tough or at least act calm and cool about their new environment once inside. To their family's dismay, and mine, their disguises did not work and each of them had visibly been assaulted at least once during their sentences. My friend's son was traumatized while the other TAY let on that his assault was not a big deal.

With similar and continued developmental processes going on for juveniles and young adults surrounded by the same cultural expectations and attitudes toward them, I hypothesize that youth and young adults, are close to equal in reluctance to engage with staff and seek help for all the reasons discussed thus far. That said, although the culture of the correctional milieu for juveniles in Nova Scotia is less intimidating than what a TAY experiences in our adult facilities, many juveniles present and uphold a tough guy image. My interpretation of the walls incarcerated youth put up is that it is more about demonstrating or asserting to youth workers that they are not children, and perhaps more so, it seems to be about not wanting their peers to see them be regretful, worried, or worse, needing help. Nevertheless, while they are incarcerated, they interact in the same physical space with youth care workers whose job it is to care for them. Several of the more acclimatized incarcerated youth I spoke to over the years have articulated that because it was their job to care for them, it felt less patronizing than it did coming from parents and family members. The face juveniles put forward upon release is unclear; however,

in many cases, many of the youth that are in and out of the NSYC are left with no one to answer to outside of employees and workers within the system.

For young adults, it seems that maintaining a masculine image of self-sufficiency while incarcerated is about protection and survival on the inside and shame and pride on the outside. With no social supports inside and potentially magnified feelings of shame and failure, I conclude that during incarceration, young adults have lower levels of contact with supportive people than do juveniles. Given that older adults are in the same environment as TAY and have the same potential for heightened levels of 'age-based shame'¹³ as a result of failed expectations, they also stand to have lower levels of contact with supportive people than do juveniles during incarceration. Although this conclusion does not exactly address the thesis hypothesis, that TAY males have lower levels of connection and contact to family during incarceration, the above is my interpretation on social connection and contact with all prisoners more generally. In order to further expand our understanding of these social connections, a further survey would be beneficial asking more specific questions such as, "How connected do you feel to your family right now?" or "Who is your main social connection right now?"

6.5 Problems Surrounding Mental Health/Addictions Treatment

Several reports about mental health services for prisoners indicate that mental health issues and the need for assessment and treatment have been long-term problems that deserve attention (Brink, Doherty & Boer, 2001; CSC, 2008; Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015; 2016; Livingston, 2009; Province of Nova Scotia, 2011). In fact, Canada's former federal prison watchdog, Howard Sapers, draws attention to the fact that "Canada's provincial jails often have little to no classification [or resources to assess or classify needs] based on a person's criminal history, risk level or medical needs" (Sapers, 2016; Mehler-Paperny). Without a doubt, conducting mental health and addictions assessment or providing much needed services or support in provincial/remand facilities is difficult to deliver at best, and weak or critically under-resourced, at worst. Furthermore, addiction issues, which are widely recognized to be closely linked to mental health problems within the prisoner population (Armour, 2012; CSC, 2008; 2015; Kouyoumdjian, 2015; Livingston, 2009) are not currently addressed in consistent and effective ways within prison (Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015; Senate of Canada, 2017). Indeed, many

do not even undergo an assessment and there is very little in the way of support programs offered during the sentence beyond chaplaincy and intermittent substance abuse programs.

In contrast, focused mental health and addiction services are readily available to incarcerated youth in Nova Scotia, yet there are currently no differential mental health services or supports for provincially incarcerated TAY. Indeed, incarcerated youth in Nova Scotia have access to the children's hospital as the *Izaak Walton Killam Health Center (IWK)* has an on-site Adolescent Forensic Team. Here, all youth may participate in health assessments and treatment that include psychiatric assessments, prescribed medications, counselling, and substance abuse programs. In fact, most of the youth I have talked to in the NSYC have visited the IWK team during their stay, and many choose to participate in assessment and regular counselling. This is not to say access alone is a magic bullet; rather, it asserts that access is key and should be available to all developing young people.

By comparison, adult facilities in the province have focused resources to provide mental health services for prisoners exhibiting extreme or immediate mental health needs. These services are provided by the *Capital District Health Authority's (CDHA) East Coast Forensic Hospital*, which is co-located with the CNSCF in Burnside. Each of these facilities is independently operated and offenders and forensic clients are separate at all times. The CDHA provides all primary health services during regular health clinic office hours; however, considering the recent cases in the, the responses to a survey question about access to timely medical intervention, and the experiences of TAY I have spoken with, this system is not meeting the demands and needs of prisoners struggling with issues that do not pose direct threats to security, such as anxiety and depression (Kouyoumdjian, et al, 2015). Most of the families I have met place some of the blame for their TAY's predicament on the lack of public mental health support before incarceration. Many had sought help prior to committing their crimes and several report being released without treatment or plans for follow-up leaving family feeling hopeless.

Ultimately, correctional philosophy and practice currently have no space or resources to allow for consideration of TAY's backgrounds or their unique developmental state, let alone provisions to offer differential support, services, or treatment. This lack of resources naturally carries into their rehabilitation and reintegration plans. I have heard several ex-prisoners and

their families discuss how not being in 'serious need' of medical attention/displaying extreme or dangerous mental health issues meant they were overlooked regarding treatment plans, both during detention and upon release. Likewise, if there is no age-specific consideration on the inside, it follows that there would be little in the way of a developmentally appropriate plan upon release. Many first time offenders who served time in prison, as well as their families, are surprised to find out there are next-to-no mandatory activities to assist reform or reintegration other than appointments with parole officers or perhaps some community service or enforced curfews. One TAY easily identified the type of support program he felt he needed by admitting that he should have been in a substance abuse program as part of his conditions. Although it may seem ridiculous to some to have mandated program enforcement, as we continued to talk, his rationale made sense. He felt he needed motivation and direction from the system in order to take the responsibility and worry away from his family!

6.6 The Potential of Social Support/s in Facilitating Self-Care

Currently, there are major gaps in service for young adults as seen in a lack of continuity and comprehensiveness with regards to medical support, education, addictions programming and support, and familial/social support from the commencement of incarceration to release and reintegration (Kouyoumdjian [et al, 2015](#); Nunn, 2006; Elman & Zinger, 2017). Achieving reform and reintegrating oneself back into family and community are complex tasks that require an integration of professional supports and collaboration with incarcerated individuals and their families/social supports. To develop rehabilitation and reintegration plans, they must be created with respect to an individual's needs, risks, and resources. Furthermore, at the front end of planning for reform and reintegration, a key priority and problem, as discussed above, is getting mental health and addictions assessments in a timely manner. These last two sentences articulate a summarized version of two of the key recommendations made in the Nunn Report (Nunn, 2006) regarding youth justice reform; the essential need for integrated and comprehensive treatment plans based on individual needs assessments. Over two decades later, we can say that at least in youth justice, we have made some strides with assessments and individual treatment plans, however, in most cases treatment plans fall away when they are released.

Weak or nonexistent reintegration plans continue to be cited as a major gap or oversight in the quest to reduce recidivism from youth awaiting release, youth detention centre staff,

incarcerated TAY, and their families as do professionals and researchers, (Nunn,2006; Kouyoumdjian, et al, 2015). As has been described, a combination of issues on the social realm are contributing to this, including too few resources, poor management/poor planning, and a lack of cohesiveness or empathy among staff and professional supports. As a result, unengaged/uninterested youth and TAY, who are not feeling comfortable or encouraged to talk to 'the adults' in charge is another key impediment to case planning efforts. These challenges to service delivery, underscore the importance of the social conditions of our prisons, the interpersonal relationships among prisoners and staff, and collaborative efforts in the shift to a more restorative and rehabilitative/therapeutic atmosphere. Indeed, although availability is key, skills in help-seeking and navigation with regards to accessing appropriate and meaningful services are crucial to obtaining needed supports. However, being inspired to take such action in self-care may not come easily to people who have grown up disadvantaged, marginalized, and/or racialized, especially young people who have not developed their self-identity or the life skills needed to care for themselves and mitigate adversity. This first requires good role models and coaches. In fact, CYC and resiliency theory and research indicate that having one consistent positive role model is cited as an un-flailing and highly influential factor in a developing persons' outcomes with regards to strong personal resiliency and later life success (Bowlby, 1969; Masten & Fowler, 2001; Rockwell, 2012; Unger, 2011).

6.7 Family Challenges: Access and Connection Supporting TAY

There are many assumptions made about family in regard to their level of responsibility for crimes committed by loved ones, as well as their duty to support them throughout the incarceration, rehabilitation, and/or reintegration process. First and foremost is the assumption that they have regular contact. In order to support someone through difficult times, you need regular personal interactions and sufficient opportunity for important conversations. Moreover, this notion of family intervention presumes and would require that family members be open and welcoming to having important and difficult conversations and that everyone is sufficiently skilled in interpersonal communication and dialogue. These are high expectations of family members, who have just endured extreme and dramatic family upheaval and fragmentation. Furthermore, they are now in the position of trying to help or wanting to fix everything or being expected to be supportive of the person who brought about all the stress and strife in their lives.

Finally, the disparity of power and status inherent in the relationships between parents/grandparents and youth/young adults is another layer of social complexity that often inhibits conversations and interactions between family members of different generations. This family life situation is wrought with complicated harms and hurts. Sometimes they bubble up with emotion, and under the same principle of RJ - respect for all - coercing remorse or apology is not appropriate or conducive to restorative relations. I have observed many well-intended solicitations of guilt, remorse, and shame directed at TAY by parents, family members, and adults more generally. Based on my experiences thus far, once a TAY becomes involved with the criminal justice system, it becomes more difficult to reach loved ones due to the array of emotions felt by family members, who need support and guidance to do so.

If it is not the complicated and sensitive social climate and dynamics of the family working to inhibit parents/family members' ability to help TAY get through incarceration and reintegration upon release, it may just be that their loved one literally shuts them out. Indeed, if a youth can exclude parents from being involved in their court case, rehabilitation, or release planning, it follows that family members of young adults will not likely be included in these processes. This decision may simply be because they are adults and feel they do not need their family to be involved, or it could be due to shame. Drawing on my experience with adult restorative justice sessions, thus far, most adults do not bring family members for support and a few explicitly say they do not want their family to know about the indiscretion/mistake they have made. In the same vein, oftentimes, I have heard youth and young adults make comments that indicate that they are aware that they have disappointed everyone, that they feel badly for causing their family so much grief, or that they want to make it right. When this is not possible and the pain of family discord is accompanied with a conscious recognition of the cultural and social expectations, dictating that, as 'adults' they should be able to take care of everything themselves, these thoughts may serve as justification for keeping parents and family in the dark.

Indeed, with regard to the first two families I worked with, from the point of arrest up to a couple of weeks in, they waited with baited breath, at times, to hear how they were able to help or what they could do, if anything. For these families, the minute these young men were arrested, 'it was like their son had disappeared into a black hole'. Despite frantic and emotional visits and telephone calls to the prison, it was over a week before either of them spoke to their

sons. This gap in access and contact caused enormous stress for everyone involved, and it occurred while, despite the shame the TAY expressed about disappointing their family, each of these young people wanted the support of their parents upon arrest. Once their loved ones had their visitor list set up and visits began, they started seeing them weekly in hopes of maintaining connection with them and supporting them. The parents of both of these TAY reported that during their visits, their sons sat behind the glass, slightly disengaged, but clearly happy to see them and tried, for the most part, to let on that they were doing okay. Certainly, neither set of parents have explicitly been shut out of knowing what was going on with their young adult sons, at any time, other than at the beginning when they were at the mercy of DOJ intake processes. That said, their TAY withdrew from them in other ways. Indeed, within both of these families, there have been visible signs of many of the intricate and thorny interpersonal dynamics and the complicated social circumstances associated with supporting a loved one through incarceration and reintegration, including self-isolating behaviours.

6.8 Family Challenges: Assisting TAY in the Quest for Help

Getting incarcerated TAY the needed supports may be the most frustrating and disheartening challenge facing families of incarcerated/previously incarcerated loved ones, because often they see how badly they need support and how poor the outcomes will be if they do not get it. In conversations with these families and others who have been brave enough to talk about their experiences with incarcerated loved ones, and in research and family stories published by the *Canadian Families Corrections Network* (CFCN), this state has been described as an extreme sense of helplessness (Leonardi & Hannem, 2015; Leonardi, Holland, & Hannem, 2015). One of the moms described it as watching the toddler version of your child play with guns while being tied to a chair and made to watch. Given that making mistakes and having mental health issues are generally considered signs of flawed character, failure, or weakness in relation to their budding "adulthood" and that help-seeking may present as evidence of not being 'man enough' to take care of themselves, incarcerated TAYs could presumably be under more pressure and feel more restricted when it comes to reaching out for help. This may be especially true when it comes to reaching out to family. With my friend's son, this was the case upon release, as he was determined to try and do better without the help of family to avoid bringing anymore stress to them and regain their respect toward redemption. Again, this seems as though

it is a bigger block for young adult males; however, additional research to explore gender differences in help/support seeking attitudes and behaviour could prove to be useful. In addition, help-seeking may be even less likely for TAY who have spent time in care, as they have had child services staff trying to help them all along and may have shut down to the idea of professional support and paid helpers. Given that help-seeking is a crucial skill and element of recuperating and/or building personal resiliency, this appears to be an important topic that warrants future research.

Leading a TAY to support services may prove to be especially tricky for family members when trying to support them when they are aware and constantly reminded that they have ‘messed up’ or failed to achieve age-defined milestones. When this is the narrative, I have observed, it can be devastating to their self-esteem and make them more determined and sometimes desperately committed to try and handle their struggles alone. Nevertheless, if family or professionals can work with these young men to convince them to seek support in a way that does not belittle or emasculate them, the quest for support does not end there. The next step would be getting a ‘needs assessment’ so that an appropriate plan for treatment can be developed. As was detailed above, there are many impediments to getting appropriate assessments completed in a timely manner.

Indeed, one family has experienced extreme stress in the struggle to convince their son, who judges himself to be a ‘lost cause and unworthy of further love or support’, to even consider seeking professional support. In fact, even if the family can convince their TAY to seek help, sometimes required assessments are expensive or out of reach as many families would have no idea what type of assessment is needed or how/where they are conducted. Another TAY I have worked with is out on bail under house arrest, withdrawn, and awaiting trial; however, his family was able to convince him to agree to a psychological assessment, and they were able to arrange and fund the assessment themselves. It included a review of his mental health history and cost them \$5,000.00. This was a necessary step in trying to get his case processed through *Nova Scotia Mental Health Court*. Despite the myriad of learning disabilities and mental health issues that have been considered or identified as possible issues over the years, as listed in the assessment, he was denied the chance to have his case tried in this relatively new forum of the justice system. His family is currently considering taking his case to the *Supreme Court of*

Canada, but at the very least, the hope is that his assessment will help inform and influence sentencing. In the meantime, at 19 years of age, this TAY is concerned about things like finishing high school, finding paid employment, and seeing friends.

6.9 Family Challenges: Little to No Support For Family

In the winter of 2017, I had the opportunity to engage in research to review family support options for people with incarcerated loved ones in Canada. The CFCN is the main support organization. They work within the system, with partners and government to assist with change and progress for families on the outside. They do this through four activities -- policy development, direct service, resource development, and research. Indeed, their website is a rich source of information for families of incarcerated loved ones. They offer free journals, family resource material, educational resources, research and reports, and a listing of useful support organizations for prisoners and ex-prisoners in Ontario, including a few national ones, such as the *Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada* (EFS) and the *John Howard Society of Canada* (JHS). This organization does incredible work; however, the needs across the country dictate that there is more to be done. To highlight this point, here are some estimates on the number of children impacted by incarceration. In a 2003 *Elizabeth Fry Society* report, a conservative estimate based on female admissions suggested that 20,000 Canadian children are separated from their mothers every year due to incarceration (Cunningham & Baker, 2003). In addition Correctional Service Canada (CSC), at one point, estimated that [more than 350,000 kids](#) — or 4.6 per cent of all Canadian children at the time — were impacted by having fathers in justice and correctional systems (Hyslop, 2018; Withers & Folsom, 2007). Keeping in mind that this number is based on an annual count of incarcerated fathers, not the number of parents of the roughly 40,000 Canadians in prison on a daily basis, and does not include the number children with an incarcerated sibling the actual number of kids affected each year is unknown but clearly higher than 350,000. Regardless of the numbers, part of the problem is, as the Executive Director of the EFS of Greater Vancouver strongly argues: “children of prisoners in Canada have epidemic proportion poor life outcomes and they, unlike their counterparts in the United States, Britain, the European Union, India, China, and other countries, have not been recognized as a distinct group” (Bayes, 2008 Conference/Abstract; Bayes, 2017; Hyslop, 2018).

Education for families is an important key in offering them support, and although the Elizabeth Fry Society, the John Howard Society, and the CFCN website are all great resources, some families may not have access to the internet, have the computer skills to find resources, or get them printed. Moreover, in most provinces, there is a general lack of tangible local services for family and children of incarcerated people. Furthermore, similar to supports and services for prisoners and ex-prisoners, accessibility and simply being able to find information, be referred to or accepted into specialized services is not the answer to their problems. For these resources and services to be useful they must be meaningful and address client's needs in significant and effective ways.

The needs of families supporting incarcerated loved ones are complex and sensitive. This is an exceptionally troubling experience affecting families in intimate ways; therefore, most choose to guard this and keep it private (CFCN 2003; 2015). Despite this, several brave families have written about their experiences and contributed to journals or participated in research projects published by the CFCN (CFCN 2003; 2015). These important contributions not only offer support to family members of incarcerated people, but they have also begun to help educate others about the issues and concerns that these families face. To explore this further, I analyzed seven issues of the *Families and Corrections Journal* produced by the CFCN covering seven years from 2008-2015 (CFCN, 2008; 2009; 2010; 2012; 2013; 2014, 2015) and two volumes written by families (CFCN, 2003; 2015). Using NVivo qualitative research software, I searched for the most frequently occurring themes and word combination concepts. The most common themes/concepts of family concerns expressed were, starting with the most common: prison visits/contact, family resources, family effects/impacts, parent/s incarceration, child/family mental health, family coping, family needs, and family ostracization/stigmatization (CFCN, 2003-2015). In the other analysis of the seven CFCN journals, the top three common themes were family/spousal needs, family struggles, and children's needs and challenges. As I observe it, these are accurate listings of the leading concerns in each of the families I support. The exception is where parental incarceration is not a factor for either of them; unfortunately, the mental health of the sibling of their incarcerated TAY takes its place as the priority second to their struggling TAY.

6.10 New Family Support in Nova Scotia

While assisting the two moms of the families I reference most often in this thesis, seek support and guidance for their families, I found that there were next to no resources in Nova Scotia which seems consist with most provinces in Canada. Similarly, there is little in the way of support for families who have previously incarcerated loved ones who are struggling to reintegrate. Instead many family members watch in isolation as they experience second-hand the hardships of reintegration, especially when there are unresolved mental health or addiction issues. In being committed to finding help for families in this predicament, I contemplated their needs. Given that it is a unique misfortune to endure that most people cannot relate to or empathize with, it became clear that these women needed a safe space to talk to others who are experiencing or have experienced the same thing. Coincidentally, this fits with one of my research beliefs -- the experts of any given personal issue or social issue are those who experience it, lived through it, or have had multiple or ongoing experiences with it. Upon review of my earlier research, I decided to make contact with a support group for people with incarcerated loved ones based in Ontario. With their kind assistance, myself, an incredibly empathetic friend, and these two moms created a Halifax branch of *MOMS*; Mothers Offering Mutual Support (Donovan, 2018). This group's mandate is to provide a safe space for family members who need support to navigate the life changing journey of having a loved one incarcerated. We meet monthly to share practical information about our experiences with the justice and correctional processes, exchange advice on coping, and offer a safe place for the families of incarcerated people to speak openly without worrying about judgement.

6.11 Maintaining Connection Through Visits And Phone Calls

Regular visits are reported by both prisoners and family to be the most important way to maintain connections during incarceration (Anonymous, 2011; Berg & Huebner, 2011; CFCN 2003; Devet, 2017a; Harris, 2017; Leonardi, Holland, & Hannem, 2015). Indeed, as noted above, prison visits/contact was the most frequent theme of the contents of the CFCN journals and family resources I analysed. Maintaining contact was also so vital to the first two moms I began working with that at times their own physical and mental health rested completely on seeing that their sons were alright on the next visit. Although the importance of family contact during incarceration has been acknowledged, particularly for the children of offenders, how

family contact, and as such, family relationships are supported and maintained during detention is driven largely by the type of facility, a region's criminal legislation, and penal policy (Harris, 2017; Martnez & Christian, 2009; Murray & Farrington, 2007; Withers & Folsom, 2007).

In Nova Scotia's provincial facilities there is a substantial difference between visits for juvenile prisoners and adults in the degree of contact. Those visiting a juvenile get a face-to-face appointment and those visiting TAY and adults in provincial and federal facilities are separated by Plexiglas. Visits conducted behind glass with no human contact, surface as a huge stressor and sore point for the family contributors of the CFCN resources, as well as for the 2015 questionnaire participants, especially those with children. Generally, family may visit once a week provided all of the appropriate paperwork has been completed. In addition, the number of people a person can have on the visitor list is set and justice officials can restrict or omit people from getting onto the list. It is unclear as to who and what is involved in making the decision to allow or prohibit someone from visiting or what criteria are used to determine who should be allowed to visit. Finally, visitors must clear security before being admitted to the facility. The security clearance processes of provincial prisons may vary slightly by facility and are different again from federal facilities. All of these things have been identified as sources of stress for both the prisoner and their family as worries of not being able to get to see their loved ones (CFCN, 2003; Leonardi, 2013).

With regard to phone calls, there are differences between the province's youth and adult facilities in both access and allotted frequency. In the adult facility, prisoners can make frequent/daily phone calls; however, telephone service is provided by an outside source and it is costly. Although many of the families I have met readily paid for phone calls to speak to their incarcerated loved ones regularly, not everyone is in a position to do so. These costs have been criticized by prison reform advocates and in social media (Devet, 2017a; Donovan, 2017; The Canadian Press, 2016; Graveland, 2016), as they are most certainly an impediment to maintaining family connection for many. In addition, the TAY I spoke with told me that at times it is difficult to make a phone call in the adult facility in Burnside as some prisoners are "phone bugs", meaning they hog the phones and do not allow others to make calls. One TAY also said that although this is quite blatant, they get away with it. This is an indication that some prisoners are determined to, and indeed, work to find ways to connect with people on the outside. Staff

may suggest that these are not all calls to family and friends, but rather to delinquent peers and fellow criminals. It is just as likely that many are indeed making calls to family. In contrast to adult facilities, in our provincial youth facility, young people do not pay for phone calls but they are limited to three calls a week, not including calls to lawyers or industry professionals. Both youth and staff have made statements about telephone calls in interviews I conducted as part of Clairmont's (2015-2017) evaluation of the RP program at the NSYC. Many youth have explicitly asserted that this is not enough to maintain or repair connections with family and have expressed concern about being able to stay connected to the children, youth, and grandparents in their families. Moreover, some youth have talked to me about how difficult it is to work on fixing or rebuilding family relationships on three phone calls a week especially in split families. In this case, after they call each parent once, they only have one call left for the rest of the week.

6.12 Shame and Its Insidious Impacts to Family

Many of the families of incarcerated persons also suffer from shame and admit that they spend a lot of time in a withdrawn state trying to protect or forget their secret or attempting to avoid their reality (CFCN; 2003). As a testament to this, as I observe it and hear in their language, all of the people in the families I have talked to or supported thus far are dealing with waves of immense self-imposed shame. To this point, I have also spoken to women who contacted *MOMS Halifax* and within the conversation, unwittingly demonstrated that they were operating from one of the poles of shame. Family members may also experience compounded shame. For example, one mom reported feeling shame in a direct sense via self-doubt and guilt around her parenting. She blamed herself for the issues her young adult had, while also dreading those moments when people would ask how her son is doing. She expressed feelings of embarrassment and shame about his incarceration. Shame can be very isolating for family members who are aware of how harshly society casts judgement on people and many have reported experiencing stigmatization or having been ostracized from social circles after their loved one was incarcerated (Devet, 2017a; Leonardi & Hannem, 2015; CFCN; 2003).

For parents, siblings, and other family members who are impacted by 'second-hand shame', it would be both imperative not to, and difficult to avoid, blaming and further shaming their incarcerated loved one. Indeed, as I have observed it, 'family' is the people who TAY feel most accountable to, and consequently, are most ashamed when they are around them. In my

experiences supporting families and working in RJ circles, I have heard frequent and often inadvertent shameful comments being directed at, or said within earshot of, their justice involved TAY. In contrast to Braithworth's (1989) Theory of Re-integrative Shaming¹⁴, I assert that these expressions of disappointment and shame may pose as a serious risk or potential impediment to motivating rehabilitation and supporting reintegration for many TAY (Braithworth, 1989; Gibbons, 1991). If TAY, prisoners, and ex-prisoners avoid those whom they feel they have dishonored the most, those who solicit (even unconsciously) increased feelings of shame; where does that leave them? Perhaps the important question here is: How can family members deal with their upset and anger toward their loved ones, accept what they did, and move on to rebuilding fractured family relations?

6.13 Closing

This chapter attempts to contextualize the social and emotional conditions of criminal justice system involved TAY and their families. Theories of change and shame are drawn on to describe and explore the experiences of both groups and offer an expanded understanding of the social and emotional facets of this life experience. Issues and challenges in getting TAY to seek help, utilize social supports, and ultimately access and engage in mental health services, addictions support, rehabilitation and re-integrative assistance are also discussed. This chapter also explores the many challenges incarcerated TAYs' families face supporting their loved ones, given the complicated relational harms among their families and lack of support services. Although a new support group has evolved out of this research, maintaining and repairing the family unit throughout incarceration and reintegration is a difficult task for many reasons and additional services are needed to assist all involved.

The purpose of this chapter was to elucidate the state of hopelessness a person in this predicament may surrender to, a belief that it is impossible to ever redeem yourself. This is especially true for youth and TAY, where immature cognitive development affects rational thinking. Indeed, many young people appear to have great anxiety when it comes to facing their family if they believe they have caused irreversible damage. I assert that without consistent contact with family while incarcerated, connectivity diminishes and this further decreases the potential for family to be a "positive hook for change". In the current corrections environment, contact and connection is for many a source of stress. Within this environment, how can we help

families diffuse and minimize shame – for both TAY and their families, so as to augment family support as a positive hook for change and improve the chances of TAY rehabilitation and reintegration? One thing seems certain, more time to talk and/or visit would be required to work on/maintain family connection and labour through the many complications and relational harms associated with having a family member convicted of a crime and sentenced to time in prison.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The sample statistics of the variables examined throughout this thesis suggest distinct generational and systemic differences in life experiences, current social supports, and government responses between incarcerated older adults and their families and today's incarcerated young adults and their families. Indeed, some of the findings bring forth a concerning picture and several implications with regards to how current and future correctional (and child and youth service/child welfare, community service, and health care) practices interact with incarcerated TAY. Although many of these findings warrant attention through discussion and the contemplation of potential recommendations, I will limit this chapter to focus first on young adults as a special population to become involved with the criminal justice system and second, the families of young adults and prisoners more generally. In addition, given the correlation of familial incarceration and later life incarceration of the children of prisoners, I also offer recommendations and ideas for future research that may help intervene and support with this vulnerable population, as they are often the invisible or forgotten victims/collateral damage in the wake of our incarceration practices (Bayes, 2008; Bayes, 2017; Hyslop, 2018).

As discussed in the Theory of Social Perpetuation, I proposed that once youth and/or TAY are involved with the criminal justice system, there is a high risk for them to develop an anti-social self-identity and get stuck in the system until they age out. This is, as I have posited, in part because young people, as part of their incomplete cognitive development, have trouble seeing past the shame and stigma associated with being convicted of a crime and imprisoned. The lack of foresight, rational thinking, and mature decision making characteristic of their incomplete cognitive development can then all too easily support a belief that the negative labels of 'criminal and ex-convict' are too difficult to escape and a conclusion that it is easier to accept that this is who they are then doing the work needed to redeem themselves. Given that this stage of development includes major life transitions that have been recognized to be associated with assisting the 'aging out' process, such as employment and marriage (Giordano, Schroeder & Cernkovich, 2007; Laub, Nagin, & Sampson, 1998), changing peer groups, and a changing social environment (Farrington et al. 2012; Sweeten, Piquero & Steinberg, 2013), I assert, as do others,

that there is strong potential to use social intervention to create opportunities or an off-ramp to assist in or expedite the aging out process (Elman & Zinger, 2017; CCSD, 2016).

The OCI recognizes that where there is no specific support or programming for incarcerated people in this age group, the opportunity to expedite the 'aging out' process is currently being missed (Zinger & Elman, 2017). Understanding that we cannot change their developmental state, make up for negative life experiences, fix their childhood/family life, or influence culture or their chances of finding lucrative employment or a life partner, it follows that the most obvious way in which we can positively influence or intervene with prisoners in this age group is through our 'industry' responses within the policy, structures, and people of the criminal justice and corrections systems. As has been demonstrated, the social environments or 'social streams' of incarcerated people in prisons are two-fold. First, in prison, their social environment includes strained relationships and power struggles in a dangerous setting. Then on the outside, their social environment includes stigmatization and isolation, relationships tangled in harms, pain, and shame around family expectations, disappointment, and failure. Intervention opportunities then rest squarely on the culture of corrections and their policies and practices with regards to the importance of age, background, needs assessments and programming, and their interactions/ways of relating to young adults. To this end, CSC requires a new directive to guide differential treatment for young adults that includes facilitating a new social environment and social support within our prisons.

7.2 Recommendations of Macrosystem and Mesosystem: Philosophy, Values, and Legislation

Building from The *International Association of Penal Law* declaration supporting the treatment of incarcerated 19 -21 year olds differently, Canada can begin to plan progressive justice system transformation to address the needs of prisoners in this age group, and it appears as though the timing is right. To this point, the *Minister of Justice*, Canada circulated two public surveys over the past year asking people to provide feedback on potential changes to mandatory minimum sentencing and share their ideas about ways to improve the justice system (DOJ, 2017; 2018). In addition, in an informal poll of conference attendees at the 2017 *Canadian Youth Justice Congress*, 90% of the audience¹⁵ that I spoke to (s 60), agreed that we should treat young adults differently than adults over 25 in the criminal justice system. This thesis then, is a call to

Canada, or perhaps more so, a directed and amplified echo of research to-date, advocating for better policies and practices to assist healthy development and reform for incarcerated people in this age group through social interventions. The question is, where to start?

The 2017 report on young adults in federal penitentiaries entitled, *Missed Opportunities: The Experience of Young Adults Incarcerated In Federal Penitentiaries*, investigates and demonstrates the arbitrariness of the distinction made between the youth and adult criminal justice systems. This investigation was a collaborative effort between the OIC of Canada and the *Office of the Provincial Advocate for Children and Youth* (Ontario). These authors highlight many of the points that have been stressed in this thesis namely: "the age of 18 is not indicative of full physical and psychosocial development, this age group (18-21) has distinct needs and limited life experiences, that this timeframe is a critical period in life", and in turn, "can be an important point in which to positively intervene and potentially stop the cycle of criminal offending" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, pp 4-6). This report puts forth 20 recommendations for changes in penal/correctional policies and practices regarding the handling of young adults between 18 and 21 years of age. The remainder of this chapter will discuss several of the OCI recommendations that are related to the thesis topic, some novel recommendations that emerged out of this research, and present ideas for further research.

The essential policy change required to entertain facilitating differential treatment for young adults in the criminal justice system would need to begin first with CSC recognizing that they do have distinct needs that require attention, and second, a commitment from CSC to create and implement provisions to address the unique needs of incarcerated people in this age group. Currently, however, although Section 4(g) of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act CCRA states that "correctional policies, programs, and practices respect gender, ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences and are responsive to the special needs of women, aboriginal peoples, persons requiring mental health care and *other* groups" [emphasis added], do not currently specify age as one of the factors to consider in correctional programming, policies, or decision-making" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.9). Furthermore, "CSC does not formally recognize young adults as a group that requires specialized or tailored programming, interventions, or services" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.9). Yet, as the 2017 report also points out, in CSC's custody rating scale and the recidivism scale "being younger increases a person's criminogenic risk, and as a

consequence, often their security classification", which means "simply being younger garners enough [risk dimension] points" to move individuals closer toward being assigned higher security classification (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.9-10).

This is a contradiction in correctional policy and practices that has enormous impact to family connectivity and social support for incarcerated TAY, as oftentimes, medium and maximum security facilities are far from home, not to mention the emotional health of developing TAY as they are pulled deeper into the system through potentially further social isolation. Given the importance placed on age by CSC with respect to risk, it is a major oversight that age is not considered an important factor when it comes to correctional interventions and services. Indeed, there is currently no policy guidance specific to young adults, and therefore, no formal process to distinguish or provide differences in service between young adult inmates and older inmates. In light of this disconnect, the OCI made the following recommendation to move forward and facilitate change and progress with regards to supporting this age group and interrupting cycles of crime and recidivism:

"The *Correctional Investigator* recommends that CSC develop a separate *Commissioner's Directive* specific to young adult offenders which ensures that the specific needs and interests of this group, including racialized young adults, are identified and met through the provision of effective and culturally specific programs, services and interventions" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.52).

7.3 Recommendations for Mesosystem: Justice and Corrections Overarching

Direction/Approach

Given that being incarcerated is so sharply linked to repeat offending and later life incarceration of prisoner's children and brothers, the most obvious thing to do to reduce crime and the augmentation of a criminal identity for young people is to divert them from ever going to prison. Restorative justice can play a big part in this objective. Creating a national restorative justice program would be step one. Using *Nova Scotia's Restorative Justice Program* as a hypothetical pilot, an expansion plan would begin by handling more offenses and ideally, include more treatment and programming options as part of restorative justice contracts such as online versions of programs like anger management or Stop-lift, that clients can complete from home or their local library.

This expansion should prioritize young adults and first time offenses, so we can provide more diversionary opportunities to steer young people away from our correctional facilities whenever possible. In addition, young adult males of colour should also be prioritized.

Of course restorative justice and diversion does not help those who are incarcerated. Moreover, the use of incarceration is not likely going to be abandoned any time soon, and we will undoubtedly continue to see troubled young people from this age group in our prisons. From here the decision seems rather simple. We continue to do what we currently do which risks aggravating mental health issues, contributes to higher rates of recidivism for this age group, and sustains costs to government and public safety, or do we attempt something different? Next is the question: What exactly do we need to do to make progress to meet the unique needs of this population? To begin, the OCI urges that this report is shared with provincial and territorial counterparts in order to identify gaps and opportunities for improvement (Elman & Zinger, 2017). In doing so, each province/territory may find different challenges and opportunities unique to the regions resources. For example, returning to my hypothetical Nova Scotia pilot, the changes in the YCJA and the low youth demographic has resulted in low numbers and high capacity at the NSYC. This capacity and the facilities resources could be leveraged to offset overcrowded provincial adult facilities and offer support and programming to high priority young adults between 19 and 21 years of age.

To proactively confront the key argument against this proposal, 'adult' prisoners would not be mixed with juveniles. The facility has separate cottages for each group and similar to 'units or 'ranges'¹⁶ in adult facilities, each group is kept separate from other cottages/groups at all times. In terms of the potential for increased risks to security, young adults permitted to carry out their sentences at the NSYC would have to meet certain criteria, namely that they would have to be classified as nonviolent or low risk for violence. In addition, spaces in the young adult cottages at the NSYC would be prioritized and given to young adults with high needs. For example, spaces would be prioritized by age, giving the youngest adults, those 18 and 19 years of age, first consideration. In addition, those who are assessed to have the highest needs in terms of

mental health and education could be classified as the highest priority candidates for the spaces. Finally, young adults from visible minorities would also be given a priority rating in assessing and choosing clients.

7.4 Recommendations for Correctional Practices Concerning Staff and Prison Culture

This brings us to what preferential treatment should look like for the rest of the young adults who are serving time in adult facilities. The report from the OCI details specific actions we can take to transform the system toward this end which includes provisions and support that can work to augment the aging out process and interrupt negative identity formation. Essentially, the authors advocate for changes that give young adults in federal custody opportunities to rehabilitate, recover, and redeem themselves via assisted personal development advanced through the implementation of strong social support interventions and mechanisms. The report also offers several recommendations regarding the limited use of force and segregation, gang disaffiliation strategies, and strategies for working with young adults who are self-harming (Elman & Zinger, 2017). The majority of the recommendations that are aligned with the interests of this thesis have to do with extensive staff training that will support a cultural shift within corrections and changes to practice with regards to interacting with young adults. Staff training on the specific needs of young adults is, as I see it, where such an initiative begins, as staff ‘buy in’ and commitment to changes in correctional approaches and practice is essential for success.

Recommendations from the OCI that would impact the social climate and potential for young adults seeking and finding increased access to positive supports include building social support sessions right into the intake process, rehabilitation efforts, and reintegration preparation processes. To facilitate increased access to positive social support, the report advocates building a team of institutional parole officers and community parole officers filled with people who have an aptitude and interest for working with young adults and training them as youth care counsellors (Elman & Zinger, 2017). These youth care counsellors would provide consistent guidance and support and basic counselling, work with young adults to develop a correctional and community plan, facilitate appropriate interventions and services, and ensure the safety and well-being of their client (Elman & Zinger, 2017). The recommendations go on to specify that all cases involving young adults be assigned to this team of youth care counsellors/parole

officers and stipulate the frequency of contact with youth care counsellors from intake-to-release. The OIC recommendations also insist that program directors and facilitators, teachers and staff working with young adults all undergo comprehensive training on the unique developmental needs of this population. This report further specifies the importance of one-on-one time with these professionals for individual assessments of the needs and program/education/vocational planning (Elman & Zinger, 2017).

In thinking about delivering such high levels of support, the stumbling block is the current culture/subculture of corrections and ingrained attitudes about people in prison, particularly young adults. Indeed, in the current social climate of TAY, particularly males, are often considered ‘lost causes’ (Carson et al, 2007; Crowell, 2014; Giroux, 2013; 2014; 2015; Siegal & McCormick, 2016; Walklate & McGarry, 2015). As was discussed at length, societal attitudes about crime and ‘criminals’ are conducive to the enduring commitment to pervasive tough-on-crime policies that support ‘lock ‘em up’ attitudes (Lacayo, 1994; Schissel, 2006) which we *know* in the current state do not facilitate rehabilitation and reform. In order to gain support for the shift away from punishment toward rehabilitation, public knowledge about crime and the negative impacts of incarceration need to be updated and revised. Namely, we need scholars and advocates from the associated disciplines to stand up and speak out towards educating the public about the issues within the existing system and the potential for change. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly as it directly relates to the support young adult prisoners receive, we need more champions within the field and our correctional facilities who will consistently speak up and model a new therapeutic atmosphere to colleagues. To this end, CSC requires a comprehensive retraining initiative for staff, which warrants further discussion here.

7.5 Recommendations for the Microsystem: Staff Training

The NSYC's restorative practices program presents as a model for how to begin to convert staff attitudes and the correctional climate. Staff at the NSYC have been trained in restorative principles and practices which provided a foundation, where a shift towards a therapeutic or rehabilitative atmosphere is being facilitated. As part of this program, staff have been coached on how to build relationships and a sense of community with and among the youth in each unit. Daily morning circles are the primary restorative practice used; whereby staff model

pro-social skills such as accountability, mutual respect, and empathy while also getting to know the youth. Nevertheless, even in this progressive atmosphere, many of the youth and staff appear to be, and have articulated, feeling apprehensive about connecting with each other. This, however, comes as no surprise to me considering that this apprehension can be seen in other milieus between child and youth care workers and youth of varying and less strained 'working relationships' (Crowell, 2014). Meanwhile, many at-risk youth, incarcerated youth, TAY and their social supports/professional supports have talked to me about the importance of relationship, engagement, familiarity, and trust with regards to building relationships and encouraging help-seeking and meaningful participation in services (Clark, 2001; Crowell, 2014). Indeed, Clark (2001) gathered feedback from at-risk youth in programs and surmised that they consistently indicated that they wanted staff to engage with them, and in turn, suggested that professionals 'make a concerted effort to meet, quickly become familiar with, and even charm incoming participants (Clark, 2001, p.25).

Although this is no easy task, getting young people to open up and converse with youth workers has been recognized as paramount in rehabilitative work (Garfat & Charles, 2007). Achieving this is said to be entirely dependent on genuine communication and relationship building efforts (Garfat & Charles, 2007; Ivey, Ivey, & Zalaquett, 2011; Unger, 2011). Child and youth care scholars describe this process or objective as occurring when "'other' experiences genuine connectedness with another, the door opens up to give an alternative way of being in the world, at which point therapeutic care can begin" (Garfat & Charles, 2007, p.6). Training programs for correctional staff working with young adults then, not only needs to educate staff about the unique developmental stage and needs of people in this phase of life, it must include extensive training on communication and language with this age group, society's and correctional personnel's typical interactions with and responses to this age group, enduring attitudes and behaviours versus new restorative and compassionate attitudes and behaviours toward this group, the importance of considering a person's background and life experiences, how the stages of change and resulting stress may cause intensified emotions and exceed young adults' coping skills, and the power of empathy and engagement -- to name a few. Ultimately, training should provide and provoke staff to consider a more holistic view of the young adults that they work with and a more comprehensive understanding of how traditional and/or progressive correctional

responses can impact young adults' development, rehabilitation, and reintegration prospects, as well as workplace safety and security.

Acknowledging that 'charming' incoming prisoners sounds counterintuitive, I move to discuss how efforts to connect with and get to know young adult prisoners may improve the safety and security of both corrections staff and prisoners. It has been established that a large portion of youth and young adults who come to be sentenced to serve time in correctional facilities have endured difficult and damaging life experiences, and in turn developed antisocial coping mechanisms and behaviours and/or have a heightened sense or perception of social injustices, which are thought to contribute to anger issues and be conducive to crime (Agnew, 1992; Agnew, 2001; Aseltine, Gore, & Gordon, 2000). With this as the back drop, it is easy to see how power plays such as 'chest beating', belittling language, inauthentic or patronizing interactions, and expressions of disregard and apathy by staff can be instigating and dangerous and can contribute to an amplified potential for violence and conflict between staff and prisoners. Indeed, in novel psychology research on at-risk youth, findings indicated that many young people from troubled backgrounds are highly skilled in survival strategies (Glowacz et al, 2015) such as detecting negative emotions in others (Ellis & Del Giudice, 2014). Given that I have been warned by youth workers in various milieu that at-risk or incarcerated young people can 'smell fear' or nervousness, it is clear that professionals are aware that troubled young people are, in fact, sensitive to others social cues and body language (Crowell, 2014). It seems to follow then, that if incarcerated young men are receiving and perceiving inauthentic interactions, patronizing tones, negative judgments, or apathetic attitudes, not only will it be hard to build a therapeutic relationship with them, it may sabotage the efforts of support professionals, or worse, be perceived as another social injustice which may augment a social climate of anger, distrust, fear, and heightened security risks. Indeed, when we also consider the high levels of negative and traumatic life experiences reported, and the poor mental health statistics reviewed earlier, one can begin to imagine how sensitive, intense, and stressful this social climate is.

In contrast, a restorative approach allows for the consideration of a person's background, their current life situation, and their individual needs. These considerations necessarily require that young adults' immature cognitive development be formally recognized. Moreover, a restorative perspective is conducive to empathetic responses that are sensitive to young adults'

under-developed social skills, faulty coping skills, and emotional immaturity or instability common to young people from troubled backgrounds, who as a natural part of being young often have limited life experiences with pro-social role models and healthy relationships. Certainly, without an holistic view that recognizes this unique developmental stage, specifically the likelihood of increased or intensified challenges and difficulties young adults may experience in processing the dramatic changes associated with incarceration, professionals are blind to the needs of TAY. They are underestimating their stress levels and overestimating their ability to deal with the consequences of their actions and cope with life in prison. In taking a more holistic view of the context of incarcerated young adults, we can set the stage to improve our ability to understand their needs, build therapeutic relationships, and in turn, provide a strong opportunity to help this age group. Moreover, when staff is coached to consider young adults' background and life experiences, they are more likely to be compassionate, genuine, and empathetic. This approach stands to improve their ability to connect with young adult prisoners in meaningful ways and can improve staff-to-prisoner relations and the overall social climate and safety of the facility.

7.6 Continuity in/and comprehensive support

Shortcomings in continuity of support and/or comprehensive support have been established as major issues with regard to rehabilitation and reintegration planning. The first recommendation of the OCI report is to "add a flag in the offender management system that would allow the service to track individuals with a youth sentence transferred to an adult federal penitentiary" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.50). This flag would ideally allow *both* provincial and federal facilities to access records of previous assessments and treatment plans that have been completed for newly admitted young adults saving the time and resources required to administer new assessments and create new treatment plans. In addition, this would give youth care counsellors assigned to incoming TAY the chance to familiarize themselves with new clients quickly and efficiently. As noted, the 2017 report also recommends consistent meetings with their youth care counsellors throughout their sentence with more frequent meetings in the first three months and last six months of their incarceration. With access to youth justice case files to inform them of a young person's risks and needs, youth care counsellors and their clients are well positioned to 'hit the ground running' and make use of these sessions to expedite the continuation

of treatment and create comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration plans that consider where the young person currently is and better facilitate overall continuity in support.

Another recommendation put forth in the 2017 report is for a pilot mentor program "where older offenders can be trained and paired with younger offenders [and]...all young adult offenders be paired with a peer mentor, as part of the intake process and when penitentiary placed" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.52). They also specify that this program "be based on best practices from other countries and incorporate culturally appropriate training" (Elman & Zinger, 2017, p.52). Perhaps the most progressive mentoring program is the *Delancey Street Foundation*¹⁷ in the United States (Goldsmith & Eimicke, 2008). This program is rehabilitative, however, the founder, Dr. Mimi Silbert, insists that the program is educational. It can be best described as a social intervention set in an educational institution that is built upon an extended family model. Similar to the recommendation above, each new admission at *Delancey Street* is assigned to the previously admitted client, and this person becomes their guide or mentor in helping them orientate themselves to the program. *Delancey Street* has a strong focus on re-socialization through modelling and coaching pro-social relationships, group work, and vocational training. The recidivism rate of clients is extremely low¹², however, clients enter the residential facilities *wanting* to rehabilitate themselves. More akin to mentor/social support programs in justice and closer to home, Québec's youth justice program for young offenders with high risks to reoffend presents as an example of what consistent support can achieve. Reforms to their juvenile justice system culminated in the transfer of juvenile probation services to the *Ministry of Health and Social Services*, which facilitated a program of continued and consistent intensive, differential, supervised probation and support for high-risk youth upon release. Their approach is encapsulated in their objective for youth justice: "the right interventions, at the right time, in the right place" and research has shown that 76% of the youth in this program have not re-offended a year after release (Smandych et al, 2012).

Although getting social support is not a magic fix, research on resiliency and child and youth studies have shown that having one consistent and supportive adult throughout development can have a protective effect for at-risk youth (Masten & Fowler, 2001; Rockwell, 2012; Unger, 2011). To this point, many professionals have noted in conversations that youth need continued support upon release and feel that the most suitable resource would be the young

person's youth worker from the institution they served time in. In order to provide young adults with support of this magnitude, similar changes toward integrated approaches that follow clients through to reintegration would be required. I assert that social intervention that includes building relational support while incarcerated, as well as providing continued support through to reintegration, can positively influence TAYs' psychosocial development and mitigate incarceration augmented antisocial identity formation. Identity is a life story or set of stories that, as we become adults, we internalize and assume as our self-image are derived largely through our relationships with others and our interpretations of how others perceive us. This explains the importance of positive social supports during incarceration. Once again, professional supports must be educated about the expectations and pressures on young people about growing up and 'being mature' so they can balance common goals of fostering autonomy, personal accountability, and self-sustaining behaviours with an equal emphasis on teaching and modelling the value of self-care, healthy relationships, and interdependency.

Before moving on to thesis specific recommendations, I discuss the missing element of continuous and comprehensive support during detention through to release and reintegration. Continuity regarding necessary medications and a lack of connection between health care provisions and correctional/rehabilitative medical treatment has been identified as a major gap and high priority need (Devet, 2017a; Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015; Nunn, 2006). More specifically, a few of the youth I interviewed and one TAY talked about how delays in access to medications for anxiety and ADD or ADHD impacted not only their ability to cope but also their capacity to be on good behaviour inside. For example, a few incarcerated youths explicitly acknowledged and admitted that at times they had been belligerent, defiant, and angry while waiting for or without their doctor prescribed medication. Although I understand the complexity of delivering integrated and continuous medical support and treatment between two completely different jurisdictions of social support institutions, the consequences of failing to provide continuity in needed medication present dangerous risks to security and the success rates of rehabilitation and reintegration efforts, recidivism, and the very lives and/or quality of life of young people involved with the justice system.

7.7 Policy and Practice Fostering Social/Familial Connection

In an effort to support familial relationships and connections and/or familial involvement, I recommend that several new fields be added to a correctional intake form. First, a question that asks new admissions to indicate whether or not they want a family member, partner, or friend notified of their incarceration. Although many may not want anyone to be notified, this addition would at least give new prisoners the opportunity to minimize their family/social supports' stress and worry associated with uncertainty as to their loved ones' whereabouts and expedite family adjustment, in turn protecting the children in the family from prolonged strain and chaos. Furthermore, in preparation for the potential for family involvement in rehabilitation and reintegration planning, this section should also include a question that directly asks people if they would like to have a family member or social support involved in these plans. Seeing as people are often reported to be in an altered state of mind upon arrest -- shock, trauma, or drugs and alcohol -- youth care counsellors should revisit the answers given to these questions a week after admission and again closer to the end of their sentence in case they change their mind.

With regards to facilitating the maintenance of familial relationships and connections, ways to increase contact are top of mind. Firstly, given the promising results of institutional visits and PFV found in novel research by the CSC, federal visitation initiatives should be adopted by provincial facilities wherever and whenever possible (Derkzen et al, 2009). Keeping in mind that many of the survey participants said they did not want to be seen in prison, perhaps another way to increase contact frequency, at least with the children in the family and more aligned with youth culture, could be access to email or Skype (Harris, 2017). Access and the process of crafting positive messages, could be managed in one-on-one sessions with youth care counsellors that would allow counsellors to coach young adult prisoners on healthy expressions of emotions, genuine communications, and repairing/building relationships. Opportunities for dignified supervised visits for young adults and their children and/or siblings should also be created, which may increase prisoners comfort levels/desire to see family and children. Nevertheless, the opportunity for family visits should be increased particularly during the last couple of months their sentence in preparation for their return home. Acknowledging that there are risks to security and arranging such visits would take additional resources, it may be more appropriate to offer such visits in the last few weeks before release. In the meantime, other

initiatives should be created to encourage or incent young adults to write letters, cards, or emails to the children in their families that would perhaps earn them more access/opportunities to contact family members/children. Finally, and more obviously, the calling system/costs of phone calls should be reduced to reflect more reasonable calling rates. Given that many families of incarcerated people lose the financial contributions of the incarcerated person, the inflated prices for families to talk to their loved one seems criminal, in and of itself, as it penalizes the family and children of prisoners who have not done anything wrong (Bayes, 2008; Devet, 2017a). Moreover, that a substantial portion of young adult prisoners have come from socially fragmented upbringings, it is possible that many are not likely to have social supports who will pay for phone calls or put money in their calling account. In light of this, incentive programs should be offered to young adults so they can regularly earn a free phone call.

7.8 Support for Families and Children of Incarcerated People

First and foremost, because of the extreme and intense stress that families face during the first few weeks following a family member's incarceration, I recommend that when an incoming inmate indicates that they want their family to be notified of their incarceration, an information package be sent out to them. At the very minimum, this would be in written form and would give family members a list of resources (local and national) and tips for supporting not only their incarcerated loved ones, but the children and youth in the family. At the very best, the mail out would include a copy of a CFCN, JHS, or EFS resource deemed most suitable to the individual prisoner's family's needs. To this end, I intend to create at least one additional family resource that will expand on Chapter Five and Six and share it with CFCN, JHS and EFS. For provinces with few local supports, the letter could also include a line that directs families to websites that provide resources, which offer guidance in the formation of support groups. In addressing the needs of families who may not have access to a computer or have the computer skills to go online and search for resources, *MOMS Halifax* has begun to pursue creating a resource section for families of incarcerated people in the HRM public library system (Donovan, 2018).

As noted above, the new section proposed for the intake form creates an opportunity for family to be involved in rehabilitation and reintegration planning. This option, particularly the potential to be involved in reintegration planning could be crucial with regards to improving their loved ones' chances for a smoother more successful reintegration and reduction of family stress

around the uncertainty of their release plan and the reintegration process. By involving family in the reintegration process, we can help them prepare and gain a better understanding of what to expect and what types of challenges they or their loved ones may experience. Although written resources on the topic can help educate families and prisoners on these challenges more generally, each family is different, and in turn, may have different needs that require special attention. This is where having family members involved in reintegration planning would be beneficial to the entire family. Their involvement in this way can also contribute in the goal to increase family contact and a priority of increased contact prior to their release. Finally, to facilitate reintegration planning and plans that support family involvement toward strengthening the likelihood for successful reform and family healing, I would also recommend that community justice organizations responsible for administering restorative justice, oversee family reintegration circles as part of the expansion plans of restorative justice and the larger mission to reduce recidivism and intergenerational patterns of crime.

7.9 Prospective Areas of Further Research

The dataset analyzed for this project poses many other questions, topics, and variables worth analyzing. One topic that stands out as deserving immediate attention is the use of state care with young adults' children. Scholars in social work and the *Department of Community Services* itself should investigate by conducting research and internal reviews of the use of state intervention cross referenced with incarceration rates of former clients. In terms of areas of interest for future research more closely tied to the focus of this thesis, there remains to be many stones unturned. Given that the bulk of my observations came from experiences and interactions with young adults, who have caring and involved parents desperate, this interpretive exploration only offers insight into the struggles of young adults who indeed have some family support. In the quest to better understand the various support issues incarcerated young adults from different social backgrounds face, anthropological research that blends observations, reflection on conversations, and interviews with young adults, who have little to no support, as well as those who have criminally embedded social supports, would offer a more complete picture of the range of social supports needed to assist reintegration and desistance and expedite the aging-out process. Although this does not complete the list of potential areas of interest for future research, I would also support research that expands the exploration of the struggles of the family with a

particular focus on the challenges and issues experienced by the children and youth of prisoners' families. Based on the prevalence of prisoners who reported having had incarcerated fathers, uncles, and brothers, research with prisoners' sons, brothers and nephews may prove to be particularly important in the mission to interrupt patterns of intergenerational criminality.

7.10 Final Remarks

The overarching objective and hypothesis of this thesis was to explore if young adult prisoners value family/social support and familial connections and examine how familial influences interact with their rehabilitation, reintegration, and reform or desistance. More specifically, I originally hypothesized that young adults would present as having lower levels of connection to social supports and posited that although family is an important resource and motivation for rehabilitation, family contact and connection during incarceration and post-release is currently, a source of stress interfering with the potential for family to be a positive hook for change. In conclusion, based on the answers to the survey questions and my conversations with incarcerated youth and young adults, I believe that TAY do not demonstrate lower levels of connection to social supports, rather, they demonstrate an inability to connect with their social supports in genuine and meaningful ways. This block in connecting with people is a product of their immature cognitive development and limited life experience with regards to mature and healthy relationships and the ingrained belief through gender socialization that they need to "be men" and handle their issues on their own. In terms of family being an important resource and motivation for change, I believe this is the case, while at the same time familial relationships and connection, or lack thereof, are also a source of stress.

Indeed, although the above may be interpreted as a contradiction, I believe this is an apt description of the situation for many prisoners and their families, young and old. I assert that there is great potential to tip the scales and help relieve the stresses associated with family fragmentation and relational harms due to incarceration and leverage a person's social connections to be a positive influence and motivation for change and reform. In order to achieve this, however, both prisoners and their families need the institutional and professional supports discussed here. This is especially true of young adult prisoners and their families given the cultural forces and gender ideals that are pervasively impacting young adult male prisoners who are in the process of developing their psychosocial identities. Given that the families I have been

working with and the extended families of many of the survey participants (grandparents) have demonstrated a commitment to support their TAY children and their grandchildren, it seems that, at least for some, strong social resources exist. I posit that these personal resources can indeed be cultivated and strengthened to be motivating forces for reform and desistance. To facilitate this, however, a commitment to implement differential treatment for people in this stage of development is required from the social institutions that serve this population, namely corrections. This is not to say social interventions aimed at assisting positive self-development and the development of personal resiliency and healthy relationships will instigate and inspire change in all prisoners. Indeed, some of the ideas put forth in this thesis were developed while thinking about young people who have been incarcerated for the first time, those who are less embedded in crime, and/or incarcerated for non-fatal crime. Nevertheless, I believe that social interventions intent on increasing and improving the social ties and supports of incarcerated people have a stronger potential to provide off-ramps for TAY who need assistance to exit the CFUYAP system than does maintaining the status quo. Ultimately, if we create strong exit opportunities and supports through social interventions it is a win-win situation. In doing so we not only increase the chances of improved life outcomes of imprisoned young men and women, we stand to reduce criminal justice system costs and improve public safety (Kouyoumdjian et al, 2015; CCSD, 2016). Finally, Dostoyevsky said, “The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons”, (Dostoyevsky, 1971). I would go further and suggest it is an indication of the collective health of a nation as well, and I hope that Canada finds support for not following penal practices and trends in the United States and looks to progressive models and commits to creating a more humane criminal justice system.

ENDNOTES

1. "Recalibration process" that takes place after graduating high school, which is a major transition for young people. As they adjust to no longer having the familiar routine of going to school with typically long time peers. It includes activities like starting education programs for job training, finding or increasing paid employment opportunities, adjusting to the changes in one's social circles, and finding/connecting with people who compliment the direction one is trying to go in.
2. "'Indeterminate state'" in limbo, disconnected from life, both at home and socially while having no idea what to do with oneself or what direction to go in.
3. "Lost boys" older adolescence/young men with no direction and idle hands looking for ways to fill their days.
4. 'Family' for the purposes of this research is inclusionary to reflect and consider the diverse and changing family structures in today's society (including quasi-family bonds) that can function or be leveraged as an emotional or financial resource.
5. Prisonization, is the process whereby people who are incarcerated come to accept the culture and social life of prison society. The process of newly institutionalized offenders come to be acclimatized and embedded in prison lifestyles and criminal values and the informal inmate code.
6. Labelling theory asserts that the self-identity and behavior of individuals may be determined or influenced by the terms used to describe or classify them and is associated with the concepts of self-fulfilling prophecy and stereotyping.
7. 'State of resignation' accepting negative self-images and delinquent social identities as true, unchangeable, and final. This state is perceived as a hopelessness to be anything other than the labels applied leads to a surrender or submission to inaction toward efforts to change or try to redeem themselves.
8. 'One up-man-ship' refers to the omnipresent 'defensive, and/or judgemental, competitive social climate' that can be heard in comments suggesting superiority or 'winning' and is a

relentless tendency in conversations among adults and youth in our daycares, on local playgrounds, in school hallways, and within our workplaces.

9. The Nunn Commission report is a government called for the inquiry after the death of Theresa McEvoy in a 2004 high speed chase of a youth. Judge youth justice system completed an independent public inquiry into the release of a youth who was later charged in the death of Theresa McEvoy of Halifax. He put forth thirty-four recommendations to improve the administration of the YCJA.

10. Second most common family structure type reported in the 2015 sample was mother-led families - there was only 1 single father in sample

11. In total, 45% of the entire sample said they were concerned their children will be incarcerated with little difference in age: 7/16 44% of the TAY and 22/48 46% of the adults 26+ told us they were concerned about this.

12. Table 16, 'Family visits' does not account for (or include) the complete numbers /types of answers/visit categories e.g., "No answers" or "non family visitors".

13. 'Age-based shame' as a result of failed expectations with regard to meeting 'typical' age based milestones such as educational attainment, coupling, or employment.

14. Braithworth's (1989) Theory of Re-integrative Shaming. Braithwaite makes a distinction between stigmatic shaming and reintegrative shaming. While Braithwaite is opposed to stigmatic shaming and sees it as likely to be counter-productive reintegrative shaming is seen as likely to be effective in controlling crime. He says that the offence rather than the offender is condemned. The difficulty of putting this ideal of reintegrative shaming into practice is the conflict between supporting and shaming. The shame that matters most, as Braithwaite suggests, is the shame of the people we most care about however, these same people are the ones people need support from and as I have hypothesized, shame from them can be isolating and detrimental to reintegration objectives.

15. Informal poll of conference attendees at the 2017 Canadian Youth Justice Congress, 90% of the audience¹⁰ that I spoke to (s 60), agreed that we should treat young adults differently than adults over 25 in the criminal justice system.

16. 'Units or 'ranges' in adult facilities, each group usually functions as a unit for programming and meals and are kept separate from other ranges/cottages/groups at all times.

17. Delancey Street has a strong focus on re-socialization through peer modelling and coaching pro-social relationships, peer to peer and group work, and vocational training. This organization is said to be an educational facility built on an extended kin model and they have never taken any financial support from government. The recidivism rate of clients is extremely low.

REFERENCES

- Aaron, Lauren, & Dallaire, Danielle H. (2010). Parental Incarceration and Multiple Risk Experiences: Effects on Family Dynamics and Children's Delinquency. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 39(12), 1471-1484.
- Abrams, L. (2013). Juvenile Justice at a Crossroads: Science, Evidence, and Twenty-First Century Reform. *Social Service Review*, 87(4), 725-752.
- Adler, Edwards, Scally, Gill, Puniskis, Gekoski & Horvath. (2016). What Works in Managing Young People Who Offend? A Summary of the International Evidence. *Forensic Psychology*. Middlesex University. Ministry of Justice Analytical Series. Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov.uk/publications/research-and-analysis/moj>
- Agnew, Robert. (1992). "Foundation for a General Strain Theory of Crime and Delinquency." *Criminology*, 30(1), 47-88.
- Agnew, R. (2001). Building on the Foundation of General Strain Theory: Specifying the Types of Strain Most Likely to Lead to Crime and Delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38(4), 319-361.
- Ainsworth, M.D.S. & Bowlby, J. (1991). An ethological approach to personality development. *American Psychologist*, 46(4), pp. 333-341.
- Akers, Ronald L. (1998). *Social Learning and Social Structure: A General Theory of Crime and Deviance*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Albanese, Patrizia (2009). *Children in Canada Today*. Oxford University Press.
- Allen, M. (2016). Young Adult Offenders in Canada, 2014. Statistics Canada. *Juristat* (vol.36, no.1) Ministry of Industry. Catalogue no. 85-002-X. Retrieved from <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14561-eng.htm>
- Andrews, Don A. & James Bonta. (2006). *The Psychology of Criminal Conduct*. (4th ed.). Newark, NJ: LexisNexis.
- Anonymous, (2011). Becoming Criminal: A Phenomenological Sketch of Criminal Identification. *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*. Volume 20, Number 1.
- Armour, C. (2012). Mental Health in Prison: A Trauma Perspective on Importation and Deprivation. *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory*, Vol. 4, No. 2, August 2012, 886-894.
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American psychologist* 55 (5), 469.
- Arnett, J. (1994). Are college students adults? Their conceptions of the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Adult Development*, 1(4), 213-224.

- Aseltine, R., Gore, S., & Gordon, J. (2000). Life Stress, Anger and Anxiety, and Delinquency: An Empirical Test of General Strain Theory. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 41(3), 256-275.
- Aylsworth, L., & Trovato, F. (2012). Demography of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. In *Historica Canada Canadian Encyclopedia* Retrieved from <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-people-demography/>
- Bales, W., & Mears, D. (2008). Inmate Social Ties and the Transition to Society: Does Visitation Reduce Recidivism? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45(3), 287-321.
- Bayes, Shawn . (2008). Looking Inwards: Finding the Children of Prisoners in Youth Custody. Conference Paper at University of British Columbia, Department of Family Practice. Retrieved from <http://med-fom-familymed-cpcpe.sites.olt.ubc.ca/files/2012/05/Dec2008ConfAbstracts24225-1.pdf>
- Bayes, Shawn. (2017, May 9). Reporting back: What we learned at the International Coalition for the Children of Incarcerated Parents. *Elizabeth Fry Society of Greater Vancouver*. Retrieved from <https://elizabethfry.com/reporting-back-learned-international-coalition-children-incarcerated-parents-conference/>
- Bazemore, Gordon. (2001). Young People, Trouble, and Crime: Restorative Justice as a Normative Theory of Informal Social Control and Social Support. *Youth & Society*, 33(2), 199-226.
- Bellefeuille, Gerard, & Ricks, Frances. (2010). Relational inquiry: A child and youth care approach to research. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 32(10), 1235-1241.
- Belware, Kim. (2016, October 31). Many People Already See Prisoners As Monsters. Do 'Haunted Prisons' Make It Worse? *HuffPost* Retrieved from https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/entry/haunted-prisons-halloween_us_58173d9de4b0990edc320e42
- Berg, M., & Huebner, B. (2011). Re-entry and the Ties that Bind: An Examination of Social Ties, Employment, and Recidivism. *Justice Quarterly*, 28(2), 382-410.
- Bernard, H. R. (2006). *Research Methods for Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (4th ed.). Lanham, Maryland, USA Retrieved from <http://www.antropocaos.com.ar/Russel-ResearchMethod-in-Anthropology.pdf>: AltaMira Press
- Bernard, H. (2018). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (Sixth ed.). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bernard, H. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th ed.). Lanham, MD: AltaMira.

- Boisvert, Nick. (2017, September 26). Human rights commission accuses Ontario of mistreating prisoners with mental health issues. *CBC*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/human-rights-segregation-1.4307737>
- Bowlby, J. (1944). Forty-four juvenile thieves: Their characters and their home life. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. 25. 19-52, 107-127.
- Bowlby, John. (1969). *Attachment and Loss*. (Vol. 1), New York: Basic Books.
- Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame, and reintegration*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] : New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brent, J. J., & Kraska, P. B. (2010). Moving beyond our methodological default: A case for mixed methods. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 21, 412-430.
- Brink, J.H., Doherty, D., & Boer, A. (2001). Mental disorder in federal offenders: A Canadian prevalence study. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 2, 330356. doi:10.1016/S0160-2527(01)00071-1.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Brooks, C. & Schissel, B. (Eds). (2015). *Marginality and Condemnation, 3rd Edition A Critical Introduction to Criminology*. Fernwood Publishing. ISBN: 9781552667347 Retrieved from <https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/marginality-and-condemnation>
- Budny, D., Paul, C., & Newborg, B. (2010). Impact of Peer Mentoring on Freshmen Engineering Students. *Journal of STEM Education : Innovations and Research*, 11(5/6), 9-24.
- Brym, Roberts, Stroschein & Lie. (2016). *Sociology: My Compass For a New World* (5th Edition). Toronto : Nelson Education.
- Caddle, D. and Crisp, D. (1997). Imprisoned women and mothers. *Home Office Research Study* 162. London: Home Office
- Canadian Council of Social Development. (2003). *Dads in Prison. Crime Prevention Through Social Development* Bulletin, No.6. National Crime Prevention Centre. Retrieved from Canadian Council of Social Development website: <http://www.ccsd.ca/resources/CrimePrevention/28>
- Canadian Council of Social Development. (2004). *A Place to Call Home - Building on Strengths in Winnipeg*. Preventing Crime Through Social Development Bulletin, No.8. Retrieved from: <http://www.ccsd.ca/resources/CrimePrevention/>
- Canadian Council of Social Development. (2016). *Crime Prevention Through Social Development*. Retrieved from http://www.ccsd.ca/resources/CrimePrevention/i_sec-education.htm

- Canadian Families and Corrections Network. (2003). *One Day at a Time: Writings on Facing the Incarceration of a Friend or Family Member*. Compiled by Heather Holland, Research Assistant, Canadian Families and Corrections Network. Retrieved from <http://www.cfcn-rcafd.org/>
- Canadian Families and Corrections Network. (2016). *Families and Corrections Network Journal* (Vol. 12, 2008 - Vol. 17, 2014). Retrieved from <http://www.cfcn-rcafd.org/>
- Canada. Public Safety Canada, issuing body. (2018). *Transitions from juvenile delinquency to young adult offending: A review of Canadian and international evidence*. (Research highlights (Canada. Public Safety Canada); 2017-H05-CP). Ottawa, Ontario: Public Safety Canada = Sécurité publique Canada.
- Carson, W., Brannigan, Augustine, & Pavlich, George. (2007). *Governance and regulation in social life essays in honour of W. G. Carson*. New York, NY: Routledge-Cavendish. (Chapter 1 and 14).
- Cauffman, E. (2012). Aligning justice system processing with developmental science. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 11(4), 751-758.
- Chahal, Walid. (2017). *Crime and Inequality. Readings for Introduction to Criminology*. Fernwood Publishing. ISBN: 9781773630441 Retrieved from <https://fernwoodpublishing.ca/book/crime-and-inequality>
- Chilton, Roland. (1964). Continuities in Delinquency Area Research: A Comparison of Studies in Baltimore, Detroit, and Indianapolis. *American Sociological Review* 29, 71-73.
- Chris, J. (2007). The Functions of The Social Bond. *Sociological Quarterly*, 48(4), 689-712.
- Cillessen, A. H. N., & Mayeux, I. (2004). From censure to reinforcement: Developmental changes in the association between aggression and social status. *Child Development*, 75, 147-166.
- Clairmont, Don. (2008). *Violence and Public Safety in the Halifax Regional Municipality: A Report to the Mayor as a Result of the Roundtable*. Atlantic Institute of Criminology.
- Clairmont, Don. (2014). *The 2014 HRM Round Table Review, Volume I: The Main Report*. Halifax Regional Municipality. Atlantic Institute of Criminology.
- Clairmont, Don. (2016). Personal communications. Halifax, N.S.
- Correction Services Canada. (2006). *Perspectives on Youth Crime in Nova Scotia*. Nova Scotia Department of Justice, Policy Planning, and Research. Retrieved from <http://novascotia.ca/just/resources.asp>
- Correctional Service of Canada. (2010). *Quick Facts: Profile of a Canadian Offender*. Ottawa: Author. April 20, 2016 Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/pblct/qf/11-eng.shtml>

- Correctional Services Canada. (2008). *Mental Health Strategy for Corrections in Canada*. Retrieved from: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/health/092/MH-strategy-eng.pdf>
- Correctional Services Canada. (2013). *Mission, Values and Ethics Framework of the Correctional Service of Canada*. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/acts-and-regulations/001-cd-eng.shtml#s2a>
- Correctional Services Canada. (2014). *Annual Report: Corrections and Conditional Release Statistical Overview*. Public Safety Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/ccrso-2014/index-en.aspx>
- Correctional Services Canada. (2015). *Quick Facts Research Results - Mental Health*. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/publications/005007-3030-eng.shtml>
- Correctional Services Canada. (2016). *Forum on Corrections Research*. Vol.7, No.2. Retrieved from <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/research/forum/e072/e072j-eng.shtml>
- Crowell, Leah. (2014). Relational Care for Youth in North American Culture: A Case Study in Nova Scotia. *The Canadian Journal of Family and Youth*. Volume 8. No.1.
- Crowell, Leah. (2016). Conference Paper: *Appreciating the Nuances of Verbal and Non-verbal cues in Caring for Vulnerable Canadian Youth; Auto-ethnography, Experience, and Policy*. *Health in Toxic Environments*. Paper presented at CASCA Conference, Dalhousie University, Halifax.
- Cunningham, A., Baker, Linda L., Centre for Children & Families in the Justice System, & Canadian Electronic Library. (2003). *Waiting for mommy giving a voice to the hidden victims of imprisonment* (DesLibris. Documents collection). London, Ont.: Centre for Children and Families in the Justice Systems.
- Day, David M & Wanklyn, Sonya G. (2012-2013). *Identification and Operationalization of the Major Risk Factors for Antisocial & Delinquent Behaviour Among Children and Youth*. NCP, Public Safety Canada Ottawa, Ont. Retrieved from <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/index-eng.aspx>
- Del Balso, M., & Lewis, Alan D. (2012). *First Steps: A guide to social research* (5th ed.). Toronto: Nelson Education.
- DeLisi, M., & Beaver, Kevin M. (2011). *Criminological theory: A life-course approach*. Sudbury, Mass.: Jones and Bartlett. 29.
- Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y, (eds). (2005). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd ed. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Derkzen, D., Gobeil, Renée, Gileno, Justin, Correctional Service Canada. Research Branch, & Canadian Electronic Library. (2009). *Visitation and post-release outcome among federally-sentenced offenders* (Canadian electronic library. Documents collection). Ottawa, Ont.: Correctional Service of Canada. GREAT SOURCE _ADD MORE CITATIONS

- Devet, Robert. (2017a, August 4). Can't wait to see my kids so I can have communication — #TalkJustice stories and poems from prison. *The Nova Scotia Advocate*. Retrieved from <https://nsadvocate.org/2017/08/04/cant-wait-to-see-my-kids-so-i-can-have-communication-talkjustice-stories-and-poems-from-prison/>
- Devet, Robert. (2017b, August 11). Prison is a storage unit: Halifax community meeting on Prisoners' Justice Day. *The Nova Scotia Advocate*. Retrieved from <https://nsadvocate.org/2017/08/11/prison-is-a-storage-unit-halifax-community-meeting-on-prisoners-justice-day/>
- Dierkhising, C., Ko, S., Woods-Jaeger, B., Briggs, E., Lee, R., & Pynoos, R. (2013). Trauma histories among justice-involved youth: Findings from the National Child Traumatic Stress Network. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 4(1), Article 20274.
- Dodd, T., Hunter, Paul, & Great Britain. Home Office. (1992). *The national prison survey 1991: A report to the Home Office of a study of prisoners in England and Wales carried out by the Social Survey Division of OPCS*. London: H.M.S.O.
- Dostoyevsky, F. (1971). *The house of the dead*. London: Heinemann.
- Donnelly P. & Young, K. (1988). The construction and confirmation of identity in sport subculture. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 5 (3), 223-240.
- Donovan, Moira. (2017, April 18). High cost of making calls from Nova Scotia jails is 'predatory,' say advocates. *CBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/synergy-inmate-phones-jails-collect-calls-cost-1.4072950>
- Donovan, Moira. (2018, March 22). Halifax support group provides comfort to families of those behind bars. *CBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/halifax-support-group-provides-comfort-to-families-of-those-behind-bars-1.4587876>
- Eliason, S., Mortimer, J., & Vuolo, M. (2015). The Transition to Adulthood. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 78(3), 205-227.
- Elkin, F. & Handel, G. (1989). *The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization* (5th ed.). New York: Random House.
- Elkind, D. (2007). *The hurried child: Growing up too fast too soon* (25th anniversary ed.). Cambridge, Mass. : London: Da Capo Lifelong ; Perseus Running
- Ellis, Bruce J. & Del Giudice, Marco. (2014). Beyond allostatic load: Rethinking the role of stress in regulating human development. *Development and Psychopathology* 26 (2014), 1–20. Cambridge University Press 2013 doi:10.1017/S0954579413000849
- Ellis, J., Small-McGinley, Jan, & De Fabrizio, Lucy. (2001). *Caring for kids in communities: Using mentorship, peer support, & student leadership programs in schools (Counterpoints (New York, N.Y.) v. 12)*. New York: P. Lang.

- Elman & Zinger. (2017, August 31). *Missed Opportunities: The Experiences of Young Adults Incarcerated in Federal Penitentiaries*. Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/oth-aut/oth-aut20170831-eng.aspx>
- Erikson, E. (1997). *The life cycle completed* (Extended version / with new chapters on the ninth stage of development by Joan M. Erikson.. ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.
- Farrington, D. (2008). *Integrated developmental & life course theories of offending*. New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.
- Farrington, D. P. Ed. (2005). *Integrated Developmental and Life-Course Theories of Offending. Advances in Criminological Theory*, vol. 14. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction.
- Farrington, David P., Loeber, R., & Howell, J.C. (2012). Young adult offenders: The need for more effective legislative options and justice processing. *Criminal and Public Policy*, 11 (4) 729-750.
- Faucher, Chantal. (2009). Fear and loathing in the news: a qualitative analysis of Canadian print news coverage of youthful offending in the twentieth century, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12:4, 439-456, DOI: 10.1080/13676260902897426.
- Faisal Khamis Al-Shamari. (2016). Crime and Divorce. Can one Lead to the other? Using Multilevel Mixed Models. *IDEAS Working Paper Series* from RePEc.
- Follari, M. Lissanna. (2011). *Foundations and Best Practices in Early Childhood Education: History, Theories and Approaches to Learning* 2nd ed. Pearson Education Inc.
- Foqué, R. (2008). Criminal Justice in a Democracy: Towards a Relational Conception of Criminal Law and Punishment. *Criminal Law and Philosophy*, 2(3), 207-227.
- Foster, Holly & Hagen, John. (2015). Punishment Regimes and the Multilevel Effects of Parental Incarceration: Intergenerational, Intersectional, and Interinstitutional Models of Social Inequality and Systemic Exclusion. *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 41: 135-158.
- Fraser, N. (2008). Abnormal Justice. *Critical Inquiry*, 34(3), 393-422.
- Garfat, T. (2009). A focus on research. *Relational Child and Youth Care Practice*, 2(3), 3-5.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. Basic Books: New York, NY.
- Gibbons, D. (1991). Book Reviews -- Crime, Shame and Reintegration by John Braithwaite. *Crime and Delinquency*, 37(4), 579.
- Giedd, Jay N. (2008). The teen brain: Insights from neuro-imaging. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 42: 335-343.
- Gillard, S., Simons, L., Turner, K., Lucock, M., & Edwards, C. (2012). Patient and Public Involvement in the Coproduction of Knowledge. *Qualitative Health Research*, 22(8), 1126-1137.

- Gilmer, T., Ojeda, V., Fawley-King, K., Larson, B., & Garcia, P. (2012). Change in mental health service use after offering youth-specific versus adult programs to transition-age youths. *Psychiatric Services (Washington, D.C.)*, 63(6), 592-6.
- Giordano, P. (1995). The Wider Circle of Friends in Adolescence. *American Journal of Sociology* 101: 661-697.
- Giordano, P. C., Cernkovich, S. A., & Rudolph, J. L. (2002). Gender, crime and desistance: Toward a theory of cognitive transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107, 990-1064.
- Giordano, P., Schroeder, R., & Cernkovich, S. (2007). Emotions and Crime over the Life Course: A NeoMeadian Perspective on Criminal Continuity and Change. *American Journal of Sociology*, 112(6), 1603-1661.
- Giroux, H. (2008). *Against the terror of neo-liberalism: Politics beyond the age of greed. Cultural politics & the promise of democracy*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Giroux, Henry A. (2013). *America's education deficit and the war on youth*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Giroux, Henry. (2014). "Punishment Creep and the Crisis of Youth in the Age of Disposability," in Anthony J. Nocella II, Priya Parmar, and David Stovall, (eds). *From Education to Incarceration* New York: Peter Lang, pp. 69-85.
- Giroux, Henry. (2015). *Youth In Authoritarian Times: Challenging Neoliberalism's Politics Of Disposability*. Truth-Out. Retrieved from <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/33312-youth-in-authoritarian-times-challenging-neoliberalism-s-politics-of-disposability> 30
- Glowacz, Fabienne & Born, Michel. (2015). Away from Delinquency and Crime: Resilience and Protective Factors. In Morizot, Julien and Lila Kazemian (eds.) *The Development of Criminal and Antisocial Behaviour* 283-294. Springer International Publishing.
- Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity* (A Spectrum book). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Goffman, E. (1990). *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Penguin psychology). London: Penguin.
- Goldsmith, Stephen & Eimicke, William B. (2008). *Moving Men into the Mainstream: Best Practices in Prisoner Reentry Assistance*. Delancey Street Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.delanceystreetfoundation.org/wwwa.php>
- Gordon, L. & McFelin, V. (2012). "Close to Home" A New Zealand Family Reintegration Programme for Prisoners. Pillars Inc. & Canadian Families and Corrections Network (CFCN). *CFCN Journal*, Summer Vol.15, No. 2.
- Gove, Walter. (1975). *The Labeling of Deviance: Evaluating a Perspective*. New York: Wiley.

- Graveland, Bill. (2016, October, 27). Prisons in Canada are increasing phone costs for inmates. *The Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2016/10/27/prisons-in-canada-are-increasing-the-phone-costs-for-inmates.html>
- Greene, J. (2007). *Mixed methods in social inquiry* (1st ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Guest, G., Namey, E.E., Mitchell, M.L. (2013). *Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research*. Sage: Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Guy, Jean-Sébastien. (2017). Functional Systems as Metric Forms and Institutions as Non-metric Forms: A Neo-Luhmannian Approach. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics* 29(1) 32–47.
- Hall, G. (1931). *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education*. New York: Appleton.
- Harris, Kathleen. (2017, July30). Email from behind bars? Prisoner advocates push for access to laptops, tablets and internet. *CBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/prison-csc-computer-internet-1.4222230>
- Hensly, C., Koshechski, M., & Tewksbury, R. (2002). Does participation in conjugal visitations reduce prison violence in Mississippi? An exploratory study. *Criminal Justice Review*, 27, 52-65.
- Hirschi, Travis. (1969). *Causes of Delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hirschi, Travis, & Gottfredson, Michael. (1983). Age and the Explanation of Crime. *American Journal of Sociology*, 89(3), 552-84.
- Hogeveen, B. (2006). Unsettling Youth Justice and Cultural Norms: The Youth Restorative Action Project. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(1), 47-66.
- Hogeveen, B., & Woolford, A. (2006). Critical Criminology and Possibility in the Neo-liberal Ethos. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 48(5), 681-701.
- Hollingworth, S. (2015). Performances of social class, race and gender through youth subculture: Putting structure back in to youth subcultural studies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1-20.
- Holmes, S., & Ebooks Corporation. (2013). *Fresh fruit, broken bodies migrant farmworkers in the United States* (California series in public anthropology; 27). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-88.
- Huberman, A. M., & Miles, M. B. (1983). Drawing valid meaning from qualitative data: Some techniques of data reduction and display. *Quality and Quantity*, 17(4), 281-339. doi:10.1007/BF00167541

- Hyslop, Katie. (2018, February 1). Helping the Forgotten Kids of Parents in Prison. *The Tyee*. Retrieved from <https://thetyee.ca/News/2018/02/01/Helping-Forgotten-Kids-Parents-Prison/>
- Iftene, A., D. (2011). *Convicts and Human Rights: A Comparative Study on Prison Treatment in Europe and Canada*. (Thesis). Queens University.
- Ivey, A.E., Ivey, M.B., & Zalaquett, C.P. (2011). *Intentional interviewing & counselling*. (7th Ed.). Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), 602-611. doi:10.2307/2392366
- John Howard Society. (2015). *Unlocking Change: Decriminalizing Mental Health Issues in Ontario*. John Howard Society of Ontario. Retrieved from <http://johnhoward.on.ca/>
- Jones, Sinha & Trocmé. (2015). Children and Youth in Out-of-Home Care in the Canadian Provinces. Retrieved from: *Canadian Child Welfare Research Portal* <http://cwrp.ca/publications/2999>
- Junger, Marianne & Polder, Wim. (1992). Some Explanations of Crime Among Four Ethnic Groups in the Netherlands. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 8, 51-78.
- Katz, Jackson. (2006). *The macho paradox: Why some men hurt women and how all men can help*. Naperville, Ill.: Sourcebooks.
- Katz, Jackson. & Earp, Jermy (Producers), & Jhally, Sut (Director). (1999). *Tough guise violence, media, and the crisis in masculinity* [Documentary]. Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation.
- Kendall, D., Linden, Rick, & Lothian Murray, Jane. (2014). *Sociology in Our Times* (Sixth Canadian ed.). Toronto: Nelson.
- Kohlberg, Lawrence. (1969). "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization." In David A Goslin, *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 347-480.
- Kouyoumdjian, Schuler, Hwang & Matheson. (2015). *Research on the health of people who experience detention or incarceration in Canada: a scoping review*. BMC Public Health 15:419. DOI 10.1186/s12889-015-1758-6
- Krippendorff, K. (2013). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles; London: SAGE.
- Kübler-Ross, (1974). *On death and dying* (Collier books; 08913). New York: Macmillan.
- Ladd, G.W. (2005) *Peer relationships and social competence of children and youth*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Latzman, T. L. (2008). *An evaluation of Project Peer: A juvenile delinquency treatment program* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Pace University, New York, NY.
- Laub, J., & Sampson, Robert J. (2003). *Shared beginnings, divergent lives delinquent boys to age 70*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Laub, J., Nagin, D., & Sampson, R. (1998). Trajectories of Change in Criminal Offending: Good Marriages and the Desistance Process. *American Sociological Review*, 63(2), 225-238.
- Lear, Benjamin (Producer/Director), & Alpert, Sasha & Cowan, Gabriel (Director). (2016). *They Call Us Monsters* [Documentary]. *BMP Films*. Retrieved from <https://www.theycallusmonsters.com/>
- Leonardi , L. & Hannem, S. (2015). The Mental Health Effects of Crime on the Family. Wilfrid Laurier University & Canadian Families and Corrections Network. *CFCN Journal*, March, Vol.18, No. 1.
- Leonardi, L. (2013). National Family Orientation Project Results. Canadian Families and Corrections Network. *CFCN Journal*, Summer Vol .16, No.1.
- Leonardi, L., Holland, M., & Hannem, S. (2015). *Coping Over Time*. Wilfrid Laurier University & Canadian Families and Corrections Network. Retrieved from <http://www.cfcn-rcafd.org/>.
- Linder, J., Campbell, Venetta, Lam, Brian, & Santhiveeran, Janaki. (2016). *Closing the Revolving Door Preparing Transition-age Youth for Adulthood: A Grant Proposal*, Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database.
- Livingston, J., International Centre for Criminal Law Reform Criminal Justice Policy, & Canadian Electronic Library. (2009). *Mental health and substance use services in correctional settings a review of minimum standards and best practices* (Canadian electronic library. Documents collection). Vancouver, B.C.: International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy.
- Llewellyn, Jennifer J. (2011). *A relational vision of justice*. Re-visioning Justice. Restorative Justice Week 2011. Correctional Services Canada.
- Llewellyn, J., & Philpott, Daniel. (2014). *Restorative justice, reconciliation, and peacebuilding*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, USA.
- Lolland, J. (1969). *Deviance and Identity*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Lupick, Travis (2014, July 9). Statistics reveal Canadian prisons becoming more violent places. *The Straight*. Retrieved from <https://www.straight.com/news/89416/statistics-reveal-canadian-prisons-becoming-more-violent-places> -
- Luthar, S., & Cicchetti, D. (2000). The construct of resilience: Implications for interventions and social policies. *Development and Psychopathology*, 12(4), 857-885.

- Lynk, Michael. (2009). Labour Law and the New Inequality in *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society – V.15 – Special Edition*. Ontario.
- Maccoby, E.E. (1998). *The two sexes*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press.
- Malone, Geraldine (2016, November 7). Why Canada's Prisons Abuse Solitary Confinement. *Vice News*. Retrieved from https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/7bmj5e/why-canadas-prisons-abuse-solitary-confinement
- Maltz, M. D., & Mullany, J. M. (2000). Visualizing lives: New pathways for analyzing life course trajectories. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 16, 255-281.
- Manteuffel, B., Stephens, R., Sondheimer, L., & Fisher, D. (2008). Characteristics, Service Experiences, and Outcomes of Transition-Aged Youth in Systems of Care: Programmatic and Policy Implications. *The Journal of Behavioral Health Services & Research*, 35(4), 469-487.
- Marshall, S. G. (2015). Canadian Drug Policy and the Reproduction of Indigenous Inequities. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 6(1). DOI: 10.18584/iipj.2015.6.1.7.
- Martinez, D., & Christian, J. (2009). The Familial Relationships of Former Prisoners: Examining the Link between Residence and Informal Support Mechanisms. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 38(2), 201.
- Maruna, S. (2010). Mixed method research in criminology: Why not go both ways? In A. R. Piquero & D. B. Weisburd (Eds.), *Handbook of quantitative criminology* (pp. 123-140). London, England: Springer.
- Massoglia, M. & Uggen, C. (2010). Settling Down and Aging Out: Toward an Interactionist Theory of Desistance and the Transition to Adulthood. *American Journal of Sociology*. Volume 116 Number 2 543-582.
- Masten, A., Coatsworth, J., Fowler, Raymond D., & Hetherington, E. Mavis. (1998). The Development of Competence in Favorable and Unfavorable Environments. *American Psychologist*, 53(2), 205-220.
- Masten, A., & Fowler, Raymond D. (2001). *Ordinary Magic*. *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 227-238.
- Maton, K. (2003) Reflexivity, relationism and research: Pierre Bourdieu and the epistemic conditions of social scientific knowledge, *Space & Culture*, 6(1), 52–65.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2010). Using numbers in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(6), 475-482.
- McDaniel, Susan A. & Tepperman, Lorne. (2011). *Close Relations: An Introduction to the Sociology of Families*, Fourth Edition. Toronto: Pearson Education Canada.

- McKay-Panos, Linda (2016, January 5). Prisoners and Work. *Law Now*. Retrieved from <http://www.lawnow.org/prisoners-and-work/>
- McMahan, Ian. (2009). *Adolescence*. United States: Pearson Education Inc.
- Mead, G.H. (1934) *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mehler-Paperny, Anna. (2017, August 3). Canada's jailhouse secret: Legally innocent prisoners are dying. *Reuters*. Retrieved from: http://www.reuters.com/article/us-canada-jails-deaths-insight/idUSKBN1AJ19V?utm_campaign=trueAnthem%3A+Trending+Content&utm_content=59830cbe04d3017742be54cd&utm_medium=trueAnthem&utm_source=facebook.
- Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*. Jossey Bass: San Francisco, CA.
- Messner, S. & Tardiff, K. (1986). Economic Inequality and Levels of Homicide. An Analysis of Urban Neighborhoods. *Criminology* 24, 297-317.
- Mikkonen, J., & Raphael, D. (2010). *Social Determinants of Health: The Canadian Facts*. Toronto: York University School of Health Policy and Management. Retrieved from <http://thecanadianfacts.org/>
- Miner-Romanoff, Karen. (2012). Interpretive and Critical Phenomenological Crime Studies: A Model Design. *Qualitative Report*, 17.
- Mirchandani, K., & Chan, Wendy. (2007). *Criminalizing race, criminalizing poverty: Welfare fraud enforcement in Canada*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.
- Mochama, Vicky (2018, January 4). Treatment of women in Canadian prisons a human rights travesty. *The Star*. Retrieved from <https://www.thestar.com/opinion/star-columnists/2018/01/04/treatment-of-women-in-canadian-prisons-a-human-rights-travesty.html>
- Mucina & Crowell. (2015). *Adult Survey: How Does Parental and Familial Incarceration in the Canadian Context Predict Later-Life Incarceration among Prisoners' Children?* Halifax NS. Approved by MSVU Research Ethics Board and Nova Scotia Correctional Services.
- Mucina, D. (2014). *Research Project: How Does Parental and Familial Incarceration in the Canadian Context Predict Later-Life Incarceration among Prisoners' Children?* Mount Saint Vincent University (MSVU) REB. Halifax NS.
- Murray, Joseph & David P. Farrington. (2007). Crime in Adult Offspring of Prisoners: A Cross-National Comparison of Two Longitudinal Samples. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour* 34.
- Murray, Joseph & Murray, Lynne. (2010). Parental incarceration, attachment and child psychopathy. *Attachment & Human Development*. Vol. 12, No. 4, 289–309.

- Murray, Joseph and David P. Farrington. (2005). Parental imprisonment: effects on boys' antisocial behavior and delinquency through the life-course. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 46(12): 1269-1278.
- Mustard, Fraser, McCain, Margaret. & McCuaig, Kerry. (2011). *The Early Years Study 3: Making Decisions and Taking Action*. Margaret & Wallace McCain Family Foundation. Toronto Ontario.
- Nathanson, D. (1992). *Shame and pride: Affect, sex, and the birth of the self*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Nathanson, D. (1997). Affect theory and the compass of shame. In M. Lansky and A. Morrison (Eds.), *The widening scope of shame*. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
- Navarro, Vincent, and Leiya Shi. (2001). "The Political Context of Social Inequalities and Health." *Social Science and Medicine* 52: 481-491.
- Neugarten, B.L. (1979). Time, age, and the life cycle. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 136, 887-894.
- Neuman, Susan B. (2009). *Use the Science of What Works to Change the Odds for Children at Risk*. PHI DELTA KAPPAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- Nolot, Benjamin, (Producer), & (Director). (2017). *Liberated. The New Sexual Revolution* [Documentary]. United States. Magic Latern Pictures.
- Nunn, D., Nova Scotia. Nunn Commission of Inquiry, & Canadian Electronic Library. (2006). *Spiralling out of control lessons learned from a boy in trouble, report of the Nunn Commission of Inquiry*. (DesLibris. Documents collection). Halifax, N.S.]: Government of Nova Scotia.
- Oakley, Robin & Grøsneth, Anne Sigfrid (Eds.). (2007). Ethnographic Humanism: Migrant Experiences in the Quest for Well-Being. *Special Issue of Anthropology in Action*, 14(1 & 2):175 pages.
- O'Connor, Julia Sila, & Gregg Matthew Olsen. (1998). *Power Resources Theory and the Welfare State: A Critical Approach*. University of Toronto Press.
- Ontario Ministry of Children and Youth Services. (2014, February, 27). *Forever Families: Ontario's Adoption System*, Retrieved from <http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/infertility/report/foreverfamilies.aspx>
- Oudshoorn, J. (2015). *Trauma-informed youth justice in Canada: A new framework toward a kinder future*. Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Parke, Ross D, Gauvain, Mary & Schmuckler, Mark (2010). *Child Psychology: A Contemporary Viewpoint* 3rd Canadian ed. McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

- Passer, W. Michael, Smith, Atkinson, Mitchell and Muir (2008). *Psychology: Frontiers and Applications* 3rd Canadian ed. McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Penuel, R. William & Wertsch, V. James (1995). Vygotsky and Identity Formation: A Sociocultural Approach. *Educational Psychologist*, 30(2), pp 83-91.
- Petrosino, Derzon, & Lavenberg. (2009). The Role of Family in Crime and Delinquency: Evidence from Prior Quantitative Reviews. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice* Vol. 6(2). pp. 108–132.
- Petrosino A., Turpin-Petrosino C., Guckenburg, S. (2010). *Formal system processing of juveniles: Effects on delinquency*. Campbell Systematic Reviews 2010:1 DOI: 10.4073/csr.2010.1
- Peterson, C. (1996). The ticking of the social clock: adults' beliefs about the timing of transition events. *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*. Volume: 42 issue: 3, page(s): 189-203 <https://doi.org/10.2190/MMDD-F9YP-NPN8-720M>
- Potter, H. (2013). Intersectional Criminology: Interrogating Identity and Power in Criminological Research and Theory. *Critical Criminology*, 21(3), 305-318.
- Pratt, T., Cullen, F., Sellers, C., Thomas Winfree, L., Madensen, T., Daigle, L., . . . Gau, J. (2010). The Empirical Status of Social Learning Theory: A Meta-Analysis. *Justice Quarterly*, 27(6), 765-802.
- Pratt, Travis C. & Francis T. Cullen. (2005). “Assessing macro-level predictors and theories of crime: A Meta analysis”. In M. Tonry (Ed.), *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, (Vol. 32) (pp. 373-450). University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Pratt, T.C. & Godsey, T.W. (2003). Social Support, Inequality, and Homicide: A Cross-National Test of an Integrated Theoretical Model. *Criminology* 41, 3: 611-644.
- Price, C., & Kunz, J. (2003). Rethinking the Paradigm of Juvenile Delinquency as Related to Divorce. *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage*, 39(1-2), 109-133.
- Province of Nova Scotia. (2011). *Building Bridges: Improving Care In Custody For People Living With Mental Illness*. Retrieved from: <https://novascotia.ca/dhw/publications/Building-Bridges-improving-care-custody-mental-illness.pdf>
- Raphael, Dennis. (2002). *Poverty, Income Inequality and Health in Canada*. School of Health Policy and Management, York University. Toronto.
- Roberts, J., & Hough, M. (2005). The State of the Prisons: Exploring Public Knowledge and Opinion. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44(3), 286-306.
- Rockwell, Sylvia (2012) *Facilitating the Fourth R: Resilience*, Kappa Delta Pi Record, 43:1, 14-19, DOI: [10.1080/00228958.2006.10516453](https://doi.org/10.1080/00228958.2006.10516453)

- Rubin, K. H., Bukowski, W. M., & Parker, J. G. (2006). Peer interactions, relationships, and groups. In W. Damon & R.M. Lerner (Gen Ed.) & N. Eisenberg (Ed), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol 3. Social, emotional, and personality development*. (6th ed., pp. 571-645). New York: Wiley.
- Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2003). *Techniques to Identify Themes*. *Field Methods*, 15(1), 85-109. DOI: 10.1177/1525822x02239569.
- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (2003). Life-Course Desisters? Trajectories of Crime Among Delinquent Boys Followed to Age 70. *Criminology*, 41(3), 555-592.
- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (2005). Seductions of method: Rejoinder to Nagin and Tremblay's "Developmental trajectory groups: Fact or fiction?" *Criminology*, 43, 905-913.
- Sapers, Howard. (2016). *Annual Report of the Office of the Correctional Investigator 2015-2016*. Office of the Correctional Investigator of Canada. Government of Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.oci-bec.gc.ca/cnt/rpt/annrpt/annrpt20152016-eng.aspx>
- Sawyer, Azzopardi, Wickremarathne, & Patton. (2018). The age of adolescence. *The Lancet Child & Adolescent Health*, 2(3), 223-228.
- Senate of Canada. (2017, June 1). Life on the inside: Human rights in Canada's prisons. *Senate of Canada*. Retrieved from <https://sencanada.ca/en/sencaplus/news/life-on-the-inside-human-rights- in-canadas-prisons/>
- Scheper-Hughes, N. (1993). *Death without weeping: The violence of everyday life in Brazil* (Pbk. ed., 1993]. ed.). Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Schissel, B. (2006). *Still blaming children: Youth conduct and the politics of child hating*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.
- Schissel, Bernard. (2011). *About Canada: Children and Youth*. Black Point, N.S.: Fernwood Pub.
- Schweinhart, L. J. (2003). Validity of the High / Scope preschool education model. Ypsilant, MI: *High/Scope Educational Research Foundation*.
- Scruton, P (2008) The criminalisation and punishment of children and young people: Introduction. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 20(1): 1–13.
- Shafer, N.W. (1994) Exploring the link between visits and parole success. A survey of prison visitors. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 38, 17-32.
- Sherlock, T., & Culbert, L. (2014, March 4). Part One: From Care to Where? Aging Out of The Foster System, *Vancouver Sun*, Retrieved from <http://www.vancouversun.com/life/From+care+where+Aging+foster+system/9532911/story.html>.
- Shore, Cris 1959-; & Wright, Susan 1951; (1997). *Anthropology of policy critical perspectives on governance and power*. London; New York: Routledge.

- Siegel, Larry J., & McCormick, Chris. (2016). *Criminology in Canada Theories, Patterns and Typologies*. 6th Edition. Nelson Education.
- Smmandych, Russell Charles, & Winterdyk, John. (2012). *Youth at risk and youth justice: A Canadian overview*. Don Mills, Ont.: OUP Canada.
- Statistics Canada. (2014/15). *Adult correctional statistics in Canada 2014/2015*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2016001/article/14318-eng.htm>
- Stoltz, A., & Sandoval, Jonathan. (2005). *The Relationship between Peer Mentoring Program Participation and Successful Transition to High School*, Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Stuart, C. (2009). *Foundations of Child and Youth Care*. Dubuque IW: Kendall Hunt.
- Sweeten, Gary, Alex Piquero and Laurence Steinberg. (2013). "Age and the explanation of crime revisited." *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. Vol. 42, no. 6.
- Tam, C., Freisthler, B., Curry, S., & Abrams, L. (2016). Where Are the Beds? Housing Locations for Transition Age Youth Exiting Public Systems. *Families in Society*, 97(2), 111-119.
- The Canadian Press. (2016, October 27). Increased phone costs an additional punishment for prison inmates: advocates. *CBC* Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/increased-phone-costs-an-additional-punishment-for-prison-inmates-advocates-1.3824300>
- Lacayo, Richard. (1994, February 7). Lock em up and throw away the key. *Time*. Retrieved from <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,980077,00.html>
- Tomkins, S. (1987). Shame. In D.L. Nathanson (Ed.). *The many faces of shame* (pp. 133-161). New York, NY: Norton. Toronto: York University School of Health Policy and Management.
- Trinh, Judy. (2017, February 24). Province gets 'kickback' from inmates' collect calls, lawyer says. *CBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/ontario-government-bell-jail-inmate-collect-call-commissions-1.3997146>
- Trocme, Nico, Fallon, Barbara, MacLaurin, Bruce, & Neves, Teresa. (2005). What Is Driving Increasing Child Welfare Caseloads in Ontario? Analysis of the 1993 and 1998 Ontario Incidence Studies. *Child Welfare*, 84(3), 341-362.
- Trussell, R. (1999). The children's streets. *International Social Work*, 42(2), 189-199.
- [Twenge, Jean M. \(2011\). Generational Differences in Mental Health: Are Children and Adolescents Suffering More, or Less? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Vol 81, No.4, pp 469-472.](#)

[United Nations Human Right Office of the High Commissionaire. \(2009, July 28\). *Prisoners' right to education*. Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Prisonersrighttoeducation.aspx>](http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Prisonersrighttoeducation.aspx)

Unger, M. (2011). *Counselling in challenging contexts: Working with individuals and families across clinical and community settings*. Brooks/Cole. U.S.A.

van den Hoonaard, D.K. (2015). *Qualitative Research in Action: A Canadian Primer*. Oxford University Press: Don Mills, ON.

Venkatesh, S. A. (2008). *Gang leader for a day: A rogue sociologist takes to the streets*. New York: Penguin Press.

Walklate, Sandra & McGarry, Ross. (2015). *Criminology and War: Transgressing Borders*. Routledge.

Walsham, G. (1993). *Interpreting Information Systems in Organizations*. Wiley: Chichester, NH.

Walters, G.D. (2003). Changes in criminal thinking and identity in novice and experienced inmates: Prisonization revisited. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 30 (4), 399-421.

Webster, C. M., Doob, A., Tubex, H., & Green, D. (2015). US punitiveness 'Canadian style'? Cultural values and Canadian punishment policy. *Punishment & Society*, 17(3), 299-321.

Weisner, T. (2002). Ecocultural Understanding of Children's Developmental Pathways. *Human Development*, 45(4), 275-281.

Wells, L., & Rankin, J. (1991). Families and Delinquency: A Meta-Analysis of the Impact of Broken Homes. *Social Problems*, 38(1), 71-93.

Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis Process. 2002, 3(2). Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/865>

West, W. (1984). *Young offenders and the state: A Canadian perspective on delinquency*. Toronto: Butterworths.

White, Patrick. (2017, March 24). Report gives diagnosis of poor health in Canadian prisons. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/report-gives-diagnosis-of-poor-health-in-canadian-prisons/article29226606/>

Wikstrom, P. & Dolmen, L. (1990). Crime and Crime Trends in Different Urban Environments, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 6, 7-28.

Williams, K., Papadopoulou, V., & Booth, N. (2012). Prisoners' Childhood and Family Backgrounds: Results from the Surveying Prisoner Crime Reduction (SPCR) *Longitudinal Cohort Study of Prisoners Ministry of Justice Research Series 4/12*, March 2012. Retrieved from: <http://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/publications/research-and-analysis/moj-research/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf>

- Withers, Lloyd & Folsom, Jean. (2007). *Incarcerated Fathers: A Descriptive Analysis*. Canadian Families and Corrections Network and Correctional Services Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.cfcn-rcafd.org/#story1>
- Wright, K., & Bouffard, L. (2016). Capturing Crime: The Qualitative Analysis of Individual Cases for Advancing Criminological Knowledge. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 60(2), 123-45.
- Zehr, Howard. (2003). *The Little Book of Restorative Justice*. Unicef . Good Books, Intercourse, Pennsylvania US. Retrieved from <https://www.unicef.org/tdad/littlebookrjpakaf.pdf>

APPENDICES

Appendix A

A SURVEY ABOUT THE IMPACTS OF ARREST AND INCARCERATION ON INMATES & CHILDREN Version 2

Adult Survey Instructions

- 1. This is an anonymous survey that will be kept confidential, please do not write your name or ID number on the survey.**
- 2. Use the enclosed pencil to fill out the survey.**
- 3. Each section begins with brief instruction notes, please take your time and read these notes before beginning each section.**
- 4. Please answer Part 1 which is about you and your family care providers.**
- 5. Please answer Part 2 and Part 3 if you have been connected to children in your family. Part 2 asks about your experience and that of the children connected to you and Part 3 asks about the experience of children connected to you. Complete a separate Part 3 for each child connected to you.**
- 6. Most of the questions are multiple choice and require that you put an 'x' in the box that applies to you, some of the questions ask that you check all that apply and others require that you fill in the blank.**
- 7. Please answer as many questions as you can, but remember that you are free to withdraw from the research or skip questions that you do not want to answer.**
- 8. If you have any questions in connection with the survey please let the researcher or one of the research assistants know and they will assist you.**

Important Reminders:

Participation in this survey is voluntary.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

If you do not wish to answer a question you are free to ignore the question.

Participation in this survey will not impact or influence any part of your criminal case including its outcome.

Thank you.

PART I: ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY CARE PROVIDERS

Please complete these questions by checking answers that apply, or filling in the blanks.

1. Please tell us the city/town you grew up in? _____

2. In which province is this city/town? _____

3. What is your gender Male Female other

3a. What is your age: _____ **3b) Place of birth? (country and province/territory/state):**

4. Time served to date for current charge: _____

5. Over your life list all the type of crime/s have you been incarcerated for: (Mark x in all boxes that apply & please do not provide details)

a Sex offense?

b Drug offense?

c Crime against a person? (murder, assault, armed robbery, etc.)

d Property crime? (break and enter, burglary, theft, fraud, etc.)

e Other? (crime category only, do not provide specific details): _____

6. How many times have you been; a) arrested? b) incarcerated? (Mark x in all boxes that apply & please do not provide details)

Times arrested:	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 times	<input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 times	<input type="checkbox"/> 7-9 times	Times incarcerated:	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 times	<input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 times	<input type="checkbox"/> 7-9 times
------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------

7. How do you describe your ethnic background? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)

a European descent

b Native or Indigenous Status or Non-status

c South Asian descent

d Middle Eastern descent

e Asian descent

f African descent

g Other, please specify: _____

8. What is the highest level of education that you have? (Mark x in box that applies)

a 8th grade or less

b Some high school

c High school diploma or G.E.D.

d Some college

e College diploma

f Some University

g University degree

h	<input type="checkbox"/> Some Graduate school
I	<input type="checkbox"/> Graduate degree
j	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

9. Have you ever experienced: (Mark x in all boxes that apply)	
a	Mental Health Diagnoses by a professional? <input type="checkbox"/>
b	Psychiatric Hospitalization? <input type="checkbox"/>
c	Poor school performance? <input type="checkbox"/>
d	Loneliness? <input type="checkbox"/>
e	Isolation? (lacking social support) <input type="checkbox"/>
f	Sexual abuse? <input type="checkbox"/>
g	Trouble managing anger? <input type="checkbox"/>
h	Substance abuse? <input type="checkbox"/>
i	Trouble sleeping? <input type="checkbox"/>

10. Have you ever been: (Mark x in all boxes that apply)	
a	Abandoned? <input type="checkbox"/>
b	Homeless? <input type="checkbox"/>
c	Gang involved? <input type="checkbox"/>
d	Placed in foster care? <input type="checkbox"/>
e	In residential care or group home? <input type="checkbox"/>
f	Adopted as a child? <input type="checkbox"/>
g	Placed in a juvenile facility because of delinquency? <input type="checkbox"/>

11. Which family members cared for you or looked after you between the ages of 0-18 years? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)			
a	<input type="checkbox"/> Both parents	g	<input type="checkbox"/> Friends of the family
b	<input type="checkbox"/> Father	h	<input type="checkbox"/> Foster parents
c	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	i	<input type="checkbox"/> Adopted parents
d	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather and/or Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____
e	<input type="checkbox"/> Sister and/or Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> No one
f	<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle and/or Aunt		

12. To your knowledge which family members have ever been arrested or incarcerated? (Mark x in all boxes that apply) If you answer 'No one', skip to Question 17			
a	<input type="checkbox"/> No one	h	<input type="checkbox"/> Sister
b	<input type="checkbox"/> Both parents	i	<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle
c	<input type="checkbox"/> Father	j	<input type="checkbox"/> Aunt
d	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> Nephew
e	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	l	<input type="checkbox"/> Niece

f	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	m	<input type="checkbox"/> Other family member (please specify): _____
g	<input type="checkbox"/> Brother		

13. How old were you, when you first learned about a family member being arrested/incarcerated? (Mark x in box that applies).

a	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-5 years old	f	<input type="checkbox"/> Do not remember
b	<input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 years old		
c	<input type="checkbox"/> 11-15 years old		
d	<input type="checkbox"/> 16-18 years old		
e	<input type="checkbox"/> over 18 years old		

14. What type of crime/s were your family member/s arrested or incarcerated for? Using the numbered listing of crime categories below, please indicate the type of crime each family member was arrested or incarcerated for. For example: If your uncle had been arrested or incarcerated for a drug offense once and a property crime a few years later you would enter a 2 in one box and a 4 in another box beside Uncle. (Enter codes in boxes for each family member & please do not provide details)

Crime categories:

Code #1 - Sex offense

Code #2 - Drug offense

Code #3 - Crime against a person/(murder, assault, armed robbery etc.)

Code #4 - Property crime (break and enter, burglary, theft, fraud etc.)

Code #5 - Other

Code #6 - Don't know

a	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Father	g	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle
b	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Mother	h	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt
c	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	i	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Nephew
d	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Niece
e	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Other family member (please specify): _____
f	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Sister		

15. What is the ethnic background of the family member/s that were arrested or incarcerated? Using the numbered list of categories below, please indicate the race of any family member that was arrested or incarcerated. For example: If your father was of European and non-status Native you would enter a 1 in one box and a 2b in another box beside Father. (Enter codes in boxes for each family member)

Racial categories:

Code #1 - European descent

Code #2 - Native or Indigenous a=Status or b=Non Status

Code #3 - South Asian descent

Code #4 - Middle Eastern descent

Code #5 - Asian descent

Code #6 – African descent

Code #7 - Other (please specify by writing it beside the family member)

a	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Father	g	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle
b	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Mother	h	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt
c	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	i	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Nephew
d	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Niece
e	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Other family member (please specify): _____
f	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Sister		

16. What was the highest level of education your family member had when they were arrested/incarcerated? (Enter codes in boxes for each family member)

Education categories:

Code #1 - 8th grade or less

Code #2 - Some high school

Code #3 - High school diploma or G.E.D.

Code #4 - Some college

Code #5 - College diploma

Code #6 - Some University

Code #7 - University degree

Code #8 - Some Graduate school

Code #9 - Graduate degree

Code#10 - Other

Code#11 - Don't know

a	<input type="checkbox"/> Father	g	<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle
b	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	h	<input type="checkbox"/> Aunt
c	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	i	<input type="checkbox"/> Nephew
d	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> Niece
e	<input type="checkbox"/> Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> Other please specify: _____
f	<input type="checkbox"/> Sister		

17. To your knowledge have any of your family members ever experienced any of the following? (Enter codes in the boxes for each family member)

Experience categories:

- Code #1 - Mental Health Diagnoses by a professional.**
- Code #2 - Psychiatric Hospitalization**
- Code #3 - Poor school performance**
- Code #4 - Loneliness**
- Code #5 - Isolation (lacking social support)**
- Code #6 - Sexual abuse**
- Code #7 - Trouble managing anger**
- Code #8 - Substance abuse**
- Code #9 - Trouble sleeping**
- Code#10 - I don't know**

a	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Father	g	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle
b	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Mother	h	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt
c	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	i	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Nephew
d	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Niece
e	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Other family member (please specify): _____
f	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Sister		

18. To your knowledge have any of your family members ever experienced: (Enter codes in boxes for each family member)

Experience categories:

- Code #1 - Abandoned**
- Code #2 - Homeless**
- Code #3 -Gang involved**
- Code #4 -Placed in foster care**
- Code #5 -Lived in residential care or a group home**
- Code #6-Adopted as a child**
- Code #7 -Placed in a juvenile facility because of delinquency**
- Code #8 - I don't know**

a	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Father	g	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Uncle
b	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Mother	h	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Aunt
c	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	i	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Nephew
d	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	j	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Niece
e	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Brother	k	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Other family member (please specify): _____
f	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Sister		

19. Within the last 6 months, which family members have visited you in prison, and how many times? (Mark x in all boxes which apply)				
a	<input type="checkbox"/> Both parents at the same time	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
b	<input type="checkbox"/> Father	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
c	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
d	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
e	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
f	<input type="checkbox"/> Brother	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
g	<input type="checkbox"/> Sister	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
h	<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
i	<input type="checkbox"/> Aunt	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
j	<input type="checkbox"/> Nephew	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
k	<input type="checkbox"/> Niece	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
l	<input type="checkbox"/> Friends of the family	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
m	<input type="checkbox"/> Foster parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
n	<input type="checkbox"/> Adopted parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
o	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits

20. If any family members have visited, what forms of transportation did they use? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)					
a	Public transportation (bus or taxi)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	c	Community organizations (for example, a church group shuttles)?	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	Private vehicle owned by family member/family friend	<input type="checkbox"/>	d	Transportation offered by prison facility	<input type="checkbox"/>
e	Walk	<input type="checkbox"/>		Non-motorized transportation (e.g. bicycle)	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Within the last 6 months which family members have you talked to on the phone and how many times did you talk to them? (Mark x in all boxes which apply).				
a	<input type="checkbox"/> Both parents at the same time	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
b	<input type="checkbox"/> Father	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
c	<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
d	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandfather	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
e	<input type="checkbox"/> Grandmother	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
f	<input type="checkbox"/> Brother	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
g	<input type="checkbox"/> Sister	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
h	<input type="checkbox"/> Uncle	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
i	<input type="checkbox"/> Aunt	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
j	<input type="checkbox"/> Nephew	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
k	<input type="checkbox"/> Niece	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
l	<input type="checkbox"/> Friends of the family	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits

m	<input type="checkbox"/> Foster parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
n	<input type="checkbox"/> Adopted parents	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits
o	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 visits	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 or more visits

22. Have any of these things made it difficult for you and your family members to communicate using the phone? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)	
a	There is no phone the family can use <input type="checkbox"/>
b	My family cannot take collect calls <input type="checkbox"/>
c	It costs too much money to call <input type="checkbox"/>
d	Conflict between prison call schedule and family members availability <input type="checkbox"/>
e	Other: _____ <input type="checkbox"/>

23. Do you feel that this facility supports you in maintaining the following: (Mark x in all boxes that apply).	
a	Family and community engagement <input type="checkbox"/>
b	An understanding of your legal rights <input type="checkbox"/>
c	Access to education <input type="checkbox"/>
d	Culturally appropriate interventions and supports <input type="checkbox"/>
e	Access to medical interventions in a timely manner <input type="checkbox"/>
f	Access to spiritual and religious practice <input type="checkbox"/>
g	Access to information about governmental policies that affect you <input type="checkbox"/>

24a. How many children of your own (including adopted and step children) do you have?	_____
24b. How many children, other than your own, are you closely connected to? (siblings, cousins)	_____

If you **do not** have children or **have not** cared for children please stop now and request instructions from the Survey Team.

If you have children or have cared for children, please go on.

Thank you.

PART 2: ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE AND THAT OF CHILDREN CONNECTED TO YOU

We want to know if people in prison stay connected with the children in their lives, and what gets in the way.

Please complete these questions by checking answers that apply, or filling in the blanks.

1. Have any of these things made it hard for children you are connected to visit you? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)

a	I am too far away from them	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	My family doesn't have transportation to bring them here	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	Their caregiver doesn't want them to have contact with me	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	There is no adult who will bring the children	<input type="checkbox"/>
e	I don't want these children to see me when I'm in prison	<input type="checkbox"/>
f	The visiting space is not good for children	<input type="checkbox"/>
g	The children don't want to visit	<input type="checkbox"/>
h	I've been moved a lot of times to different prisons	<input type="checkbox"/>
i	My family doesn't know the visiting schedule	<input type="checkbox"/>
j	It is too stressful for my family members	<input type="checkbox"/>
k	It costs too much money to visit	<input type="checkbox"/>
l	Other: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Have any children in your family visited you? Yes No

If yes, what form of transportation did they use? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)				
a	Public transportation (bus or taxi)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	c Community organizations (for example, a church group)?	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	Private vehicle owned by family member or family friend	<input type="checkbox"/>	d Transportation offered by prison facility	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Can you estimate the travel time it takes for different family members to visit you? (Mark x in all boxes that apply)

<input type="checkbox"/> under an hour	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 hours	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 hours	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 hours or more
--	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	--

(Mark x in the box for each question)

4. During this prison time, have you taken parenting classes?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Unsure
5. Do you worry that any of the children connected to you will be incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Unsure

6. Do you talk to any of the children connected to you about the realities of being incarcerated?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Unsure
7. Will you apply the positive skills you have gained to teach any of the children connected to you about ways to avoid incarceration?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Unsure

We would now like to learn about each child connected to you.

Information about what has happened to them can be used to help them and other children with family members in prison.

Please take time to fill out **Part 3** of the survey for each child connected to you. Thank you.

Please copy the KEY # from the top right corner of Page 1 to the line at the top of the next page.

PART 3: ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF EACH CHILD CONNECTED TO YOU. PLEASE COMPLETE ONE PART 3 FOR EACH CHILD YOU ARE CONNECTED TO.*(Please fill in the blanks or mark an x where appropriate)*

1. How is this child related to you: _____ *(Daughter, Son, Brother, Sister, Niece, Nephew, Other.)*

1a. Please tell us about this child:*(Mark x in box that applies)*

a	<input type="checkbox"/> This child lives in Nova Scotia
b	<input type="checkbox"/> This child lives in another province or territory
c	<input type="checkbox"/> This child lives outside Canada
d	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't know where this child lives
e	<input type="checkbox"/> This child is in school
f	<input type="checkbox"/> This child is working
g	<input type="checkbox"/> This child has been arrested or incarcerated.
h	<input type="checkbox"/> This child was born whilst I was incarcerated If YES here, please skip to #5.

2. Before you were arrested or incarcerated, how often... *(Mark x in box that applies for each question).*

a	Did you make decisions about this child's daily activities, including school, medical care and more?	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/> Never
b	Did you pay for this child's living expenses, such as rent, food, and clothing?	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/> Never
c	Were you responsible for watching and taking care of this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/> Never
d	Did you have contact (live with, visit, talk to or spend time with) this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Frequently	<input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/> Never

3. The last time you were arrested: *(Mark x in box that applies for each question)*

a	Was this child there when you were arrested?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
b	Did this child see you get arrested?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
c	Did the arresting officers ask if you were responsible for the care of this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
d	Did the officers let you make plans to have someone take care of this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

e	Did the officers allow you to talk to this child before you were taken away?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
f	During the arrest, did the officers draw a weapon in front of this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
g	--> If "YES" - what type of weapon was drawn? _____			
h	During the arrest, were you handcuffed in front of this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

4. Just before you were arrested/incarcerated, where was this child's living? (Mark x in box that applies.)

a	<input type="checkbox"/> With you
b	<input type="checkbox"/> With his/ her other parent
c	<input type="checkbox"/> With you and his/ her other parent
d	<input type="checkbox"/> With you and your girlfriend/ boyfriend
e	<input type="checkbox"/> With his/ her grandparents
f	<input type="checkbox"/> With another relative
g	<input type="checkbox"/> With a friend of the family
h	<input type="checkbox"/> In foster care
i	<input type="checkbox"/> On his/her own
j	<input type="checkbox"/> In a juvenile facility because of delinquency
k	<input type="checkbox"/> In an adult correctional facility
l	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

5. At this point of your incarceration where is this child's main residence? (Mark x in box that applies)

a	<input type="checkbox"/> With his/ her other parent/parents
b	<input type="checkbox"/> With your girlfriend/ boyfriend/partner/spouse
c	<input type="checkbox"/> With his/ her grandparents
d	<input type="checkbox"/> With another relative
e	<input type="checkbox"/> With a friend of the family
f	<input type="checkbox"/> With you in the prison nursery
g	<input type="checkbox"/> In foster care (see below)

h	<input type="checkbox"/> In Residential care
i	<input type="checkbox"/> On his/her own
j	<input type="checkbox"/> In a mental health facility
k	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know where they are living
l	<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____

6. If this child is currently IN FOSTER CARE, please CONTINUE below.	If this child is <u>NOT IN FOSTER CARE SKIP TO QUESTION #9</u>
---	---

7. In the last 15 months: (Mark x in box that applies for each question)			
a	Have you had communication with this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
b	Have you had communication with this child's social worker?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
c	Have you had communication with this child's school?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
d	Have you been involved in developing this child's foster care case plan?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
e	Did you receive permanency hearing reports for this child before the permanency hearings?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
f	Have you attended permanency planning hearings for this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
g	Have you participated in this child's service plan review?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No

8. If you have terminated your custody rights: (Mark an x in box that applies for each question)			
a	Did you terminate your custody rights for this child <i>before</i> this prison stay?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
b	Did you terminate your custody rights for this child <i>during</i> this prison stay?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
c	Did you terminate your custody rights for this child because this prison stay made you unable to plan and care for this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
d	Did you terminate your custody rights for this child for some other reason?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
e	Is this child currently under the care of Community and Family Services?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No

<i>(Mark x in box that applies for each question)</i>		
9. Is there currently a court proceeding to place your child in permanent care?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
10. Are you planning to terminate your custody rights for this child?		

	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
--	------------------------------	-----------------------------

(Mark x in box that applies)

11. How well do you get along with the person who takes care of this child?				
<input type="checkbox"/> Excellent	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> So-so	<input type="checkbox"/> Not good	<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all

12a. Since you have been in prison has this child: *(Mark x in box that applies for each question)*

a	Changed Schools?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	A1. If YES, how many times? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
b	Moved somewhere else?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	B1.If YES, how many times? _____	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

12b. Since you have been in prison has this child: *(Mark x in box that applies for each question)*

c	Been separated from his/ her brothers / sisters?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
d	Been placed in foster care?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
e	Gotten in trouble in school or in the community (more than usual)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
f	Had school grades drop (more than usual)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know
g	Had emotional problems (more than usual)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know

13. Please indicate the methods and frequencies you use to stay in contact with this child: *(Mark x in box that applies for each question)*

Writing letters?	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly
Talking on the phone?	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly
Face-to-face visits?	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly

Sending audio and video messages?	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly
Family Reunion Program?	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly
Tele-conference?	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly
Other: _____ _____ _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Never	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 times/year	<input type="checkbox"/> Monthly	<input type="checkbox"/> Weekly

14. Do any of these things make it difficult for you and this child to talk on the phone? *(Mark x in all boxes that apply)*

a	There is no phone the children can use	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	My family cannot take collect calls	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	It costs too much money to call	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	Do you have any suggestions of alternative ways that you might be able to communicate with your family members? If so please list them: _____ _____ _____	

15. How long would it take for this child to come and visit you? *(Mark x in the box that applies)*

<input type="checkbox"/> under 1 hour	<input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 hours	<input type="checkbox"/> 3-5hours	<input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 hours	<input type="checkbox"/> Over 10 hours	<input type="checkbox"/> I don't know
---------------------------------------	------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	--	---------------------------------------

16. When you are released, do you think you will: *(Mark x in box that applies for each question)*

Have contact with this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
Live with this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
Have visits with this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
Talk on the phone or video call with this child?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time

17. Upon your release, will any of these make it hard for you to have contact with this child? (Mark x in box that applies for each question)

a	I am not sure where this child is at this time	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
b	The caregiver of this child will not allow me to see this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
c	I need to take care of child support payments before I can have contact with this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
d	There is a court order that will keep me from having contact with this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
e	Parole requirements will keep me from having contact with this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
f	I won't have a job that will let me support this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
g	I do not have housing for this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
h	I need to work on rebuilding a relationship with this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time
i	I need to work on my substance abuse problem before I can have contact with this child	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	<input type="checkbox"/> Don't know at this time

18. Do you have another child that you are connected to?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No
---	------------------------------	-----------------------------

If “NO”, please hand in your survey now and request instructions from the Survey Team.

If “YES”,(you do have another child connected to you), could you please complete another **Part 3 of the survey for **each** of the children connected to you?**

Thank you for taking time to share information about yourself and the children connected to you. Your information will be kept confidential and will be very important for understanding how we might help children and families who have loved ones in prison. Again, thank you for sharing your information.

Appendix B: Research Invitation Letter

Letterhead

Dear Participants

My name is Devi Mucina and I am currently a professor at Mount Saint Vincent University. I am contacting you because I am doing research that is funded through an internal research grant provided by Mount Saint Vincent University on how incarceration of parents and family members impacts children in Nova Scotia. The goal of this research is to determine if children of prisoners (including family members), are incarcerated at higher rates than the rest of the Canadian population. The ethical components of this research study have been reviewed by the University Research Ethics Board and found to be in compliance with Mount Saint Vincent University's Research Ethics Policy. (Certificate #2014-019) This information will help us understand and develop interventions that help children and families who are connected to prisoners. We are currently lacking information about this topic in Nova Scotia, (and more broadly in Canada).

In order to determine whether or not there are increased risks to children of prisoners my research team and I will be visiting the facility you are in and running an anonymous pencil and paper survey. This is an invitation to you to participate in this survey. I am trying to get information about what happens to children and to family relationships when parents and or family members are arrested and go to prison. Your story can help paint a big picture that shows how imprisonment affects children and families. I hope to use this picture to try to make things better for children of incarcerated parents and family members.

The decision to fill out the survey is all yours: taking part in this research is completely voluntary. Participation in this survey will not impact or influence any part of your criminal case including its outcome. The survey is anonymous and it does not ask for your name or ID number, and no one will be able to connect your answers with you. The information I collect will be kept confidential and secure in locked file cabinets and password protected computers. Hard copies of the surveys and consent forms will be shredded in a confidential shredder on campus once the data has been entered electronically. The completion of research is anticipated to be March 31 2016. Electronic data will be retained indefinitely for use in future comparative research and publications. If at any time during the survey you do not wish to answer a question, you are free to ignore the question.

Given the subject of this research, there is a chance that some of the questions may cause you to feel uncomfortable or sad. If, as a result of participating in the survey, you wish to obtain support services, please contact corrections staff to request referrals to professional support. You can also contact your case manager or probation officer during business hours because he/she can provide supportive services and referrals that follow the evidence based theory of the Risk-Needs-Responsivity model as per Correctional Services protocol. If you require professional services you should contact your supervising correctional facility staff for immediate support in obtaining appropriate services. A list of professional support contacts is posted in every unit as per the Offender

Handbook. In addition to this you may also see your health professional unit schedule for available consultation and service times. The following are some important procedural guidelines for acquiring professional services:

- For those in custody: you have access to case management officers on weekdays during business hours.
- Health services are provided by the Capital District Health Authority during business hours and there is a on call, duty clinician also available for after hours based on your units health service schedule.
- Important to note that you need a physician's referral for special services such as a psychiatrist or psychiatric nurse. This can be arranged at your units scheduled health services visit. Corrections health care professionals can make arrangements for serious mental health or primary care needs which may require you to be transferred to the East Coast Forensic Hospital with the Mental Ill Offender Unit.
- All facilities have teachers and chaplains that offer spiritual advice for separation, grief, loss and bereavement.
- All units have phone systems which permit you to make outgoing collect calls to families and friends and calls to lawyers and agencies are free.
- For those out of custody who have a court order requiring supervision, you are able to access your probation officers on weekdays during business hours.

Before beginning the survey you will be asked to sign an informed consent form that confirms that you volunteered to take part on your own free will and that you understand that we will be using the information you provide in order to create a report about the situation of children of prisoners in Nova Scotia. The survey will take approximately 1 hour 15 minutes, and includes three parts. Part 1 asks questions about you and your family care providers; Part 2 asks about your experience and your family connections and Part 3 asks about the experience of children connected to you and what happened to these children or children of family members when you were arrested and since you have been incarcerated. Only people who are in prison can paint this picture, and that's why I am asking for your help. Everyone's experience is valuable so I hope you will share your information.

This project has been reviewed and cleared by the University Research Ethics Board (Certificate #2014-019). If at any time you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact the Mount Saint Vincent University Research Ethics Coordinator, Brenda Gagne at, email Brenda.Gagne@MSVU.CA, telephone 902-457-6350. If you have questions at any time about the study please contact the researcher, Dr. Devi Mucina at devi.mucina@msvu.ca telephone 902- 457-6191.

Thank you.

Appendix C–Agreement to Participate

Letterhead

Dear Participant,

My name is Devi Mucina and I am the professor from Mount Saint Vincent University doing the research that is funded through an internal research grant provided by Mount Saint Vincent University on how incarceration of parents and family members impacts children in Nova Scotia. The goal of this research is to determine if children of prisoners (including family members), are incarcerated at higher rates than the rest of the Canadian population. The ethical components of this research study have been reviewed by the University Research Ethics Board and found to be in compliance with Mount Saint Vincent University's Research Ethics Policy. (Certificate #2014-019) The information you provide will help us understand and develop interventions that help children and families who are connected to prisoners. We are currently lacking information about this topic in Nova Scotia, (and more broadly in Canada).

The decision to fill out the survey is all yours: taking part in this research is completely voluntary. Participation in this survey will not impact or influence any part of your criminal case including its outcome. The survey is anonymous and it does not ask for your name or ID number, and no one will be able to connect your answers with you. The information I collect on the surveys will be kept confidential and secure in locked file cabinets and password protected computers. Hard copies of the surveys and consent forms will be shredded in a confidential shredder on campus once the data has been entered electronically. The completion of research is anticipated to be March 31 2016. Electronic data will be retained indefinitely for use in future comparative research and publications. Your answers will not be used in any way to influence any part of your criminal case. If at any time during the survey you do not wish to answer a question, you are free to ignore the question and, you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Given the subject of this research, there is a chance that some of the questions may cause you to feel uncomfortable or sad. If this happens and you wish to obtain support services, please contact corrections staff to request referrals to professional support. You can also contact your case manager or probation officer during business hours because he/she can provide supportive services and referrals that follow the evidence based theory of the Risk-Needs-Responsivity model as per Correctional Services protocol. If you require professional services you should contact your supervising correctional facility staff for immediate support for obtaining appropriate services. A list of professional support contacts is posted in every unit as per the Offender Handbook. In addition to this you may also see your health professional unit schedule for available consultation and service times. The following are some important procedural guidelines for acquiring professional services:

- For those in custody: you have access to case management officers on weekdays during business hours.
- Health services are provided by the Capital District Health Authority during business hours and there is a on call, duty clinician also available for afterhours based on your units health service schedule.
- Important to note that you need a physician's referral for special services such as a psychiatrist or psychiatric nurse. This can be arranged at your units scheduled health services visit. Corrections health care professionals can make arrangements for serious mental health or primary care needs which may require you to be transferred to the East Coast Forensic Hospital with the Mental Ill Offender Unit.

- All facilities have teachers and chaplains that offer spiritual advice for separation, grief, loss and bereavement.
- All units have phone systems which permit you to make outgoing collect calls to families and friends and calls to lawyers and agencies are free.
- For those out of custody who have a court order requiring supervision, you are able to access your probation officers on weekdays during business hours.

If at any time you feel that your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact the Mount Saint Vincent University Research Ethics Coordinator, Brenda Gagne at, email Brenda.Gagne@MSVU.CA telephone 902-457-6350. If you have questions at any time about the study please contact Dr. Devi Mucina at devi.mucina@msvu.ca telephone 902- 457-6191.

By signing below, I consent to my participation in this study designed to collect information about families and children connected to people in prison. I have read the letter of invitation and the above information that describes the purpose of the study and I understand the risks and benefits of participation.

CONSENT

I, (print name) _____, have read and understand the above information about the study of Impacts of Incarceration on Individuals and Families being conducted by Dr. Devi Mucina of Mount Saint Vincent University. I also understand that:

- My identity and data will be kept anonymous and confidential throughout the creation and use of all the reports and presentations written about this study.
- I am free to withdraw from the research at any time before, during or after, without reason or consequence.
- I have been told the purpose of the research and am free to ask questions at any time.

I agree to allow my answers from the survey to be used in publications: Yes ___ No ___

I WISH TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THE RESEARCH SUMMARY REPORT: YES ___ NO ___

I would like to be contacted to participate in future research on families affected by crime
Yes ___ No ___

Participant's signature _____ Date: _____

Assistant Researcher's signature _____ Date: _____

Researcher's signature _____ Date: _____

Appendix D: Introduction of Research Survey to Corrections Staff

Letterhead

Dear Corrections Staff,

My name is Devi Mucina and I am currently a faculty member at Mount Saint Vincent University. I understand that you may have been informed already that I have received clearance from the Department of Justice to conduct research about children of incarcerated parental and familial members in Nova Scotia correctional facilities. We are currently lacking information about the implications of family incarceration in relation to the future trajectory of children of the imprisoned population in Nova Scotia, (and more broadly in Canada). Existing research data does not offer a complete appraisal of the risks to children in the Canadian context or the types of policies, services and education that address the needs of these children and their families. As such, the Correctional Services Division Nova Scotia is collaborating with me to conduct a survey to determine if children of incarcerated parental and familial members in the Canadian context are at a higher risk of incarceration than other children. This information will provide valuable insight for use in creating knowledge mobilization that could lead to some changes in Correctional, Social, Educational, and Health Services with the intent of initiating more family-responsive policies and programs.

In order to begin to assess the extent of risks to children of incarcerated parental and familial members I will be visiting your facility and administering an anonymous paper and pen survey to offenders who volunteer to participate. The survey will give us a snapshot about children and families of prisoners. I am contacting you now to coordinate the administering of the survey. In order to facilitate this research I am requesting the assistance of your staff in the following tasks; choosing a date, time and location to administer the survey that is convenient with your facility's schedule; once the date is chosen I will require staff assistance circulating an invitation letter to potential participants that will be sent to you closer to the agreed upon date for the survey and finally; I will require assistance from staff to coordinate and supervise the administration of the survey on the chosen date. I will be in touch soon to discuss the details and set up the date. If there is a preferred contact person that you would like me to work with please communicate that to me via email: devi.mucina@msvu.ca or phone: 902 457-6191. In addition, if you or any of your staff have any questions at any time about the study please feel free to contact me using my contact information above.

In closing here are some important highlights about the survey to be cognizant of: participation in this research project is completely voluntary, personal identifying markers have been eliminated to ensure anonymity, and questions do not explicitly solicit information regarding criminal activity, details surrounding the participants' current incarceration, any risk of harms to anyone or details associated with any case before the courts. Participation in this survey will not impact or influence any part of the participant's criminal case or future sentencing. Participants will be asked to sign a consent form before beginning the survey and have the right to skip questions or withdraw from the survey at any time. If anyone participating in the survey experiences reflective emotions from the survey and wants support, the consent form provides participants with guidance around the processes they need to follow in order to obtain professional support which begins with contacting corrections staff.

Answers from all the questionnaires will be put together to paint a picture of how children are affected by their experiences of having a parental or familial member imprisoned. Only inmates can paint this picture, and that's why I am asking for their help. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Appendix E: Facility Data Sheet : Day of Survey

Fill out and package with surveys.

Pre-Survey Questions:

Facility Name: _____

Research Project Assigned 'Facility Number': _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

Researchers Present: _____

Survey Day Questions:

Guards Present: _____

Total Prison Population TODAY - Entire Facility: _____

Total Participants in Room: _____

Male/Female Population Break Down: (If applicable) _____

Ethnic Population Break Down TODAY: (if available) _____

Post-Survey Questions:

Number of Surveys Submitted: _____

Number of Submitted Surveys Fully Completed (5 or less skipped questions): _____

Number of Surveys Withdrawn: _____

Ethnic Population Break Down of Participants: (Using answers from self identifying questions)

Are there any patterns in the answers to the questions? Example: 80% skipped question #5. If there are briefly note here: _____

Based on the way this survey went are there any suggestions to improve the delivery for next time? Have you noticed any patterns? Example: 65% of participants asked for breaks throughout the survey writing session. If so briefly note this here: _____

Commenting Researcher: _____ Date of Comment: _____

[April 20, 2018]

[Appendices from Dr. Devi Mucina's research project: How Does Parental and Familial Incarceration in the Canadian Context Predict Later-Life Incarceration among Prisoners' Children? (Mucina, 2014). And co-created research survey entitled: A Survey About The Impacts Of Arrest And Incarceration On Inmates And Children (Mucina & Crowell, 2014)]

[Location of research: Halifax, NS.]

I am preparing my Masters thesis for submission to the Faculty of Graduate Studies at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. I am seeking your permission to include a manuscript version of the following paper(s) as a chapter in the thesis:

[Project appendices and survey named above (2014)]

Canadian graduate theses are reproduced by the Library and Archives of Canada (formerly National Library of Canada) through a non-exclusive, world-wide license to reproduce, loan, distribute, or sell theses. I am also seeking your permission for the material described above to be reproduced and distributed by the LAC(NLC). Further details about the LAC(NLC) thesis program are available on the LAC(NLC) website (www.nlc-bnc.ca).


Full publication details and a copy of this permission letter will be included in the thesis.

Yours sincerely,

[Leah Crowell]

Permission is granted for:

- a) the inclusion of the material described above in your thesis.
- b) for the material described above to be included in the copy of your thesis that is sent to the Library and Archives of Canada (formerly National Library of Canada) for reproduction and distribution.

Name: Devi Mucina Title: Assistant Professor
Signature:  Date: April 20, 2018