An Exploration of Crime Prevention Among Indigenous Youth Who Utilize the Services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP)

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PERMISSION TO USE

ABSTRACT

Indigenous youth in Canada are incarcerated at rates that are six times greater than their non-indigenous counterparts. Studies have attributed this disparity to several factors: the intergenerational effect of colonial policies for assimilation; racial discrimination, both by the policy and Canadian society at large; the lingering effects of residential school experiences; low educational levels; and few employment opportunities. Solutions proposed have ranged from engaging community-based organizations through using arts and cultural programmes to encourage youth to disengage from criminal activities. One such programme implemented in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan is Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), a charitable, non-profit organization that uses arts and cultural programmes to improve the lives of at-risk youth. Although programmes like SCYAP do appear to have some success in reducing youth crime, little research has been carried out on the attitudes and views of youth that attend them. This study aims to fill this gap by investigating the views of the youth who attend the SCYAP programme.

The study used the social control theory by Travis Hirschi as the theoretical framework. The study was qualitative in nature and used the purposive sampling technique for selecting the respondents. Eight Indigenous youth in training at the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) were selected for the study through interview. The data was analyzed using Nvivo. The results indicated that the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in the criminal justice system may be at least in part due to the impact of government-sponsored residential schools and the intergenerational effects of colonialism. Other factors identified were racism, discrimination, partisan reportage by the media and blocked opportunities, in particular job opportunities, and a lack of community programmes such as SCYAP. Participants expressed that

the art intervention programme at SCYAP has encouraged them to move away from crime by engaging their time; building up their self-esteem; developing their skills, improving their social relations, and helping them to heal. Based on these results, the study makes several recommendations: first, that federal and provincial governments advance support and funding for social programmes and amenities, community organizations and employment opportunities; second that the federal government provide funds to improve on-reserve living conditions and housing; third, that future research be devoted to raising social and cultural awareness to increase educational success for Indigenous youth and to improving the mental health of Indigenous families and communities; lastly, that public educational programmes for non-Indigenous and Indigenous learners be expanded to raise the awareness of the social and cultural history of Indigenous communities. Without these educational and community programmes, as well as other changes, Indigenous people will likely continue to experience racism, discrimination, and stigmatization in the wider society.

<u>DEDICATION</u>

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God, to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Takyi and to my

siblings for their immense support and prayers to make my education here successful.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1   An Introduction to the Research

This chapter contains the perspectives of at-risk Indigenous youth attending the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), an organization established in 2001 by Darrell Lechman. The organization was founded to address the social, economic, and educational needs of "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon. The organization (SCYAP) uses art and culture to improve the lives of these youth. This chapter provides a background of the study and gives a rationale for the research. The chapter also identifies research questions and research objectives, as well as the Indigenous-settler incarceration disparities that underscore the importance of crime prevention ideas and practices.

1.2   Introduction

Preventing crime among Indigenous youth has long been an important policy issue for governments, governing authorities, such as Correctional Services Canada, the police, and courts, and both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Current research suggests that Indigenous youth in Canada are six times more likely to be incarcerated than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Odgers et al, 2005). However, some provinces and territories have higher rates than others. For example, a 2005 study indicated by Latimer and Foss (2005:482) indicated that the rate of incarceration for Aboriginal youth in Saskatchewan was 30 times higher than that of non-Aboriginal youth. Figures for the Yukon are also higher than the provincial average, with the rate of incarceration for Aboriginal youth 18 times higher than that of non-Aboriginal youth (Latimer & Foss, 2005).

In addition to having high rates of incarceration, Indigenous youth are also overrepresented as victims of crime, particularly violent crime. The Aboriginal Youth Justice Teacher's Resource

(2008:3) uses Statistics Canada 2004 data to show that "Aboriginal people are three times more likely than non-Aboriginal people to be victims of a violent crime." This Teacher's Resource also indicates that Indigenous youth between the ages of 15 to 35 were frequently victimized by violent acts. Nowhere is the vulnerability of native youth more evident than in the high incidence of violence against Indigenous girls and women. As Allan and Smylie (2015:8) state, "violence against Indigenous women is … reflected in the mass numbers of missing and murdered Indigenous girls and women in Canada," as well as in the calls for a national inquiry that for so many years were unanswered by the federal government. Although the inquiry is now underway, concerns about delays in justice remain across the country.

Over the years, the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system has created the belief that the criminal justice system is interested in incarcerating Indigenous people. Full knowledge of this problem requires understanding the realities that Indigenous people – particularly Indigenous youth – face in Canada. The authors of the Aboriginal Youth Justice Teacher's Resource (2008:3) point out that there are complex reasons for why Indigenous peoples are overrepresented in the criminal justice system, arguing that these reasons lie with "the legacy of government actions over the years since first contact, some of the differences between Aboriginal and Western justice concepts, and the effects of discrimination and racism."

The serious overrepresentation of Indigenous people and particularly Indigenous youth in the criminal justice system has led the Supreme Court of Canada to devise new methods on how to help deal with this pressing issue by recommending traditional justice mechanisms (Aboriginal Youth Justice Teacher's Resource, 2008). Roberts and Melchers (2003) in Latimer and Foss (2005:482) argue that the "problem of Aboriginal over-representation in the criminal justice

system in Canada has been recognized in all principal correctional texts for years and is widely acknowledged in the general population."

In spite of the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in Canadian courts and prisons, documents from scholars and Statistics Canada are showing a gradual decrease in youth crime in Canada in general. For instance, Statistics Canada (2014:24) argues "Between 2000/2001 and 2013/2014, the proportion of guilty youth who were sentenced to custody fell from 28% to 15%"; however Indigenous youth crime continues to increase, which remains a pressing issue. Some studies have indicated the reasons for the high incarceration rates of Indigenous youth are due to actions and policies by the federal government, racism, and discrimination Indigenous youth face in the Canadian criminal justice system, but few of these studies have studied the views of the youth themselves. To my knowledge, few studies have investigated the role of arts and cultural organizations in turning youth away from a life of crime.

This study aims to address the perspective of Indigenous youth enrolled in arts and cultural programmes and to produce practical recommendation to reduce and prevent crime among Indigenous youth. In particular, the study explores the concept of crime prevention from the perspectives of Indigenous youth who use the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) as in my view little research has been conducted to ascertain the views of the students enrolled in the programme and how they see the programme in helping in crime prevention. Their views will further add up to the existing literature on Indigenous youth crime prevention. A primary goal of SCYAP is to address the needs of urban youth who are characterized as "at-risk" in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (SCYAP, 2015). SCYAP's approaches are grounded in the notion that marginalized youth are an important part of society; however, the youth in the programme have been undermined, or socially excluded, in the wider society. For these youth,

they believe through the SCYAP art intervention programme, they will be able to get their life back from delinquency. Also, through the programme they will be able to acquire some skills and personal development that will prepare them in the future to be able to fit into the society.

Several assumptions underpin the thesis: first, the assumption that Indigenous people in Canada have been systematically oppressed through colonization; second, that the decolonization process is necessary to prevent and reduce crime among Indigenous people; third, the legitimacy of SCYAP's philosophy that immersion in art can encourage youth characterized as "at-risk" to move away from crime; and fourth, the validity of recent developments in social justice that uphold the view that youth need more healing than punishment and that social justice programmes such as SCYAP play an important role in their lives.

The basic assumption of this study is that the perspectives of the youth who use the services of SCYAP have value in helping to prevent crime prevention among Indigenous youth, who are disproportionately incarcerated in the Prairie Provinces. The views and personal experiences of Indigenous youth who have been involved in delinquent acts and those who have been helped or not helped by SCYAP can be beneficial and enable government and stakeholders to produce policies to enhance Indigenous youth crime prevention.

1.3   <u>Rationale for the study</u>

Indigenous communities have been affected by colonization and a justice system that has been alien and detrimental to their well-being. Colonization for Indigenous Canadians meant that both their culture and their justice were taken over by the dominant society. For years, Indigenous restorative justice ideas and practices were characterised as undesirable, and incarceration was relied upon as a method for social control (AJI, 1999; CFNMP, 2004; Hansen, 2015; TRC, 2015). A significant impact of the justice system has been the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in

the justice system in Indigenous communities as it is believed the justice system is more concerned with punishment rather than rehabilitation. The evidence of disproportionately high incarceration rates is well documented in the research issued by an assortment of government organisations on the problem of Indigenous crime, incarceration, addictions, suicide, and various other social problems (AJI, 1999; CFNMP, 2004; Hansen, 2015; TRC, 2015). The social costs of crime and incarceration are high. For example, the Correctional Service Canada argues in 2015-2016 it costs the federal government $116,000 to maintain just a single offender in the prisons. The huge cost of money spent on a single individual could be channelled into social development programmes that can benefit a large group of youths in crime which can help in youth crime prevention. In addition, young people are losing their lives in youth-related crimes such as gang violence; others are detained unlawfully, which is an infringement on their fundamental human rights; the country is losing able-bodied human resources that could help drive the economy.

If the funds spent on prisons were channelled into innovative community social programmes, youth could be provided with skills, rehabilitated, and possibly released from further criminal and delinquent acts. Social development programmes have been identified as one avenue for reducing Indigenous youth crime in Canada. The current study was established on the notion that the perspectives of Indigenous youth who are characterized as "at-risk" are missing from the literature of Aboriginal crime prevention. So are the stories of Indigenous youth who have been helped or not helped by programmes like SCYAP. This study provides the opportunity to hear young Indigenous voices on the issue of youth crime and to learn of possible measures to prevent and reduce youth crime from those most affected by it.

1.4   <u>Overreliance on the Justice System</u>

Citizens have mainly left the function of crime prevention solely to the criminal justice system such as the police, courts, the prisons, and other organizations. This responsibility has placed undue pressure or limitations on the efficiency of these institutions to fight against crime, especially youth crime (Linden, 2001). Thus, the ability of the courts, police, and prisons to fight youth crime has been questioned as not having much impact on reducing youth crime. Because of this lack of success, there has been a greater emphasis on crime prevention based on collaborative policies between those in the criminal justice system and the community. Linden (2001) argued that the 1993 Report of the Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General acknowledged the importance of community-based organizations in reducing crime and, for that matter, youth crime. In acknowledging the community as the focal point for crime prevention, the report pointed out the support it provides to help cushion the various institutions in the criminal justice system. SCYAP, the site for this study, is itself a community-based organization that has tasked itself to help reduce youth crime among "at-risk" Indigenous youth through arts intervention programmes (SCYAP, 2015). Reducing youth crime in Saskatoon requires extensive community involvement. This study is warranted as it focuses on the youth who will be the backbone of the future of the society. Securing their future from further deterioration will benefit society now and in the future. It is on this basis that I undertook this study to explore the perspectives on crime prevention among Indigenous youth who use the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP).

1.5   <u>Specific Area of Study</u>

This proposed study deals with crime prevention from the perspectives of urban Indigenous youth involved in Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP).

1.6   <u>Research Questions</u>

1. What role can the family play in youth crime prevention among Indigenous youth?

2. What are some of the factors that account for Indigenous youth overrepresentation in youth crime and incarceration?

3. What are some of the factors that can help Indigenous youth move away from crime?

The above questions can be addressed in a qualitative study. Creswell (1998:15) indicates that qualitative research requires that the "researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting." The traditions that are applied in the current study include narrative, ethnography, and case study. Creswell notes that qualitative research offers a "collection of a variety of empirical resources, including, case study, personal experience, interviews" (1998:15). Case studies, personal experiences, and interviews were used in this research.

1.7   <u>Research Objectives</u>

The following objectives guided the study:

1. To enhance our understanding of urban Indigenous youth crime prevention.
2. To identify factors that help Indigenous youth move away from crime.
3. To assess the role families, play as an effective intervention mechanism for Indigenous youth crime prevention.
4. To outline some of the goals Indigenous youth in the programme at SCYAP seek to achieve at the end of their training.

1.8   Study Limitation

This study does not seek to speak for the entire Indigenous youth in Canada, but it is an expression of the views of eight Indigenous youth who are in training at the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) and, especially, how they see crime prevention in society.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

2.1   An Introduction to the Research

This study sought to explore the perspectives of at-risk Indigenous youth attending the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), and the benefits of the programme in youth crime prevention. The organization was founded in 2001 by Darrell Lechman to address the social, economic, and educational needs of "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon. The organization (SCYAP) uses art and culture to improve the lives of these youth. This chapter will review the literature relevant to this thesis.

2.2   Literature Review

The research demonstrates that youth crime is a crucial concern for Indigenous peoples and society at large. The John Howard Society of Alberta (2008) observes that public opinion polls in Canada indicate that youth crime constitutes a major concern for Canadians. Due to the heightened societal concern about youth crime, Lawson (2008) claims that youth crime has contributed to feelings of insecurity in the society. Similarly, Boomer, (2004) cited in Carrington (2013) argues that a poll that was conducted in Halifax indicated that 79% of the respondents said over the last 10 years there has been an increase in youth crime. Morrissey (2008) a journalist argues that in 2008 the rate at which youths in Canada were charged with various forms of youth crimes was indeed high, according to the St. John's Telegram. Moyer (1996) further argues that the rate at which young persons are charged with both serious and other offences in Canada has increased.

Although writers and journalists, such as Boomer (2004), Morrissey (2008), and Moyer (1996), believe that youth crime has increased in Canada, the evidence demonstrates that youth

crime in Canada has actually been on the decline for decades. A Statistics Canada (2014:1) report argues, "The police-reported youth crime rate has been falling steadily since 2006, continuing a longer term downward trend since peaking in 1991." The report also points out that "between 2000 and 2014, the youth crime rate declined 42%, a notably larger decline than the drop in overall crime (-34%)," and that youth accused of serious crimes also saw a decrease in 2014 (Statistics Canada, 2014:1). The report offers the following evidence: "There were 25 youth accused of homicide in 2014, 16 fewer than in 2013, and well below the previous 10-year average number of 59 youth accused of homicide" (Statistics Canada, 2014:4). This evidence from Statistics Canada clearly illustrates that youth crime is on the decline. In terms of overall crime rates in Canada, Brooks and Schissel (2008) concur that in general, crime rates in Canada have been decreasing since 1990s and that based on official statistics both violent and property youth crime have reduced over the past decade. Thus, evidence shows that crime rates in Canada have declined and that the police rates of charging youth with criminal offences have declined to a notable extent.

Several studies have linked the decline in youth crime and incarceration to the introduction of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA). Statistics Canada (2014) points out that since the implementation of the YCJA, the number of youth charged with crimes has declined, noting, as well, a similar, albeit more gradual, decrease in sentencing rates among youth, noting that "between 2000/2001 and 2013/2014, the proportion of guilty youth who were sentenced to custody fell from 28% to 15%." Brooks and Schissel (2008) concur that youth crime has declined from 20 per 10,000 youth in 1994/5 to about 8 per 10,000 as of 2003/04 after the passage of the Youth Criminal Justice Act. In studying incarceration rates in 2013/2014, Alam (2015) found that although 56% of youth tried in court cases were declared guilty, only 15% of those found guilty

were incarcerated. Evidence from these studies demonstrates the impact of the YCJA on both youth crime and incarceration.

It is puzzling why myths such as rising crime rates have been perpetuated. The John Howard Society of Alberta (1998) argues that writers produce stories on increases in youth crime because they rely on media reports while ignoring documented evidence to the contrary. When it comes to preventing youth crime, some scholars argue that youth crime constitutes a serious and growing problem within Canadian society and that punitive sanctions are the most effective way of dealing with this crisis (Sprott, 1996). Sprott (1996) cited in Brooks and Schissel (2008) writes of the myth of rising crime, as well as the pervasive discourse on punishment in society. Sprott notes the attitudes of some Canadians, who believe that current youth sentencing is too lenient, and that both youth and society would be better served by tougher sentences, with boot camp conditions, and trials of youth in adult court. Hartnagel (2004) similarly argues that people are advocating for serious and stringent punishment for parents of youth offenders as a way of curbing the supposed rising level of youth crime in Canada. However, in the view of Lewis (1995), tougher law enforcement and stricter punitive measures without prevention is ineffective in reducing youth crime. Lewis (1995) further emphasizes that high punitive measures would not solve youth crime but would increase it. He thus argues that for youth crime to be prevented there should be early intervention by both government and community-based organizations.

Despite Statistics Canada's (2014) report on youth crime decline, Saskatchewan was among some of the provinces that recorded high rates in youth crime. This is evident in Allen and Superle (2016:21) who assert that in "2014, the youth crime rate was lowest in British Columbia (3,071), Quebec (3,295), Ontario (3,456) and Prince Edward Island (3,459), [whereas] … Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the territories reported the highest rates of youth crime." Allen and

Superle (2016) argue that the increase in police reported youth crime in the territories is because a significant proportion of the population are youth. This may well be the case in the Prairie Provinces as well. In a situation where the majority of the population are youth and there is little access to jobs or activities, it is little wonder that youth turn to delinquent acts. The large proportion of youth in the territories suggest that intervention programmes in these places could be a good idea to help reduce youth crime. In observing the trend of youth crime in Canada, in particular, police-reported youth crime, Allen and Superle (2016:7) indicate that in 2014 the "most frequent criminal offences committed by youth were theft of $5,000 and under (960 per 100,000)." The prevalence of theft suggest that youth may be more involved in property crime than violent crime because of their need for cash and other goods. In terms of gender divisions in youth crime, Allen (2016:5) notes that in 2014 across Canada "[young] women accounted for 36% of thefts of $5,000 or under."

Although youth crime in general in Canada is declining, Indigenous youths are disproportionally overrepresented in youth crime rates. The disproportionate overrepresentation of Indigenous people in Canada's correctional institutions is recognized by many as stemming from factors such as poverty, Indian residential school effects, family breakdown, addictions, institutional racism, social inequality, historical and ongoing colonialism (Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, 1999; CFNMP, 2004; Comack, 2012; Green & Healey, 2003; Hansen, 2015; Samuelson & Monture, 2008; TRC, 2015). As Statistics Canada (2012:7) reports, not only are Indigenous youth overrepresented in the correctional system, but also Indigenous female youth incarceration rates are particularly high in comparison to non-Indigenous female youths:

> In 2010/2011 a disproportionate number of youth entering the correctional system were Aboriginal. Of the admissions recorded in 2010/2011 in the eight jurisdictions that provided data, just over one quarter (26%) was *[sic]* Aboriginal… The disproportionate number of Aboriginal youth admitted to the correctional system was particularly true

among females. In 2010/2011, Aboriginal female youth comprised 34% of all female youth in the correctional system, while Aboriginal male youth made up 24% of all male youth in the correctional system…For both male and female youth in the general population, about 6% were Aboriginal.

This passage illustrates that Indigenous youth have much higher incarceration rates in comparison to non-Indigenous youth, which is likely because of institutional racism in the criminal justice system (Hansen, 2015; Samuelson & Monture, 2008; TRC, 2015).

At one time, incarceration rates among Indigenous people were thought to be distributed relatively evenly between those living in urban areas and those in rural areas and on-reserve; however, this situation has radically changed (Samuelson & Monture, 2008:210-11). According to Samuelson and Monture (2008) the incarceration rate of those living off-reserve, mainly in urban centres, is far higher than those on-reserve: 85 percent to 15 percent, respectively. In terms of Indigenous youths who are admitted to correctional services, a Statistics Canada (2014:1) report indicates that "there were just over 5,700 Aboriginal youth admitted to the correctional services in nine jurisdictions in 2014/2015, representing 33% of admissions." This gives evidence that Indigenous youths have higher incarceration rate than non-Indigenous youths. Indigenous peoples' overrepresentation in the criminal justice system is not only a Canadian problem but occurs everywhere where Indigenous people are experiencing colonial oppression. For example, Smandych, Lincoln, and Wilson (1993) argue that studies have concluded that Indigenous people living in Australia are similarly experiencing disproportionate representation in their criminal justice system.

2.3   Patterns of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Youth Crime

In Canada, Indigenous people are overrepresented in the justice system and in crime statistics although Indigenous people represent a small percentage of the population. The 2011 National Household Survey by Statistics Canada asserts that 1,400,685 people self-identify as

Indigenous, which accounts for 4.3% of the total population of Canada. MacKinnon (2013:1) notes, "This is an increase from 3.8 percent of the population in the 2006 Census, 3.3 percent in the 2001 Census and 2.8 percent in the 1996 Census." According to the National Household Survey (2011) in Firestone et al. (2015:1111), "There are an estimated 851,560 First Nation people, 59,445 Inuit people, and 451,795 Metis people living in Canada." Many of these Indigenous people live in Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and in the Northern Territories. Even though Indigenous people represent a small percentage of the population in Canada, a plurality of federal and provincial inmates in correction centres are Indigenous. The Office of the Correctional investigator (n.d:1) argues that as of "February 2013, 23.2% of the federal inmate population is Aboriginal (First Nation, Metis or Inuit). There are approximately 3,400 Aboriginal offenders in federal penitentiaries, approximately 71% are First Nation, 24% Metis and 5% Inuit."[1] On the number of Indigenous youths entering custody, the Office of the Correctional Investigator (n.d:1) notes "in 2013, 21.3% of all federally incarcerated Aboriginal offenders were 25 years of age or younger as compared to 13.6% of non-Aboriginals." Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts, and Johnson (2006) further highlight that Indigenous adults and youths have higher admissions in the correctional services than non-Indigenous people. Rudin (2016) notes that the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system has been identified by the Supreme Court of Canada as a serious problem in the Canadian justice system. The discrimination against and overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the justice system has contributed to unfavourable patterns of youth crime between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth in Canada. Wood and Griffiths (1996) argue

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1. Government of Canada institutions such as Statistics Canada, Office of the Correctional Investigator use the term "Aboriginals" to refer to First Nations, Inuit, and Metis people in Canada. For this study, the term "Indigenous" will be used to refer to Aboriginal people except direct quotes from authors and government documents that have used Aboriginals to refer to Indigenous people.

that this trend cuts across remote settlements, urban areas, and reserves. The trend indicates that, unlike the trend mentioned earlier for Canadian youth crime in general, Indigenous youth are more represented in violent crimes, such as gang crimes, than they are in property crimes.

Wood and Griffiths (1996) argue that Indigenous people are perpetrators of violent offences at a rate of five to nine times and three to six times as victims of violent offences. Wolf (1991) similarly argues that in Saskatchewan, where a significant proportion of the population is Indigenous, Indigenous adults have a higher likelihood to be charged in violent crime. Wolf (1991:7) further notes "on average, 51 out of 100 adults age 18 and over were charged with violent offences, while only 16 out of every 1000 youths age 12 to 17 were charged with violent offences." The statistics gives an indication of how serious the situation of Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth overrepresentation in youth crime is in the Canadian justice system.

In terms of youth gang violence among Indigenous youths, Brzozowski et al. (2006) contend that there is an increase in youth gang violence in several parts of Canada. Totten (2009:2) argues that in Canada, it is estimated that "twenty-two percent of youth gang members are Aboriginal, and that there are between 800 -1000 active Aboriginal gang members in the Prairie provinces." Similarly, Chettleburgh (2003) cited in Preston et al. (2012) writes that in Saskatchewan Indigenous people make up 96% of gang groups within the province whereas in both Alberta and Manitoba 58% of the gang groups are Indigenous. Chettleburgh (2003) cited in Preston et al. (2012:195) once again argues that within Canada, "Saskatchewan has the highest concentration of youth gang membership on a per capital basis, with 1.34 gang members per 1,000 people." According to Preston et al. (2003), The Criminal Intelligence Service of Saskatchewan (2003) notes that 40% out of the 1,315 gang members in Saskatchewan are in Regina, Saskatoon and Prince Albert. This indicate the rising level of youth gang activities in Saskatchewan.

Moreover, homicide accounted for an increase in crime patterns among Indigenous and non-Indigenous youths. Miladinovic and Mulligan (2015:3) cite a Statistics Canada report (2014) that indicates that the homicide rate among Indigenous people was six times greater than the rate of their non-Aboriginal counterparts – "7.20 per 100,000 population compared to 1.13 per 100,000." This fact can be attributed to the high numbers of youth in Indigenous communities, particularly when compared to non-Indigenous communities. When it comes to sex differences in homicides between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth, the statistics indicate that "Aboriginal males were victims of homicide at a rate 7 times higher than that of non-Aboriginal males (10.86 per 100,000 population versus 1.61). Among Aboriginal females, the rate was 6 times higher than for non-Aboriginal females (3.64 per 100,000 versus 0.65)." (Miladinovic and Mulligan, 2015 in Statistics Canada, 2014).

Stevens et al. (2013) contend that one factor that contributes to the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system is their age. Scrim (2016:15) argues that the "Aboriginal population in Canada is much younger on average than other Canadians, with a mean age of just 27 compared to 40 for the rest of Canada. Accentuating this further, almost half (48%) of the Aboriginal population is under the age of 25." To Stevens et al. (2013:18) the "high-risk age group for homicide and other violent crime is 15 to 24, and this group accounts for 17% of the Aboriginal population." The number of Indigenous youth under 15 years is high in provinces such as Saskatchewan and Manitoba and the territory of Nunavut. This is a factor for the high increase in youth crime rates in these provinces, especially in Saskatchewan (Gannon, et al., 2005).

Indigenous youth overrepresentation in crime is also seen in suicide rates. Suicide is very prevalent among Indigenous communities, especially among First Nations and Inuit youth (Khan, 2008). Kirmayer (1994) found that over a third of Indigenous youth death is because of suicide.

Khan (2008), pointing out that in 2003, 27% of all deaths in Nunavut among youth have been by suicide. In their studies on suicide rates among Indigenous groups in Newfoundland and Labrador, Pollock et al. (2016) established that youth aged 10 to 19 years had the highest suicide rates. The study concluded that males accounted for the highest rates of suicide among the Indigenous communities in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Another area of youth crime in which Indigenous youth are overrepresented is alcohol and substance abuse. The Canadian Centre on Substance Use (2007) indicates that about 80% of Canadian youth between the ages of 15 and 24 claim to have engaged in substance abuse. However, Indigenous youths are recognized as having highest rates of substance abuse than non-Indigenous youths. For example, Elton-Marshall et al. (2011) argue that Indigenous youth start smoking early and females have high rates of smoking and risk. Also, they argue that studies have indicated when it comes to binge drinking Indigenous youth have high rates. Beauvais et al. (2004) compared the trends of drug use among Indigenous youth, particularly American Indian adolescents, with non-Indigenous adolescents. The writers conclude that drug use, especially marijuana use, among Indigenous youth is higher than among non-Indigenous youth. In related research, Firestone et al. (2015:1116) report that "in Saskatchewan, a study with First Nations students in grades 5-8 in seven on-reserve communities within the Saskatoon Tribal Council found that, 26.5% of youth were current smokers (defined as having smoked one or more cigarettes in the past month)." These studies illustrate the extent to which Indigenous youth are involved in substance abuse.

The reasons for these high rates of substance abuse among Indigenous youth are complex. Beauvais et al. (2004) assert one reason has to do with socioeconomic and environmental disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Though the study was of American Indians, the reasons why these adolescents use drugs can explain the excessive use of

drugs among Indigenous youth in Canada since they are in similar situations. Another reason for the high rates of substance abuse among Indigenous young people has been attributed to the intergenerational effects of colonialism and the resulting dysfunctional background of many Indigenous youth (Beauvais, et al., 2004). Indigenous communities are bedevilled with family and cultural breakdown largely because of the residential school system and low levels of education, which affect job opportunities (Stevens, et al., 2013).

In a study of Indigenous offenders, Stevens et al. (2013) point out the link between substance abuse and instability with crime. These authors (2013:18) found that "chronic high offending Aboriginal offenders were more likely to come from an impoverished background characterized by an unstable family environment, substance use, and negative peer associations. These risk factors contributed to their serious and persistent pattern of criminality." Stevens et al. (2013) further note that the overrepresentation can partly be attributed to a cultural clash between the values of the Indigenous community and that of the major Canadian culture.

LaPrairie (2002) explored the impact of socio-demographic features in some cities across Canada and established that cities such as Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg compared with cities in Nova Scotia, Ontario and British Columbia exhibit different living conditions for Indigenous people. LaPrairie (2002) argued that cities with high numbers of Indigenous groups, such as those on the Prairie, had three to four times as many Indigenous people living in serious poverty and in poor neighbourhoods. LaPrairie (2002) argues these problems weaken the informal social control measures, which play a vital role in the family.

2.4   Causes of Indigenous Youth Crime in Canada

Over the years, scholars and writers have devoted time to understanding the causes of Indigenous youth crime in Canada. To have a clear understanding of the causes of Indigenous youth crime in Canada the root causes of this social issue must be examined. Several causes have been identified, including historical, socio-cultural, and economic factors.

2.4.1   Historical Factors

This section will first focus on the historical aspect of the causes. The history of Canada largely concerns the colonization of Indigenous people in Canada. Colonization is defined as the subjugation or taking control of people by assimilating them into the culture of the colonizers. In the context of this study, Alfred (2009:43) concurs, defining colonialism "as it is understood by most people, [as consisting of] such things as the resource exploitation of indigenous lands, residential school syndrome, racism, expropriation of lands, extinguishment of rights, wardships, and welfare dependency." This definition illustrates series of practices used by the colonizers that have increasingly marginalized Indigenous people. Colonization of Indigenous people has affected their political and social institutions as Alfred (2009:44) argues that "political and social institutions, such as band councils and government-funded service agencies that govern and influence life in First Nations today, have been for the most part shaped and organized to serve the interests of the Canadian state." McKenzie and Morrissette (2002:254) argue that the "imposition of a colonial framework on Canadian – Aboriginal relations has had powerful, negative effects on Aboriginal peoples over nearly four hundred years of contact." This problem has led to lack of access to lands, leading to overcrowding and loss of opportunity to engage in effective farming and other economic ventures on the reserves, lack of clean drinking water and loss of vital

Indigenous cultures and beliefs because of integration of Indigenous people into western ideas and democratic values.

Others argue that residential schools stamped out Indigenous culture. The residential school system is an example of the terrible effects of colonialism on Indigenous people. Woolford and Gacek (2016) note that about 6000 children lost their lives in this system and that those who did survive lost attachment to their families and their culture. The authors (2016:404) further point out that "entire generations of Indigenous children went without the experience of familial socialisation, cultural education, and a strong sense of community attachment." MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015) write of the abuse that many children in residential schools either witnessed or were subject to. Chansonneuve (2007) cited in Scrim (2010:18) argues that "survivors of residential schools and their descendants alike report difficulty forming trusting relationships with their spouses and family members. Children growing up without such trusting relationship often develop an inability to respond to stress without resorting to external stimuli such as destructive addictions." The effects of this system continue to replicate itself in this present Indigenous generation, which has seen high levels of physical and sexual violence, substance abuse, and mental health challenges, among other social problems in Indigenous communities. These problems which are traces of ongoing colonialism is contributing to the disproportionate overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in the criminal justice system.

Indigenous colonization also led to the creation of reserves as places of living for the Indigenous people. Peters and Robillard (2009) argue that many of the reserve communities are situated in rural areas in which access to socio-economic services are difficult to come by. These places, according to Peters and Robillard (2009) have high rates of poverty. Oliver (2010:9) similarly argues that "impoverished conditions on reserves persist; present conditions of housing

and sanitation on reserves have been described by the United Nations as third world." Peters and Robillard (2009) further note that Statistics Canada (2008) argues that overcrowding and lack of maintenance of the housing on the reserves remained a significant challenge facing Indigenous people on reserves in Canada today. The overcrowding due to lack of space has resulted in homelessness among many of the Indigenous people, especially the youth. Some of these youths seek shelter in places in which it is easy for them to join gangs and learn forms of crime. Cedar Project Partnership et al. (2008) point out that research done in BC found a high correlation between sexual abuse and homelessness, substance abuse, mental and physical problems among Indigenous youth. In effect, colonization has impoverished Indigenous people in the past and now as there are still traces of ongoing colonial practices that are still affecting Indigenous people. These practices are further deepening the overrepresentation of Indigenous people particularly Indigenous youth in the criminal justice system.

2.4.2 Socio-Cultural Factors

It must be noted that colonialism with its concomitant introduction of assimilation cuts across factors that have had many repercussions on the social, political, and cultural life patterns of Indigenous people. It is worth noting that assimilation of Indigenous people into the mainstream culture led to the destruction of their social organizational structure. MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015:37) note that the "social structure of Aboriginal communities was based upon family, band, and tribal associations that were communal societies." Chiefs were the custodians of authority and ruled the people with the help of the traditional elders. There were communal living and shared collective responsibilities within the society, which can be likened to the typology of a simple society by Emile Durkheim. MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015) note that children and youth in this society were expected to lead perfect and moral lives devoid of crime or delinquency, as being

caught in any bad act affected the reputation of the whole family. This expectation acted as a check of and a guide for children and youth to engage in acts that were considered acceptable within the society. Much of Indigenous people's culture has been lost through the process of colonization. For example, Partridge (2010) argues that Indigenous people's most important cultural values the potlatch has been lost because of colonialism. Partridge (2010) argues that the potlatch was used in naming ceremonies, marriage ceremonies and death ceremonies for departed souls. The ceremony brought unity among the people and had an economic importance as families were given wealth at these ceremonies, which in a way made families economically independent. This pattern changed with the influx of the colonizers.

The colonizers, because of their wish to assimilate the Indigenous people, introduced them to all manners of unfamiliar behaviour, especially the consumption of alcohol. MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015) write that Indigenous people did not know anything about alcohol and were introduced to alcohol through trade with the Europeans. MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015:37) estimate that "in 1774, The Hudson's Bay Company traded with Indigenous people 864 gallons of alcohol for valuable furs. Prior to the fur trade, Aboriginals peoples did not have alcohol and lived primarily off the land." Dickason (2002:261) similarly argued that the "origins of alcohol abuse can be found in early Canadian history with the introduction of liquor by European fur traders in the early seventeenth century. Prior to this, drunkenness and violence were virtually unknown to Aboriginal people who had a very low incidence of violence in their own communities." Scholars concur that the introduction of alcohol had a negative impact on the lives of Indigenous people as they drank a lot which led to violence and abuse among themselves. The effect of the introduction of alcohol is seen today in many Indigenous communities both on and off reserve. Indigenous

people, particularly the youth, are engaging in excessive alcohol intake and substance abuse, which is likely to be a contribution for the high levels of crime among this group.

Assimilation also had an adverse effect on the traditional role of parenting and the family structure. The role of the family in imparting knowledge, culture and social norms into the children lost influence because of the residential school system. MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015) argue that the residential school system led to the disintegration of parenting as children were separated from their families and community life that had been key to their upbringing. Chansonneuve (2007:10) similarly argues the "purpose of residential schooling was to separate children from the evil surroundings." The residential school system subjected these children to forms of violence and abuses, all in the name of socializing them from their so called "primitive" lifestyles into a more westernized form of lifestyle. Chansonneuve (2007:10) further states, "Although the stated purpose of the schools was to provide an education to Indigenous children, they were subjected to continual, relentless denigration in order to assimilate them into mainstream culture." Partridge (2010) concurs that Indigenous children were brainwashed to think that everything they were learning at the residential schools would give them a stake in the society, which led many of the children to disregard parental advice and control. Totten (2009:143) similarly argues, "Colonization and forced assimilation have resulted in the disintegration of family units, and the loss of language, culture, economic status, and parenting capacity in many communities. The loss of cultural identity, combined with social and economic marginalization, fuels gang violence." Partridge (2010) further notes that before the arrival of the colonizers one of the critical roles of the family was role modeling. Adults had the privilege of teaching the little ones the proper way of life adhered to by the larger society. The family also helped in socialization processes by passing down the traditions of the group from generation to generation. Partridge (2010) argues that with

the impact of colonialism, families, especially parents, were unable to engage in this parental role, effectively due to poverty and the abusing of alcohol and drugs by the parents themselves to forget about their past. This inadvertently has had negative repercussions for some Indigenous youth as attachment problems abound because their parents addicted to drugs and alcohol. This parental behaviour results in excessive use of drugs and alcohol by some Indigenous youth as they model what their parents do and leads them to commit all forms of youth crime.

Moreover, racism and discrimination is another social problem facing Indigenous people particularly, Indigenous youth in Canada. Indigenous people are discriminated when it comes to health acquisition, education, employment, justice, and settlement patterns. They are marginalized and discriminated both socially and economically. Silver et al. (2006:11-15) note that "interviews with 26 urban First Nations community leaders identified several factors affecting First Nations people's situations in urban areas, including the failure of both residential and non-residential schools to provide them with skills required for urban employment, the experience of racism (often on a daily basis), and the resulting destruction of self-esteem and identity." This passage indicates that racism experienced by Indigenous people in Canada permeates every aspect of their lives, no matter the person's mobility within Canada. Colonization and assimilation of Indigenous people has done more harm than good and has manifested itself in the overrepresentation of Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth, in crime across all provinces in Canada.

Another social factor influencing the overrepresentation of Indigenous people, especially youth, in crime is low levels of education. The historical effects of colonialism, which, in turn, affected the self-esteem and self-determination of Indigenous people, also impacted the quality of their education. This is because the residential school system taught these children that their own culture was worthless. The children lost confidence in themselves and in their own traditional

community values and customs. This has greatly affected the ability of Indigenous youth to obtain higher levels of education and to gain access to stable employment compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts. A Statistics Canada report (2015:20), commenting on the barriers of education among Indigenous youth, notes, "Leavers were more likely than completers to report that they lacked confidence or felt unprepared to further their schooling." Sawchuk (2011) states that Indigenous population between the ages of 25 to 64 did not have a high school certificate representing 28.9% as against 12.1% of their non-Indigenous population. In addition, a report by the Chiefs Assembly on Education (2012) points out that First Nation young adults between twenty to twenty-four years have not completed high school representing 61% as against 13% of their non-Indigenous counterparts. The 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey by Statistics Canada on education and employment outlines that nearly two-thirds of Indigenous people have not completed high school. Price et al. (2015:1) argue that a reason for the low level of education among Indigenous people is what they refer to as "curricula that lack cultural relevance." This means that Indigenous children and youth are taught subjects that pertain to the history of the white dominant culture and not subjects that provide them with deeper understanding of their own culture and will further help them access the job market. Contemporary studies have found a high correlation between education and employment. Drost (1994) in Nguyen (2001:233) points out, "Unemployment among Aboriginals is higher than for any other ethnic group in Canadian society. One of the factors considered being a major obstacle for Canadian Aboriginals in finding and securing employment is their relatively low level of general education and occupational skills." The low level of education among Indigenous youth can partly be explained by the high dropout rate and low attendance rate. The 2011 National Household Survey indicated that Indigenous youth attendance rates in schools were very low as compared to non-Indigenous youths. The report indicated that the attendance rate among Indigenous youth age 15 to 19 was 10% lower than the

non-Indigenous rate. Among the 20 to 24 age group, the difference was 22%. These data indicate that Indigenous youth spend less time in school than non-Indigenous youth, which has negative repercussions for their attainment of certificates that could secure them good jobs. The 2011 National Household Survey indicates that in Manitoba and Saskatchewan about 25% and 22% of the provinces' Indigenous labour force, respectively, lacked certificates, whereas in Alberta and British Columbia about 12% Indigenous people in the labour force lacked certificates.

2.4.3   Economic Factors

Poverty has been attributed as a major cause of crime among Indigenous people and particularly among Indigenous youth (Brooks, 2008; Champagne, 2015; Hansen, 2015). Indigenous poverty is largely attributed to colonialism and its ongoing effects, and this development is reflected in King et al. (2009) and in Ryan et al (2016). Ryan et al (2016:76) argues, "These inequalities can be broadly linked to the historical impact of colonization, and land dispossession, and the residential school system which resulted in the suppression of numerous important cultural practices." As already noted, the dispossession of several economic activities of Indigenous people has rendered some of these people living in poverty. Mackinnon (2013) notes that about 50% of Indigenous children live in severe poverty in Canada, according to a study by the Low Income Measure (LIM), and this cuts across all Indigenous communities. Macdonald and Wilson (2016:6) argue that cities such as Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon have the highest number of Indigenous children living in poverty at 42%, 41% and 39% respectively. Similarly, Macdonald and Steenbeek (2015:38) note that "the loss of lands, lack of education, cultural genocide, and job market discrimination have not only caused Aboriginal poverty, but have contributed to the marginalization of Aboriginal people in Canada." Price, Anne-Marie, and Trovato (2011) argue, inadequate social infrastructures serves as a barrier to unemployment among

Indigenous people in Canada. This assertion is very true as most of these reserves are situated at places which are far from major cities which makes commuting very difficult. So, if a person should travel to come to the major city for a job interview how does the person come. This makes most Indigenous people lose access to jobs. Also lack of education does also affect the ability of Indigenous youths to get job due to lack of certificates. These scholars all note that poverty among Indigenous people is characterized by a plethora of social problems they encounter within the society. A news report by CBC NEWS published on May 17, 2016, written by Kristy Kirkup, reports that 60% of First Nation children living on reserve live in poverty, according to a study that was carried out by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternative. In terms of unemployment of Indigenous people, Price, Anne-Marie, and Trovato (2011) notes Indigenous people are twice unlikely to be unemployed. In situations where Indigenous people or family are unemployed, their income is considerably lower than that of non-Indigenous people. If income level becomes very low, the family will not be able to adequately provide for the needs of the whole family. For instance, Price, Anne-Marie, and Trovato (2011:1) go on to point out that, according to 2006 Census data, "[the] median income of Aboriginal people ($18,962) was considerably less than that of non-Aboriginal people ($27,097)." Statistics Canada (2015:26) presents similar data: "In 2010, the median after-tax income for Aboriginal people was just over $20,000 compared to $27,600 for their non-Aboriginal counterparts." Price, Anne-Marie, and Trovato (2011) further argue that Indigenous people spend 50% of their income on food, clothing and shelter, which also indicates why income levels of Indigenous families are lower than those of the general Canadian population. As statistics have shown, the Indigenous population is younger than that of non-Indigenous people, the implication being that many Indigenous young people not in the working age group are dependent on parents or family members who are working. Therefore, in situations where families

are unable to meet the provisions of their young ones, the youth may have no option than to engage in other illegal economic ventures that will give them money or other things for survival.

In conclusion, the above literature has highlighted the causes of youth crime among Indigenous youths in Canada stemming from historical factors, socio-cultural factors, and economic factors. The literature also highlights trends of Indigenous youth crime, demonstrating that Indigenous youth crime trend is far higher than that of non-Indigenous youth, both in violent and property youth crimes. It is envisaged that when Indigenous families and youths are empowered socially, politically, and economically, the conditions of the Indigenous population may improve, which, in turn, could lead to reductions in Indigenous youth crime.

2.5   Role of the Family in Youth Crime and Prevention

The family as an institution has been identified as having a critical role to play in youth violence and youth crime prevention. Youth crime prevention among Indigenous youth cannot be minimized or eradicated without noting the important role of the family. The family is the first point of the socialization process a child encounters, and, therefore, a malfunction in the family has negative consequences for the upbringing of the child, as well as for his or her usefulness in nation building. The family, therefore, can be seen to be both a risk and a protective factor in the upbringing of children (Public Safety Canada, 2008). Savignac (2009:5) concurs, arguing that the "family, as a learning, discovery, and socialization environment, is a key protective factor in the development of children and adolescents. When dysfunctional, it is also regarded as a risk factor for juvenile delinquency." Risk factors for the family are the characteristics of parents that promote delinquency in youth (Public Safety Canada, 2008). These characteristics are the criminal history of the parents, mental health issues, drug addiction of parents, and history of childhood abuse for the parents themselves in their childhood (Public Safety Canada, 2008). These factors tend to have

a negative impact on the parents in performing their duties and often results in their children being exposed to violence. Children or youth exposed to these risk factors have a chance of becoming delinquent. Consequently, Indigenous youth who are living with parents or family members who exhibits these traits have the tendency of becoming delinquent. Protective factors are characteristics that tends to protect and prevent delinquent behaviour in children and youth (Public Safety Canada, 2008). Public Safety Canada (2008:3) defines protective factors as "characteristics and situations that protect and distance youth from delinquent behaviour. Protective factors are characteristics or conditions that act as risk moderators." This definition suggests that protective factors for the family limit the possibility of delinquency in youths or children. These factors can be parental support, parental guidance, and parental involvement in the daily routines of their children. Savignac (2009) argues that scientific research has shown that changes in the structure of the family and family style of parenting have enormous impact on juvenile delinquency among youth. Ineffective parenting such as lack of supervision and the failure to set strict limits are factors that can contribute to delinquency among juveniles. As noted, the things children are exposed to in their upbringing can also contribute to delinquent behaviour. Steinberg (2000) argues that violence among many youths occurs because they come from families in which violence is habitual. Most of these youths have experienced domestic violence, conflict, and hostile or aggressive behaviours exhibited by parents or family members in the homes. In such families, parents are often irresponsible in their parental supervisory duties, neglecting their children and leaving them to the mercy of hostile peers. Savignac (2009) further argues that being from a family of individuals with criminal convictions is a powerful predictor of delinquency among juveniles. Savignac (2009) cites studies done by Pittsburgh and Cambridge that found that the criminal behaviours of parents or siblings is associated with delinquency in male children. The study revealed that 63% of young males with a father who is involved with or has been implicated in a

criminal offence are likely to also become criminals. In effect, Indigenous youth who associate with parents who have been involved in crime are likely to also become engaged in crime.

Just as parents' involvement in crime increases the likelihood of their children engaging in criminal behavior, substance abuse by parents is also strongly associated with substance abuse by their children. For instance, Savignac (2009:10) in "the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime (ESYTC), showed that among 15-year-olds, having a parent who uses drugs doubled the risk that they will do so too." If parents indulge in excessive use of drugs, their children learn to mimic this behaviour. Substance abuse use, as noted earlier, among Indigenous parents is excessive, and this has led to high levels of substance abuse among Indigenous youth, which, in turn, have led to high level of youth crime. Just as the substance abuse of parents can influence youth to behave similarly, so can the behaviour of peers or groups who abuse substances, even in cases where the family do not use drugs.

Scholars have also identified broken homes resulting in single parenthood as a factor in youth crime. Currie (1985), as cited in Linden (2001:9), argues that the "relationship between broken homes and crime is due to the history of conflict prior to the break, and to the fact that the parent with custody of the children may lack the financial resources and support systems to do an adequate job of child rearing." Savignac (2009:10) similarly argues that "single parenthood is considered a risk factor because this family structure is often associated with a lack of supervision, a lack of free time spent with the children, financial vulnerability, a poorer neighbourhood, and so on." The lack of security in terms of financial, time and emotional needs tends to affect the upbringing of these children, thereby exposing them to delinquent behaviours. In a situation where the father is not available, leaving the mother to take care of the children, the mother may find the burden of handling all the parental duties as onerous. Fathers offer greater security, financial

support, and serve as role models to their children. Fathers wields more disciplinary control due to society's view of fathers having more of a commanding disciplinary role than mothers. As children reach adolescence, it becomes a difficult task for the mother alone to control them without any assistance or support from the father. In addition, if the mother must work to support herself and the children, it is difficult for her to supervise the children when she is not at home. Children are, therefore, left to associate with peers who will likely have bad influence on them if the peers are committing delinquent acts. Children with single parents are more likely to be engage in delinquent behaviours than children raised by both parents.

A contributing factor to negative parenting in families, including Indigenous families, is poverty (Steinberg, 2000). As already noted, many Indigenous families live in poverty and this does not augur well for them in the care of their children. If necessary steps are taken to raise the living standards of the Indigenous communities, Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth, will be less likely to engage in criminal behaviour.

As discussed, families can help prevent youth crime by providing good role modelling practices for their children. Children normally emulate what their parents do, so if parents expose children to unacceptable behaviour, it has consequences for them. Steinberg (2000:33) argues, "When children are exposed to violence in the home, they come to see violence as relatively more acceptable, and they are more likely to resort to violence to solve problems." Parents must involve themselves in the supervision of their children to avoid children becoming attached to peers who can also be of bad influence. Steinberg (2000:36) argued that "parental engagement in their children's lives [is] one of the most important - if not the single most important - contributors to children's healthy psychological development." Thus, to support their children and to reduce the likelihood that they will engage in crime, parents must perform their roles effectively.

Another strategy that government can use to enhance parental roles is to provide help dealing with mental health problems facing many Indigenous families. Mental health problems among Indigenous people, I argue, largely occur because of the impact of colonialism and the trauma they were subjected into. Kirmayer et al. (2000:609) support this view, arguing that "the collective trauma, loss, and grief caused by these shortsighted policies are reflected in the endemic mental health problems of many Aboriginal communities and populations across Canada." Steinberg (2007:36) points out, as discussed earlier, that "parents who themselves suffer from mental illness or who have a substance abuse problem are more likely to be abusive, hostile, and neglected toward their children." If parents or family members identified as suffering from mental illness are cared for and treated, crime and delinquency among youth may decrease as parents will have the right state of mind to live up to their expectations and become good role models to their children. Provision of parental education to both parents of all ages can also contribute to helping Indigenous parents to improve their parental skills. It is important to keep in mind that Indigenous parenting skills were systematically suppressed through the Indian residential schools. One of the big objectives of residential schools was to get rid of Indigenous parenting skills (Champagne, 2015; Chansonneuve, 2005; Hansen, 2012; Hansen & Antsanen, 2016).

Lastly, just as families have a role in bringing up children to become useful members in the society, the public and the media also have a duty as well. The media, for example, should be circumspect in the kind of programmes that they show and discuss on television, radio, at the cinema and on the internet. There should be effective regulations by the Censorship Board as to what programmes and advertisements the media should be allowed to show. This can possibly help in reducing youth crime among Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth.

To conclude, effective parenting among Indigenous families can help in dealing with crime and delinquent behaviours among Indigenous youth. The media should regulate the kind of advertisements and programmes they show to help prevent children and youth from learning violent and delinquent behaviours through watching, listening, and following the media.

2.6 **Role of Community-Based Organizations in Youth Crime Prevention**

Prevention of youth crime has been a major priority area for all countries around the world, and the Canadian government has not been an exception. Warrington and Wright (2003) note that the Canadian National Safety on Community Safety and Crime Prevention aims to reduce crime by tackling its root causes through social development mechanisms. However, Brooks and Schissel (2008) contend that Canadian society is paying too much attention to how to keep dangerous youth criminals from posing a risk to society, while little is being done to consider the social, political, and economic factors that causes youth crime in the first place. Branch et al. (2014) argue that for youth crime to be prevented, agencies and institutions must cooperate with the state and the community to help address this social problem. Greenwood (2008) argues the success of a programme is its ability to help youth to desist from further delinquency. Without intervention by community organizations, youth will continue to commit further crimes that can jeopardise the safety of the society (Quinn, et al., 1997).

Various countries around the world through community-based organizations have established programmes aimed at helping address youth crime. In Australia, community-based organizations have established a community programme for addressing antisocial behaviour of adolescents or youth (Homel, et al., 2015). This model called "CREATE" through community organizations equips the youth with skills and formal education. Homel et al. (2015) argues the significance of the programme is to deflect the attention of the youth from antisocial and criminal

behaviours. The organization does this through training programmes to develop the confidence level of the youth, their social interaction skills, and their connection with the community members.

Toumbourou et al. (2015) reports that in the USA one of the organizations working to help prevent youth crime is Communities That Care (CTC). CTC is a community-based prevention programme founded in the 1980s by the Social Development Research Group at the University of Washington. The organization collaborates with community stakeholders to organize outreach and awareness programmes that have been acknowledged as protecting adolescents from crime. Toumbourou et al. (2015) notes that this programme was implemented by the Centre for Substance Abuse Prevention in the USA, and cites evidence to show it has had a positive effect on the prevention of youth crime, especially on youth who were engaging in substance abuse. In this country, a report by the Public Safety Canada (2007) points out that in the USA another organization is working to provide hope for "at-risk" youth in Boston, Massachusetts. This is the Boston Gun Project and Operation Ceasefire. The organization was an initiative of police officers in Boston to help reduce the incidence of youth homicide and youth violence. The project was established in 1995 through the support of researchers at Harvard University. The project publicizes laws that prosecute people who supply guns to youths to engage in homicide and youth gangs. It also provides strategies that help to deter youth from engaging in these forms of youth crime. One of the organization's strategies is to explicitly inform youth that violence will not be accepted in the community and to target the gangs. In assessing the impact of this project, the National Institute of Justice (2001) in a Public Safety Canada (2007:5) report argues that the "ceasefire intervention was related to significant decreases in youth homicides per month (-63%), "shots fired," calls for police service per month (-32%), and gun assaults per month (-25%) in

Boston. Roxbury, the highest risk city in the district, saw a 44% decrease in youth gun assaults per month".

Other countries have also taken steps to reduce youth crime. In Bergen, Norway, elementary and Junior High Schools developed a bullying prevention programme (Greenwood, 2008). The programme involved teachers and parents instituting guidelines against bullying in the school. After two years, the bullying rate declined to "50 percent in most of the schools that introduced it" (Greenwood, 2008:13). The programme led to a decline in other forms of behaviour such as dropping out of school and teenage pregnancy.

An example of a Canadian youth crime reduction programme is occurring in Hobbema currently renamed as Maskwacis, Alberta, where there is a community cadet corps that has an interesting programme. As Grekul and Sanderson (2011:3) point out, "Hobbema is comprised of four Cree nations: Samson, Louis Bull, Montana and Ermineskin; as with the Canadian Aboriginal population, a significant proportion of the population in Hobbema (52.7%) is under the age of 18." The high concentration of youth suggests that crime might be high in the area, and it is. The cadet corps was founded by two police officers with the purpose of addressing youth crime, especially youth gang involvement, which is a major youth crime in the area (Grekul & Sanderson, 2011). The Hobbema (Maskwacis) Community Cadet Corps has been operating since 2005. The programme has over thousand young people between the ages of six and eighteen in a community that is recognized as recording the highest rates of crime in Alberta. The area according to Grekul and Sanderson (2011) witnessed an increase in homicides in 2008 because of increases in youth gang membership. The programme offers the youth activities geared towards deflecting their attention from crime activities. The programme equips the youth with an opportunity to learn the value of group identity and discipline. It also provides recreational and travelling opportunities for

the youth in the community (Grekul & Sanderson, 2011). Recounting the success of the programme, Grekul and Sanderson (2011) argue that the programme has helped deflect the attention of the youth from gangs, especially the youth who are active in the programme.

The discussion above has presented literature on the role of community-based organizations in countries such as Australia, USA, Norway, and Canada in addressing youth crime. Preparing today's youth to be leaders in the society is something that requires the support of all stakeholders. It must involve community-based organizations, with various stakeholders developing programmes and initiatives that could help build up the youth for the future. One such organization in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, is the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), the site for this study.

2.7 The Current Study

Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) was established in 2001 by Darrell Lechman. The organization was founded to address the social, economic, and educational needs of "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon. The organization (SCYAP) uses art and culture as the major tools for building up the self-esteem of youth, empowering them to become healthy and happy and to lead good and productive lives. The organization has a wide range of programmes that enables youth of all age categories to participate. The organization works towards helping to decrease the youth crime rate in Saskatoon. Charlton and Hansen (2016:394) point out that "SCYAP is a non-profit community based organization that delivers culturally appropriate and artistic programming designed to address the social, economic, and educational needs of urban youth." The majority of the youth in training at SCYAP are Indigenous (Charlton & Hansen, 2016). Charlton and Hansen (2016:408) further state that the "benefit of being involved in art interventions includes staying out of trouble. This is what an intervention program such as SCYAP is intended to produce. It is

intended to keep the clients out of trouble and help them establish positive ways to live and heal." Hence, SCYAP is a social justice organization situated at the community level. SCYAP offers opportunities for its clients to positively express themselves and their creativity in art and feel proud about themselves (Charlton & Hansen, 2016).

2.8   Theoretical Framework

Explanations of crime among Indigenous people, and particularly among Indigenous youth in Canada, have been drawn from several sociological and criminological theories. Scholars have attempted to understand the underlying causes of Indigenous youth crime and Indigenous overrepresentation in the criminal justice system in Canada. As noted, Indigenous youths are overrepresented in crime and crime incarceration as compared to non-Indigenous youths. No single theory has been used to explain Indigenous youth crime, but several theories have focused on individual factors, situational factors, and the structure of society to explain the underlying causes of youth crime among Indigenous youths (Cunneen & Withal, 2002). Broadhurst (2002) argues that theories seeking to explain Indigenous problems tend to portray Indigenous people as a dangerous group of people, and that this portrayal has clouded understanding of Indigenous peoples' crime in general. These dominant theories focus on the individual as being the cause of the crime, while the historical, economic, and social forces that underlie the causes of crime among Indigenous youth are left untouched (Broadhurst, 2002).

To understand Indigenous youth crime in Canada, my study will specifically draw on Travis Hirschi's social control theory or social bond theory. Theories of social control were initially conceived by thinkers such as Albert J. Reiss (1951) in his book *Delinquency As the Failure of Personal and Social Controls* and F. Ivan Nye (1958) in his book *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behaviour*. Reiss (1951) argued that delinquency occurs in people because of

weakening in the personal and social control mechanisms that regulate the behaviour of the individual. He defined personal control as "the ability of the individual to refrain from meeting needs in ways which conflict with the norms and rules of the community" (1951:196). Reiss further defined social control as "the ability of social groups or institutions to make norms or rules effective" (1951:196). For Reiss, delinquency occurs because of internal and external factors. In writing of Reiss, Jensen (2003) argues that although Reiss did not define or specify what control mechanisms lead people to become law abiding within the society, Reiss identified specifically the family as one of the primary control groups and the failure of the family to internalize and socialize their children to non-delinquent behaviours has a contributing factor in delinquency.

Another criminologist who also contributed to laying the foundation of social control theories is F. Ivan Nye. In his book *Family Relationships and Delinquency*, Jensen (2003) argues that a major contribution of Ivan Nye to social control theory was how to "operationalize" (measure) the control mechanisms. Like Reiss, Ivan Nye also focused on the family as the major source of social control. Ivan Nye (1958) argued that the family can be a source of social control through the constraints the family put before the children or youth of the family. These constraints thus serve as a barrier that limits any opportunity for delinquency in the youth. Ivan Nye (1958) further argued that through rewards and punishment by the family, effective social control mechanism is ensured. Jensen (2003) argues that Ivan Nye admitted that motivational factors can cause people to be delinquent or learn delinquency behaviours as Nye stated that "some delinquent behaviour results from a combination of positive learning and weak and ineffective social control" (1958:4). However, Jensen (2003) also argues that Nye emphasized that lack of social control is the dominant cause of delinquency among youths.

Although there were earlier proponents of this social control theory, Travis Hirschi's work formally institutionalized the theory and was widely acknowledged among criminological theories. Hirschi's work also served as the basis for the formulation of several other criminological theories that we have today. Jensen (2003) argues that Travis Hirschi's work became established because his work *Causes of Delinquency (1969)* not only presented his four specific forms of control but also that he went further to explain the concepts and what they mean to social bonding. Secondly, according to Jensen, Hirschi demonstrated how to measure his concepts and tested his theory by using survey data he collected.   Since Hirschi's time, various developments and applications of this theory have been used to study crime and delinquency. For example, Sommers and Baskin (1994) did a study using 85 women who had previously been incarcerated for criminal offences to look at factors responsible for female involvement in violent crime. Their findings indicated that lack of school attachment was related to their involvement in crime and that a weak social bond in youth could be a predictive influence for adult violent behaviour. In other research on the relationship of social bonds and criminal behaviour, Deng and Cordilia (1999) explored the transformation of China from an agricultural to an industrial society and how this has been accompanied by an increase in crime. Deng and Cordilia (1999) concluded that the change from a homogenous society based on a shared collective conscience (for example, effective control by family and community members) to a heterogeneous society based on individualism has led to a weakening in the social bonds. Deng and Cordilia (1999) further argued that western influence has penetrated the moral fabric of Chinese society, leading to rising crime rates in China. Zaidi, Conture-Carron and Maticka-Tyndale (2016) conducted a study here in Canada to understand why some South Asian youth tend to resist cultural deviancy. The study found out that for these youth, their attachment to parents and fear of bringing shame or disappointment to their families played a critical role in their decisions to not engage in culturally deviant activities such as forming

intimate cross-gender relationships. The youth's religious beliefs and their commitment to and involvement in education also played a pivotal role in their resistance to culturally deviant behaviour. Participants in the study maintained that their focus on their education provided them little room for engaging in sexual relationships. In other research, Moilanen et al. (2014) used the Hirschi's theory to determine if participation in extracurricular activity lowers the incidence of substance use among 5,701 American Indian adolescents. Their findings indicate that participation in extracurricular activities by these American Indian adolescents lowered their involvement in substance use and other forms of delinquent behaviours. The study can be applied to Canada because the situation of American Indigenous people is like that of their counterparts in Canada though the method of colonization might somehow be different. Both groups have faced historic colonial oppression, which contributes to increased poverty, substance abuse, and impoverished living environments (Moilanen, et al., 2014). Social control theories have been used widely to study delinquency and crime. However, these theories have not been widely applied to the study of Indigenous youth crime in Canada.

Despite the wide influence of Hirschi's social control theory, his work has not been free of criticism. Among some of the critiques of his work is the claim that he failed to define social control. Another critique of social control theory in general is that it is less capable of explaining major crimes than minor crimes (Gibbons, 1994). Notwithstanding these weaknesses, this theory fits very well with this present study.

2.8.1 <u>Social Control Theory</u>

Theory of social control or social bond theory by Travis Hirschi (1969) focuses on the characteristics shared by people who are delinquent. Huebner and Betts (2002) point out that control theories look at the relationship between the individual and the society or his or her bonds

within the society. Delinquency, therefore, is the result of weak or broken bonds between the individual and the society. In such circumstances of a broken or weak bond, the individual does not feel the moral obligation to act in accordance to the societal expectations of the laws but rather acts based on his or her own private interests (Huebner & Betts, 2002). Delinquency among Indigenous youth in Canada, I argue, is due to weak or broken bonds, which can be attributed to the intergenerational effects of colonialism. The effects of colonialism have led to social exclusion, racism, and poverty, all of which Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth, experience in Canada today. Since delinquency is, therefore, intrinsic to human beings, conformity is achieved through socialization or internalization of the shared norms and values to the individual. When internalization is weak, conformity with the norms of society are less likely to occur. This development is reflected in the concept of normless Indigenous peoples. Champagne argues that colonization has impacted Indigenous people to the extent that some Indigenous people lack "direction or purpose, and are normless" (2015:49). Thus, for Champagne, normlessness is a consequence of colonization. Therefore, for normlessness among Indigenous youth to be reduced, there is the need for society to expose them to the norms and values that binds the society together as Champagne argues normlessness has led most Indian members to resort to substance abuse, violence which leads them in conflict with the justice system.

Hirschi (1969) outlined four social bonds that when they are strong can help people or youth escape from a delinquent lifestyle, but when they are weak or broken can likewise lead to delinquency. These four bonds, described in detail in the next paragraph, are attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief. These bonds influence a person's behaviour and whether he or she is likely to become delinquent.

Attachment, the first component of Travis Hirschi's theory, refers to the attachment to parents, family members, teachers, and friends. Hirschi (1969:18) argues that the "attachment of an individual to others is the essence of internalization of norms." Agnew (1985:47) similarly states that attachment "refers to the affection and respect that the individual holds toward significant others such as parents, teachers or peers." If individuals love and respect their parents, community members, teachers, and friends, they are likely to behave in ways that conform with societal expectations. Individuals with strong relationships typically refrain from engaging in behaviour that could disrupt these relationships. Agnew (1985) concurs, arguing that people who respect their family, teachers or friends are less likely to commit delinquent acts since they do not want to jeopardize their relationship with or affection for significant others. Conversely, if individuals fail to bond with their parents, family members or friends, they are unlikely to be socialized in the accepted norms of the society; there is, therefore, a greater probability that they will become deviant and seek to bond with people who exhibit bad behaviour. Moore (2003) conducted a study in which he interviewed 323 Indigenous people selected at random. His findings showed that Indigenous people were likely to have experienced serious family problems in their youth. Linden (2000) in Linden (2001:9) concurs, arguing that "research shows that the strength of family ties, parental supervision and discipline, and the role model provided by parents are all related to delinquency." All the evidence thus points to problems with attachment as contributing to delinquent behaviour.

Among the problems seen in families of delinquent youth, violence and abuse feature prominently in many. Moore (2003) argued that violence in the home significantly influence the lives of Indigenous youths. Dumont-Smith (2001:11) concurs, citing one study that "showed that children exposed to violence were ten to 17 times more likely to have serious emotional and

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behavioural problems when compared to children who were raised in a non-violent home environment." Dumont-Smith (2001) concludes that when the rate of abuse to the child is high, the greater the chances of the child becoming delinquent. A study by Hotton (2003) drew similar conclusions. Hotton investigated the influence of aggressive behaviours exhibited by family members at home on the behaviour of adolescent children and youth. The study used data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth, which was made available by Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada. Hotton (2003) found that 32 percent of children or youth that were exposed to violence and aggressive behaviours at home became very aggressive. The study concludes that ineffective parenting skills are very likely to contribute to violent behavior among children. LaPrairie (1995) agrees that the high incidence of Indigenous youth crime and violence can be linked to the experiences some of these youths had because of victimization in their homes during their childhood. In other research, Corrado and Cohen (2004) found that 62% of Indigenous youth had a family member who has experienced physical abuse as compared to 46% of non-Indigenous youth, and 34% of Indigenous youth had experienced sexual abuse compared to 20% of non-Indigenous youth. As we have seen, abuse harms these youths, which then leads them to delinquent acts. This abuse is very much rooted in experiences with the residential school system, which recorded the many abusive acts to which some Indigenous people were subject.

Scholars have argued that the problems within Indigenous families, including neglect and violence, have occurred because the dominant culture's attempt to eradicate Indigenous culture has had strong intergenerational effects. Chansonneuve (2005) argues that colonization and assimilation have weakened Indigenous families, harming the ability of adults to parent their children. LaPrairie (1997:44) concurs, contending that weak family "structures have had profound

effects on family life and kinship relations, other community relationships, loss of customary social control practices, movement and traditional roles and obligations." The above assertions indicate that colonialism has harmed the lives of Indigenous families in Canada today. The family has a significant role in producing children who conform to societal norms, as the family is the first group the child encounters. Having parents or a parent who is a criminal or has a criminal record increases the likelihood of the youth becoming delinquent (Farrington, et al., 2001; Rowe & Farrington, 1997). At SCYAP, the youth ideally receive attachments from the staff. These attachments build the youths' receptivity to counselling, which, in turn, builds their self-control and passion for the arts programming. This new positive attitude and confidence can help them resist reverting to criminal behaviour once they have completed their programme.

Commitment refers to being poised for achievement and can reduce an individual's desire to engage in a delinquent act. Hirschi (1969:20) operationalized commitment and stated that commitment refers to "getting an education, building up a business, or acquiring a reputation for virtue." Wiatrowski (1987) argues that commitment also refers to the amount of investment (time and money) individuals have put into something, the loss of which can have negative consequences for them. Agnew (1985:47) concurs, contending that "individuals who have invested much in conventional activities are less likely to engage in delinquency since they have too much to lose." If individuals have nothing to lose, they are more likely to engage in delinquent behaviour. The overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in Canada's criminal justice system has occurred because most Indigenous youth have not invested in their education, job, or any other activity to such a degree that the loss of that investment would deter them from criminal activity. If these youths had a specific goal in life in which they had invested time or money, they may be more likely to pursue their goal, which would diminish their passion for criminal acts. At SCYAP, the amount of time

the youth have spent in the arts programme and the desire by the youth to attain a higher status in society makes them loyal, as well as eager not to compromise their success by engaging in delinquent behaviour. The success stories of other youth gaining employment or going back to school after this training will motivate the youth to be committed to the arts training and other activities, so they can become valuable assets in the community. Lack of commitment will reduce the youth's interest in working on their arts training or goals to achieve a higher status in life. Without this commitment to positive endeavours, they may reengage in delinquent behaviours.

The next component under Hirschi's social bonds which is directly linked to commitment is involvement. Involvement is large amount of time spent on socially approved conventional activities such as social clubs, education, job, and church activities, which lowers the time available for the individual to commit any deviant act. Agnew (1985:47) defines involvement as the "amount of time spent engaged in conventional activities such as reading and doing homework." The more individuals participate in a legitimate activity, the less likely they are to engage in activities that could lead to deviance. Eccles and Barber (1999) in their studies argue that youth involved in activities, such as volunteering or religious activities, are less likely to involve themselves in delinquent acts, in contrast to youth that are not involved in any activity. The impact of colonialism, as mentioned earlier, which led to dispossession of lands and other economic activities of Indigenous people have had a huge negative intergenerational effect. The dispossession of the lands of the Indigenous people, which were full of vital economic practices, and their placement on reserves has greatly disadvantaged Indigenous people. These reserves lack the necessary amenities such as good housing, good roads, and jobs. Many parents have no work to do or land to farm with which their children could also occupy their time. The embedded racial discrimination that Indigenous people encounter in Canadian society also denies them access to

jobs even if they qualify. This has led to a high unemployment rate among the Indigenous population compared to that of non-Indigenous people. The lack of jobs to occupy these youths and their parents have contributed to the overrepresentation of Indigenous people and particularly Indigenous youth in crime. Among the provinces in Canada, the prairies regions have the highest number of unemployed Indigenous people. For example, LaPrairie (1997:45) notes, "interestingly, the provinces with the highest levels of unemployment, the lowest levels of education and income for both on-reserve and off-reserve registered Indians (Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba) also have the most disproportionate incarceration levels". At SCYAP, the youth are periodically given assignments and tasks. These tasks take the attention of the youth as they are engaged in different forms of activities that occupies and reduces their idleness. These tasks may prevent them from engaging in deviant behaviours.

The last component, according to Hirschi (1969), is belief, an individual's belief in the moral validity of the norms and values shared by the larger society. Brooks and Schissel (2008: 27) states that the "belief component involves attitudes towards moral values, which are generated by society as a whole – in essence, as a measure of morality or conscience." Agnew (1985:47) concurs: "Belief refers to the individual's commitment to the central value system of the society." If individual challenges the moral validity of the norms and values within the society, there is the likelihood of the individual becoming deviant. Alston et al. (1995:32) write of Hirschi: "He suggested that persons who strongly believe in these norms are less likely to deviate from them. However, those who question or challenges the norms have a greater propensity to behave in a deviant manner." If belief is low, the individual will form an amoral view of crime. If the law is applied equally without any discrimination based on a person's race, gender, or ethnicity, youths will be socialized to live their lives in accordance with the principles of the law. However, in a

situation where it is believed the law is interested in just criminalizing Indigenous people and particularly Indigenous youth, there is a higher probability that the rules will not be obeyed, no matter the consequences for its breach. For example, Cloward and Ohlin (1960) in a Correctional Services Canada (2004:1) report hypothesized that "gang formulations resulted from the perception by lower class youth that the system provided little or no opportunity for upward mobility." This assertion suggests that if the structures in the society do not provide fair treatment of Indigenous people, then there will be the probability of people engaging in various forms of delinquent behaviour to make a living. The lack of this belief in the norms can eventually create room for more youth to constantly violate the norms and commit more crimes. Belief can also mean a belief that crime is wrong and not morally acceptable by society. If Indigenous youth are socialized to know that crime is morally wrong and that it contravenes the legal laws of the society, there is a greater likelihood that youth crime among Indigenous youth will be reduced, particularly if important social intervention policies are also instituted to help the youth achieve their goals in life. If belief in the moral validity and belief that crime is morally accepted to be wrong by society is low, Indigenous youths will think they are free to act in any way without considering the psychological accountability of their behaviour to the society or their family.

In conclusion, I argue that this theory is therefore justified for this study as it shows that the lack or weakness of these bonds contribute to youth crime among Indigenous youth in Canada. Providing social intervention policies by government and stakeholders can help strengthen the social bonds which can enhance youth crime prevention among Indigenous youth in Canada.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

3.1 An Introduction to the Research

This study sought to explore the perspectives of at-risk Indigenous youth attending the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), and the benefits of the programme in youth crime prevention. The organization was founded in 2001 by Darrell Lechman to address the social, economic, and educational needs of "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon. The organization (SCYAP) uses art and culture to improve the lives of these youth. This chapter will therefore focus on the research design, the data collection method that was used for the research and the participants who were selected for the study.

3.2 Methodology

The research employed a qualitative methodology. Qualitative research is a scientific research that seeks to look for solutions to questions and uses a systematic procedure to find solutions to those questions through the collection of personal evidences in the form of interviews, participant observation, focus group discussion (Mack, et al., 2005). Whereas quantitative research involves more of statistics, qualitative research is descriptive or narrative. Furthermore, Mack et al (2005:1) argue, "Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular population." Qualitative research helps in understanding issues that are complex in nature (Mack, et al., 2005). Moreover, qualitative method is more flexible than quantitative methods as it provides an opportunity for the researcher to have an open interaction with participants due to the informal relationship which gives the researcher with diverse information (Mack, et al., 2005). Furthermore, the open-ended nature of qualitative research method provides an opportunity for the researcher to ask follow-up questions to get further details and understanding to the responses that

come from the participants. This means using qualitative research enables the researcher to obtain first-hand information from participants based on their own opinions and their experiences. The site for this research was the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), a site that was suitable for a qualitative study. The research involved interviews with the youth enrolled in the programme which was done and analysed qualitatively. I intended to use the qualitative approach because in my own view it will give me a broader perspective on the kind of data I intended to receive from my respondents, which is youth "at-risk". This approach was further useful in obtaining primary data on the personal experiences of the participants in training at SCYAP.

Research participants were Indigenous youths between eighteen and thirty years of age. Although thirty years of age is a grown adult, SCYAP receives funding for those who are up to age thirty. This was my reason to include participants within thirty years of age. I used a non-probability type of sampling technique specifically purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling method is a type of qualitative sampling method in which the researcher chooses respondents who have the characteristics of what the researcher intends to study and will be able to provide the data required to answer the research questions (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Kumar (2005) emphasizes that in purposive sampling technique, the researcher selects participants based on the researcher's own judgement as to who will be able to provide the kind of information that will help address the research objectives. I used this sampling method because of its appropriateness and its assistance in helping me get the right participants for the study. As the researcher, I chose respondents who in my own judgement have the knowledge and the experience to share. Mack et al (2005) argue that in purposive sampling, the sample size depends on the time and resources that are available to the researcher. I therefore intended to have a sample size of eight participants who

are youth in training at SCYAP. I decided to have an equal gender representation for my participants, and, for that matter, interviewed four males and four females. The reason for adopting this equal representation is to help address gender bias as most research have always try to marginalize the voice of women (Charlton & Hansen, 2016). In addition, Osborne (1990:86) notes, "Natural science methodology looks for statistical generalizability while phenomenological research strives for empathic generalizability." Charlton and Hansen (2016) point out that when it comes to, "qualitatively based narrative research, it is the human-lived experience that takes center stage. Within such rubric, validity is contextual. A different researcher undertaking this research would never duplicate entirely the interpretations" (2016:404). Participants were recruited through a poster with assistance from the staffs at SCYAP (see appendix D).

The data collection method that was used for this study was semi-structured open-ended interview guide questions (see appendix C). Mack et al. (2005:2) concur, "In-depth interviews are optimal for collecting data on an individual's personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored". In this case, I used this method because of the sensitive nature of youth crime among Indigenous youth in Saskatoon. The semi-structured interview guide gave me the opportunity to probe to secure rich data from the participants on the research topic. Using the semi-structured interview style helped me build good rapport with the respondents, getting the respondents to open -up and express themselves in their own way. Semi-structured interviews provide reliable data that will be valid for identification of themes when doing analysis (Mack, et al., 2005). Interviews were audio recorded as well as notes were taking.

Data was analysed using Nvivo. Data was first transcribed in Microsoft word verbatim where it was cleaned to make sure typing errors were eliminated. The data was then transported into the Nvivo software for the analysis. The data was first auto coded in the Nvivo to group all

participants' responses under each question which made it easier to draw the themes from the data. The data was carefully studied where codes and nodes were created based on themes realized from the participants' responses. Evidences or quotes from the data were selected and dropped into the nodes. Analysis involved personal narrative and experiences of the participants'. This helped to provide in-depth information and understanding of the participants' views on crime prevention. As mentioned, the research model was qualitative in nature. As Hendry (2007) advises qualitative research is capable of "providing a method for 'telling stories', giving voice to those traditionally marginalized and providing a less exploitative research method" (2007:490). This research provided an interpretation of marginalized Indigenous youth and their perspectives of how they see crime prevention and the world. It embraces the ideas offered by Rossman and Rallis (2003: 272) who suggest that qualitative research can take two pathways: "ongoing analysis or analysis at the end of the data gathering". Analysis took place at the end of the data gathering. However, Stake (1995:71) expands on this point stating that: "there is no particular moment when data analysis begins. Analysis is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as to final compilations." In this research, the learning process began with my interest on the topic which was extended to the interviewing stage however; this did not affect the objectivity of the research.

In line with Tri-Council policy (TCPS 2) 2010, on research involving human subjects, I applied for ethics approval before I proceeded to collect the data. This was to protect and respect the confidentiality of my respondents. A research agreement was prepared and signed between the researcher and the head at Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (see appendix A). Participants were briefed about the research. The participants were provided with a consent form to sign to indicate their acceptance after they were briefed on the rationale of the research (see appendix B). Respondents were not forced to take part in the research and were provided the

opportunity to opt out of the interview at any time should they feel uncomfortable with the process. Data collected was safely secured on my laptop with a password. In situations where participants mention any information that made it easy to identify them, it was replaced with pseudonym. To ensure that I represented the participants in context, as mentioned, I recorded the interviews and then consulted the participants during and at the end of the analysis and interpretation of the transcripts. Where needed, clarifications of the expressions were sought from the respondents.

3.3 Interview Guide Questions

This study was guided by the following questions for respondents; in your view:

1. Do you believe Indigenous youth have blocked opportunities when it comes to attaining education and other goals in life? Please explain why or why not.

2. Do you believe the criminal justice system deals with Indigenous people fairly? Please explain why or why not.

3. Do you believe having Indigenous community involvement in the justice process (i.e. restorative justice, sentencing circles) is an important part of youth crime prevention? Please explain.

4. What do you think causes Indigenous youth offenders to move away from criminal activity?

5. Do you believe families of Indigenous offenders can help prevent youth crime? Please explain.

6. Do you believe change in family structure such as the effects of Indian residential schools has a significant impact on Indigenous youth crime today? Please explain.

7. What are some of your goals after completing the programme?

8. Do you believe government is doing enough to help reduce youth crime? Please explain.

9. Does SCYAP contribute to your personal development generally and specifically as it relates to your arts training? Please explain why or why not.

10. What are some reasons that explain why Indigenous youth are overrepresented in youth crime arrest and incarceration?

11. Do you believe the media contributes to promoting negative images of Indigenous people in Canadian society? Please explain.

CHAPTER 4: Analysis and Discussion

4.1   An Introduction to the Research

This study sought to explore the perspectives of at-risk Indigenous youth attending the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) and the benefits of the programme in youth crime prevention. The organization was founded in 2001 by Darrell Lechman to address the social, economic, and educational needs of "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon. The organization (SCYAP) uses art and culture to improve the lives of these youth. This chapter will focus on the analysis of the data gathered from the participants and a detail discussion of the themes that were realized from the analysis.

4.2   Analysis

This chapter will analyze and discuss the data gathered from the participants for the study. Analysis in my own view is what the data says concerning the research questions prepared for the study. In particular, one must consider if the data answer the research questions. The purpose of this study was to explore crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP).

4.3   Participants' demographic characteristics

The study engaged eight participants who are Indigenous youths in training at the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP). The study had four males and four females. The mean age for the participants was 20.5, with the lowest age being 19 and the highest age being 28. In terms of the educational background of the participants, six people had completed high school, one person had dropped out with Grade 10 as the highest education attained and one participant had completed post-secondary, with a one-year certificate in recreation and tourism management from Saskatchewan Polytechnic (SIAST).

The analysis was done based on the research questions that were posed to the participants, the themes that emerged from their responses, and a careful reflection of the responses that were provided. As already noted, the respondents were asked 11 open-ended questions to explore their knowledge of crime prevention among Indigenous youth in Saskatoon who use the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP).

My first interview question to the participants ascertained, when it comes to attaining education and other goals in life, if they perceive there are blocked opportunities that prevent Indigenous youth from achieving their set goals and targets. The responses from the participants generated divergent opinions, as five of the youth who were interviewed indicated that there were blocked opportunities such as race and discrimination that prevent Indigenous youth from attaining their set goals. For example, a First Nation male participant, aged 25, indicated, *"From my experience, there is a lot of nepotism and that is definitely the truth that Aboriginals have blocked opportunities. Is been very difficult I will say just like if I want to find any job I will do and any intellectually stimulating work I find there is biased towards me and this has affected my motivation."* Another participant who is female aged 26, in her own words also indicated, *"Yeah I do in relation to others in Canada, yeah I do believe that. This is because a lot of the problems stem from years of trauma, residential schools, and colonialism in general. I did experience racism and prejudice in my life and that did have an effect on my school. I felt like I didn't have any place to belong to."* Another male participant, aged 24, said, *"Yes, I do. Well is all kind of how our parents were raised they also had blocked opportunities and they weren't able to do that freely and basically that is how we see it too. Even though we are told that there are no blocked opportunities that we have a lot of freedom but in my mind, I never thought I could do it because my parents never did it and yeah I see it that too."*

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Two of the respondents did not agree that there are blocked opportunities that make it difficult for Indigenous youth to achieve their education and other goals in life. They expressed their views that it is rather the Indigenous youth who are lazy or do not have the drive and the zeal to pursue their set goals. For instance, a male participant who is 22 years of age indicated, *"Yes I would say 10 or six years back. Before, they never had the chance but now nothing stops them. They are just being lazy and does not have that drive. They want everything and all they want is free money and everybody is like that."* A female participant, aged 28 years, stated, *"I think that no matter who the individual is, is their drive that gets them there. The opportunities are there you got to seek it. So, I think is no."*

One participant, a male, aged 22, provided a mixed response to the question as in his opinion a person's location and background can determine that person's ability to achieve those goals or not and this is what he said: *"I don't know but I guess it really depends and where you are from and your background. Not for everyone though is like everyone has obstacles to go through but I think some people are more fortunate to have and others do not."*

In conclusion, my first research question generated different views, and among some of the themes involved were racism and discrimination, which some youth believed blocked opportunities for Indigenous youth in Canadian society, and lack of drive among Indigenous youth to push forward to break those supposed obstacles. The latter views expressed were in contrast to those who believed opportunities are blocked.

The second research question was to look at whether the youth believe the criminal justice system deals fairly with Indigenous people. The responses also generated some divergent views as seven participants expressed the view that there is lack of fairness in the justice system when it has to deal with Indigenous people and one participant was of the opinion that there is fairness in the

justice system. Among some of the themes that emerged in the responses of my participants were long periods of incarceration and discrimination in the criminal justice system.

As for long periods of incarceration, two of the participants expressed their opinions that Indigenous people are easily slapped with charges and incarceration for very minimal crimes that may not necessarily warrant incarceration as compared to Caucasians who sometimes get away with fines, among other punishments deemed soft, unlike imprisonment. In situations where imprisonment is applied, Indigenous people tend to have longer prison sentences than non-Indigenous people. This is evident in the opinion of one 28-year-old female participant who indicated that *"absolutely not, because a native person will go to jail for a long time for murder whereas a white person who murders a native or Aboriginal person will not go to jail for a long time."* Another 25-years-old male respondent also indicated that, *"I do not because Aboriginals find themselves behind bars for something I will say is a misdemeanor, whereas the criminal justice system is more lenient towards other people of a different race, especially Caucasians."*

Moreover, on discrimination as a theme, participants felt or expressed the notion that there is also some form of unfair treatment by the criminal justice system towards Indigenous people. Participants expressed the opinion that the police pay detailed attention to activities of Indigenous people as compared to other groups such as Caucasians. They believe there is strict surveillance on them which makes them think there is some lack of fairness in the justice system. In addition, participants expressed their view that Caucasians tends to be on better ground and have fairer treatment whenever they face the criminal justice system. To clearly establish their opinions on this theme, one participant, a 22-year-old-male, indicated that,

> *The way they treat other people in other country is the way they treat us. We are like none, we are nothing good in their eyes. We suffer a lot of racism and stuffs. A*

cop is more likely to mess up with you because of your skin colour. They are not good to us. They don't really give us a chance. Like most Aboriginal people that want to be successful do not have a voice. It doesn't really matter what they say. So, I will say no they are not fair.

A 26-year-old female participant sharing her opinion also indicated that, *"no because it criminalizes native people for just coping with a life that was kind of thrust upon them. This is Indigenous people land, so Indigenous people should have self-government and have their own judicial system."* Again, a 24-year-old male participant indicated, *"I believe the police do have a hand in the prejudice against us especially Indigenous youth. When I get to the mall, I get followed by the security or whatever. If I am walking down the street, I see a cop he is watching me looking at me strange. You see other people and they don't follow them, I mean white people."*

One participant, a 25-year-old male in his opinion indicated the criminal justice system is fair and had this to share *"some point is fair I guess I will say. From my point of view, I think the Aboriginal people are breaking the law more because they have been in poverty and the way the assimilation stuff went."*

To clearly understand the participants' experiences with the criminal justice system, I asked a probing question concerning whether they have encountered the law before, and this is what two participants answered. One 22-year-old male participant in his own words said, *"Yeah, I have gotten stopped and given a ticket like 400 dollars and I know I didn't do any wrong. I felt like it was just the way they see me and how I look. I was alone and driving a night vehicle and obviously am not doing something right."* Another 22 years old male respondent recounting his experience also said, *"Yeah, I was at a wrong place and at a wrong time and was sent to the correctional centre. What happened was I was too much under the influence of alcohol and drugs and made some bad choices. But for now, am trying to quit though."*

The third research question asked the participants if they believe having Indigenous community involvement in the justice process was very important in helping to prevent youth crime among Indigenous youth. Participants agreed on the need for community involvement in the justice process such as sentencing circles and restorative justice. Among the themes that emerged from their interviews were a sense of belongingness and a fair justice system.

Participants argued that having community members involved in the justice system would promote a sense of belongingness, where youth who receive sentencing from their own community members would be positively influenced to accept the punishment and turn away from crime as the punishment would be deemed as fair. In addition, not all crime would require punishment or imprisonment, so if the community were involved, appropriate sanctions could be applied to any type of crime committed. For instance, a 26-year-old female participant indicated, *"Yeah, the community should be involved because most of the problems stem from a lack of community, lack of connection, lack of understanding and a lack of sense of belongingness so I do believe the community should be more involved."* One 22-year-old-female participant expressing her thoughts said, *"Yea I believe that. Having a native to be there just as monitor it will help"*.

Another theme that emerged from the views expressed by participants on this question was fairness in the justice system. One respondent expressed the opinion that with community involvement in the justice process, Indigenous community members would see the sentencing or the judgement as being fair and reflecting on Indigenous values instead of a justice system that to them is not fair and is built on western values. A 25-year-old male respondent indicated that *"I believe so because myself I am a bit hesitant to call the police but if there were some more community involvement where members in my community can speak out on their own judgement*

and collectively come to an agreement with regards to sentencing then that will be more good I believe than what it is now."

The fourth research question was to ask participants what they think would cause youth offenders to move away from criminal activity. Some of the themes that were analyzed from responses that were provided by the participants were mentorship, job opportunities, community programmes such as SCYAP, and effective family care. To elaborate on mentorship, some participants indicated that having somebody who is positive and has a record of living a good and moral life as a role model to these youth offenders would greatly enhance their movement away from criminal activity, whereas associating with somebody with a negative attitude who is involved in crime would encourage criminal activity. For instance, a 19-year-old female participant responding to the question indicated, *"I think mentors like someone to look up to, someone they can connect with and someone who is positive."*

Provision of more job opportunities was another theme that was realized from the responses of the participants. Participants believed when there are more job opportunities that can provide a frequent source of income for these youths to rely on, it would be beneficial in their transition away from criminal behaviours. Participants expressed the opinion that most of these youths engage in the selling of drugs and theft to be able to survive, so more legitimate job opportunities should be readily available for these people to rely on. Having a good and steady job provides an individual with a secure life, in which they are engaged in their work. This occupation of time is a positive development as it means that the person is always thinking about going to work, getting paid and providing for him or herself or family. From the data, one participant a male who is 22 years-old indicated, *"There should be more job opportunities I think."*

There was also the theme of provision of community programmes like SCYAP. Participants expressed their views that the lack of activities geared towards engaging the minds and time of these youths is also a factor in their involvement in crime. In addition, participants believed education and sports-related activities would be beneficial in the transition of Indigenous youth offenders out of crime. Some participants were of the view that more activities would give individuals a way to release boredom that, in a way, could help in crime prevention. As the data reveals, a 22-year-old female respondent was of this opinion:

> *I think people are bored and people want to do stuffs, and this art programme like SCYAP the drop-in programme is really awesome and if people are bored enough that is why they turn to illegal activity. There is always going to be crime you can't stop it but you can minimize it and these programmes can help.*

Another 26 years old female participant similarly indicated that *"having more opportunities like SCYAP and having more activity centres and more opportunities, more safe spaces. If activities that will keep them busy are not there, government should provide and not taking the pain in incarcerating people and keeping them re-offending."* In addition, another 25-year-old male participant was also of the view that:

> *From SCYAP here. I think that youth offenders are lashing out and trying to voice out their displeasure against the oppression they faced even though we are not directly oppressed, is a trickling down effect from the residential school system and I think SCYAP here promotes art as an expression so just being here painting can help them to work through their issues and be healthier.*

Furthermore, from the data, a 22-year-old male participant indicated, *"I think like sports, like schooling other than stealing or selling drugs. It opens their eyes to know that they are not just low person."* Another 24-year-old male respondent in giving his thoughts on the question also indicated, *"I think more activities like sports, politics or anything that will keep their minds occupied."*

Another theme was effective family support. Some participants expressed the views that when these youth offenders receive constant and adequate support from their family members, they are more likely to be able to move away from crime. They added that most of these youths lack the support base of the family. Since the support of the family is either not present or sufficient, they may lack that sense of belongingness. The only available option for these youths is to engage in gangs or groups that will provide them with that sense of belongingness and security. A 28-year-old female participant indicated, *"Keeping busy with other activities like with their families, educating them on values and life skills".*

The fifth research question asked if participants believe families of Indigenous offenders can help prevent crime. The views expressed by the participants generated two themes – that were disciplining and mentorship, and constant support from family members. On disciplining and mentorship, the data revealed that if the family ensures that its children are properly guided and punished appropriately, good behaviour is instilled in the children. In addition, if parents, family members or elders within the community use their own positive lives as role models for these youth offenders, the youth will pick up these positive traits and then quite possibly cease or lessen their criminal activity. A 28-year-old female participant indicated, *"Being there for them and doing things with them, being a parent and like disciplining in a proper way and not spoiling them. If they are neglected they are more prone to being aggressive because they will not have that kind of*

love and nourishment intended for them." Another 19-year-old female respondent indicated, *"Yes,*

because if family members are positive, then it will influence them positively but if they don't come

from well put together family, then they can fall into what their parents are doing and it will just

continue from generations to generations." A 22-year-old male participant also had this to share

"Yeah I think disciplining I guess and guidance."

The second theme that was derived from the analysis of the views of the participants was constant

support from family members. Respondents expressed their views that one way the family could

help is to make sure the needs of their children, whether emotional, financial, or spiritual, are being

catered to as much. The family should be supportive. A 26-year-old female participant indicated,

> *Yes, to be supportive as much as they can, given the circumstances of their life. Everybody has a lot of problems and we can opt for help as much as we can. So, having a sense of belonging in your family that is where it starts, so if you don't feel that you belong to your family or you feel your family is broken up then you are lacking a base support.*

Another male participant who is 22-years-old also indicated:

> *Yeah, when your family is trying to help you, you take it. Is not like they are trying to do anything that will go against you. Most people will benefit a lot if their families were actually in their life to help them because most families will care less say if you are a gang member your family will not care about you because they have this view that you are nothing and you are a bad person and you do bad things so they will not associate themselves with you. Family step up to help their kids or whatever to be changed so they won't feel so lonely. People feel lonely and that is the reason why they turn into drugs, alcohol and gangs because they don't get any family support or anybody's support they are alone in the world so they want to belong somewhere and go join gangs. They think that is a family and that is not a family because they care less about you at the end of the day. People want to belong everybody want to belong somewhere.*

To have a deeper idea on the influence of family on youth offenders in crime prevention, I went

on further to ask my respondents if they had lost family connection in their lives as they were

growing up and if it had an influence on their lives in crime. Two participants, both female, shared their thoughts on how lack of parental care led them to engage in crime. One of the female participants, aged 22, from a First Nation had this to say:

> *I was kind of neglected when I was younger and I did do crime but not like murder someone but like drugs and stuffs and kind of got into that path. I think if I had the affection from my mum I would have like. I feel I missed a lot of opportunities in my life and I think I could have done a lot more if I had a lot more help in my life. I didn't have anybody, I didn't have any family, didn't have any friends for a while so like am pretty alone and don't really engage with a lot of people and I kind of like it that way because people like kind of make me more sad. I experienced death and I died last year because I over dose and I got brought back to life and that changed my life. I have also lived in abusive home and that you know causes people to do a lot of crime.*

Another female respondent, aged 26, shared her experience:

> *My mum and dad broke up when I was five and I went to a foster care system for some years and came to my dad for a couple of times and so me and my younger sisters were with my dad and my older siblings were with my mum. I didn't see her like for a decade but now I do. It affected me like moving around all the time and being in a lot of different foster homes, it gives you a sense of not belonging anywhere or feeling like not being wanted and having lack of stability. I grew up in Pleasant Hill and that is the hood area of Saskatoon I guess, so I mean I have encounter the law enforcement a lot and yea I only use marijuana and I just use it as a medicine to induce sleep and to cope with depression.*

My sixth research question was to ascertain from participants if they believe negative change in family structure such as those brought about by the effects of Indian residential school has a significant impact on Indigenous youth crime today. Seven of the participants believed that, yes, the change in the family structure because of residential schools has a significant impact on Indigenous youth crime today. Respondents expressed the view that the abusive acts that transpired at the residential schools, of which some of their family members were victims, have affected the way people raise their children as some family members and parents themselves engage in alcohol and drugs to overcome these memories, which is also influencing these current generations. Some

of these parents or families see abuse as a normal thing and they subject their children to abusive acts that are similar to those that they endured.

For example, a 24-year-old male respondent who shared his thoughts indicated, *"Yes it turned them into alcohol because of the abuse. A lot of my uncles, my aunties they turned into alcohol in their younger years and that led them to a lot of crime and that is what it is today."* Another female participant, aged 26, shared her thoughts:

> *Yes, because you pass on what you know like taken from your family and you are made to feel ashamed for everything that is you and the people that you come from and you don't have any of your own people as an influence to tell you that is bullshit, rather people telling you that your language is wrong, the way you look, the way you speak and you don't have anybody telling you. Obviously, kids that were raised and didn't have parents, when they go on to be parents, they don't know how to be them or they holding all of this like guilt and hurt and shame because that is what Christianity teaches in the residential schools so when you just pass on, you always see couple of that with drugs and alcohol and just passing it on to their family.*

A 25-year-old male participant expressed his views on the subject:

> *Most definitely. My grandfather witnessed babies being thrown down a well. Yea, these bring sociopathic and psychopathic tendencies which inevitably cause violent and aggressive crimes not only towards authorities or other races but also towards your own families. This has trickled down affecting the current generations. My mum was taken away from her family, they were divided and if you ask me that is not a family anymore, that is a broken tribe and they were not permitted to communicate and even when they were abolished those effects were still left rendering it was a family from the residential schools that are still paying the price. My mum lost parental control and especially in Aboriginal communities, a child needs parental guidance and this can deeply affect them.*

One participant, male and 22-years-old had a different opinion and did not agree with the others. He indicated, *"Some people will say it does but I think it doesn't because there has always been crime, there has always been conflict even before residential schools came around. It might have big effect but it doesn't because a lot of people have their own problems people are not happy with the situation. Everybody has problems and everybody is not normal."*

The seventh research question was to ascertain from the participants what some of their goals are after completing their programme at SCYAP. Responses from my participants produced what I term collectively as positive ambitions for the future. Participants gave positive responses concerning what they want to achieve in the future at the end of their stay at SCYAP. From the data, a 22-year-old male participant shared what his goals are at the end of the programme:

> *I want employment like find a career or something. Something I can do for the rest of my life to make a living. I have a two years old and she needs my help. She needs me to support her and that is the main thing and that's why I started this programme to help her and to benefit her. I have confidence that I know even they said they will help us find employment but I have confidence in myself that I can find employment. I have that drive to find employment and pursue my career. It is mainly like getting my life together after this programme to become responsible. Before I was living life carelessly and didn't care about anything, now I have open my eyes and I think I can do something better for my life.*

A 26-year-old female respondent also shared her view, saying she wanted *"to get into the license practical nursing programme to accomplish that and then get my Registered Nurse, and to continue with art in many mediums and art forms in case I am unemployed and can't find work then I can hopefully be self-employed."* One 25-year-old male participant also indicated, *"I am seeking employment and would also like to go back to school."* Lastly, a 22-year-old female participant who shared her opinion indicated that she wanted, *"to continue with art. Depending on how the end of this goes, the beginning was quiet a struggle for me. I will work part time first and see how that one goes. I also want to be a cake baker."* From the responses provided, it seems that despite the negative life they might have gone through in the past, there is still hope from these participants that there is going to be a brighter future for them.

My eighth research question was to ascertain if participants believe government is doing enough to help reduce youth crime. Responses from the participants received a mixed reaction. Three participants, all males believe government is doing enough to help reduce youth crime. One

of them, aged 24, indicated, *"I actually do think they are doing quite enough, they need to teach other people like the non-government people, population and everyone and they need to teach them about residential schools and what happened. Government is working but should put in more policies in other areas where there are no projects".* Another male participant who is also 22 years old indicated,

> *Government does a lot but like there is only so much government can do like they don't have the resources and funding to support every little thing that happens. I believe sometimes they don't do enough but like some people abuse the programmes and stuffs they do. They abuse the system. I feel government does not try because people are abusing the system why try when people are not caring about what you do for them.*

Five of the participants did not believe government is doing enough when it comes to crime prevention among Indigenous youth. From their responses were gathered these themes: lack of programming and funds to support the existing programmes and the need for accessible, affordable education.

On lack of programming and funds to support the existing programmes, participants expressed the opinion that government, as part of its effort should help establish and introduce more programmes that could engage these youths. In addition, the existing programmes should also receive constant allocation of funding to help these organizations (private or public) carry out their day-to-day mandate to help in crime prevention within the society. A 28-year-old female participant indicated, *"No, because there is no programming to prevent it, there is no support systems out there to prevent it."* A 26-year-old female participant who also expressed her view also indicated, *"Obviously not. This programme has been on for five years that they could get funding because is such a great programme and the statistics for this programme speaks for itself and yet for five years they can't get funding."*

On accessible and affordable education, participants expressed the opinion that the cost of education should be lower to make it possible for people to enrol in school. The cost of education for them deters most of the youth who have a passion for furthering their education. In addition, the curricula should be tailored to the job market that will prepare them to easily get access to employment after school. A female participant stated,

> *There should be better, easy access to education too. Like everyone want to do something for their life, like no one wants to be trapped and lost so I would say education should be actually affordable to the regular person of our generation, more accessible, compulsory schooling should have better programmes that will set people like to actually handle life like things that will help you in life if you don't want to go to the University and not taught anything like you get taught imaginary numbers and a bunch of bullshit that is not gonna further you in life.*

Another female participant, aged 19, said,

> *I think they could do more, they could always do better, and there could always be more programmes to reach out especially in the inner city. There should be some open programmes like this. Or even if people who go to school, there should be more teaching on morals.*

One 25-year-old male participant thinks that government is not doing enough to help to reduce youth crime because there is a lot of stigmatization from the law enforcement agency. In his view, this stigmatization prevents people from even making attempts to report crimes in the community, and that to him is a clear indication that government is not doing enough. This is what he told me:

> *No, I don't believe they are. I grew upon a reservation a lot of crime go unreported because of the stigma with law enforcement and their treatment of situations on reservation isn't like they really care and just slapping charges wherever they can rather than looking at the root of the problem and trying to address that. I still feel they don't do that.*

My ninth research question asked my participants if SCYAP had contributed to their personal development, generally, and, specifically, to their arts training. The responses that were received from the participants were categorized into four main themes.

The first theme was the building of self-esteem, confidence level and skills. A portion of the participants believed that enrolling in the programme offered by SCYAP has influenced them to work on their self–esteem, has helped them in their confidence level and has given them enough skills for the future. A 24-year-old male participant shared his views:

> *Oh yea, for sure, yea. It has made me more confident in my art. I am able to think like I could draw anything now. Like before I was kind of hesitant to draw or to paint anything like to paint on a big canvas like I will be intimidated by it. Now I believe I could cover it all. That goes to the same with life like I am more confident to talk more. Before then I would not have probably not been able to do this interview but now am able to express myself the way I feel. Yea, and it has helped me a lot.*

Another male participant, aged 22, also expressed his opinion on what SCYAP has done for his life: *"Yea, it has like built my confidence level and making me feel better about myself to actually belong somewhere and I can actually do something. Make me feel better a lot about my life getting up every morning."* A 28-year-old female participant indicated, *"Yes definitely. I have been more into my art and I dedicate my time to that and also I can work on somethings I never dealt with before and is really awesome."* Lastly, a 25-year-old male participant also shared his views: *"Yea, the training it is good. I like it. The more important thing SCYAP has taught me I would say is listening skills and communication skills."*

Another theme was healing. Two of the participants that were interviewed believed SCYAP has really helped them to have control over depression and stress with which they were battling, and the programme has really been helpful in their lives. A 22-year-old male participant shared his thoughts:

> *I went through depression and there was nothing that could help me and I found SCYAP and it was the best decision I ever took. I never had any interest in what I want to do. I wanted to go to Saskatchewan Polytechnic but I found it wasn't something I want to do for my life. I heard about SCYAP before because I had a cousin who came here and it was something I want to do for my life I checked it out and I got here. I don't know it has uplifted me and make me feel better about my life. Yea, SCYAP has really helped me in a good way and still is. I feel like I will be a better person after this urban canvas programme.*

Another participant who also shared her experience on the impact of SCYAP on her life also indicated, *"Totally, it is keeping me clean and not bored. It is getting me out of the house."*

The third theme based on the responses of the participants was what I term engagement of time. Participants expressed the views that being at SCYAP and doing arts is occupying their time in order not to get into trouble. It is helping them to use their time very well. From the data, a 26-year-old female participant who shared her experience said:

> *I have a structured environment to do art, it has furthered my development. Even before coming here I have been unemployed for a while and it affects your confidence and socializing abilities. It helps me communicate better. Have a feeling of a sense of belonging here. It is also keeping me away from trouble.*

Another female participant, aged 19, who also shared her experience and the benefits she has received from SCYAP indicated, *"Yea, I think so. It helps me to stay focused and get something to do and not destructive like sitting at home with my friends and thinking about what to do and is positive."* A 22-year-old male participant indicated, *"Yea, it has aroused my interest of doing something every day like if I wake up, pretty much bringing me back on track waking up, kept me out of trouble, before I started here like I quit drawing for a while and my interest has now come into art, drawing."*

The last theme that was based on participants' responses was improved social interactions. Two participants indicated that SCYAP has helped them to relate to other people, have improved

relationships, feel a sense of belongingness, and not feel that they are alone in the world. One of the participants, a 22-year-old female, indicated, *"SCYAP has helped me in working with groups and different people that are kind of similar to me."* Another 26-year-old female participant also indicated, *"SCYAP has made me have a feeling of a sense of belonging here."*

The tenth research question was to hear from the participants some of the reasons that explain why Indigenous youths are overrepresented in youth crime arrest and incarceration. The overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in crime arrest and incarceration continues to be a major problem facing the Canadian justice system. As noted earlier, youth crime in general in Canada is on the decline according to Statistics Canada and some scholars; however, Indigenous youths are overrepresented in the justice system. Participants shared their views on some of the reasons for this overrepresentation. Themes that were derived based on the views expressed by the participants were the effects of colonialism and residential schools. Some of the participants believed that the effect of the colonialism of Indigenous people and the residential school system that took away children from their family and abused them is affecting the current generations. From the data, a 24-year-old male participant indicated, *"Yea, everything we talked about like residential schools, the police paying detailed attention to every little thing that we do."* A 28-year-old female participant also shared her view: *"First I think is the effect of the residential schools when it took children away from their families, they were not being taught to be parents or essential moral values."*

The second theme derived was racism and discrimination in the justice system. Some participants believed that there is a lot of prejudice against Indigenous people by the criminal justice system and that is why there is Indigenous youth overrepresentation in the justice system. A 22-year- old male participant indicated, *"It is purely racism and discrimination. They always*

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judge us." A 26-year-old female participant stated, *"Yea is because of racism and you know the older people that is the way they grew up."* Another 25-year-old male participant also indicated, *"I think the increase in youth crime arrest is a lack of accountability on government part based on the way they have treated Aboriginal people and the native founders of this land and they have been very biased towards us."*

The third theme that was derived was influence from peers and the environment. Two of the participants expressed the opinion that pressure from peers who are already into gangs, drugs and others are the reason for the increase in crime among Indigenous youth. The respondents also expressed the view that the environment in which these youths live also accounts for the overrepresentation, as most of these youths either live on reserves or off-reserves in areas which are already a habitat for most criminal activities. The environment, therefore, influences the behaviour of these youth and encourages them to engage in crime as there is a belief that people are greatly impacted by what goes on around them. A 22-year-old male participant indicated, *"I think peers and surroundings."* Another 19-year-old female participant shared her views: *"I think they get into the wrong kind of group."*

The fourth theme is lack of community programmes, jobs, and family values. Participants indicated that community programmes that could occupy the time of these youths so that they stay away from crime are not available. When there are no jobs, the only available options are to engage in illegal activities such as theft, selling of drugs or prostitution to survive. Participants also believed that the lack of family support affects youth negatively and leads them to turn to gang membership or violent groups for security and belongingness. For instance, a 28-year-old female participant indicated, *"I think the lack of programming and education on essential morals and values and lack of support makes them turn into drugs and alcohol which get them into trouble."*

Another 19-year-old female respondent also indicated, *"I think they do not get enough discipline from their parents that is why."*

The final research question for my respondents was to ascertain if they believe the media contributes to promoting negative images of Indigenous people in Canadian society. There were divergent responses from the participants. Five of the participants indicated the media contributes to promoting negative images about Indigenous people, two of the participants said they don't honestly pay attention to what goes on in the media while one person was neutral and said it depends on what channel one is watching. From the five participants who responded, the theme that was derived from their views was partisan reportage by the media. Participants expressed the opinion that the media always report on issues concerning Indigenous people in a sensational and exaggerated manner, depicting to the public that Indigenous people are bad and lawless among other things. These depictions create moral panic within the society. Participants indicated that the media always choose what to report concerning Indigenous people. There is the twisting of facts by the media when it comes to Indigenous issues. From the data, some of the responses provided were as follows. One male participant, aged 25 and with a grade 10 level of education indicated:

> *Most definitely again I will like to say is the lack of education and there is bi-partisanship among the media with regards to native representation or any ethnic representation. It is almost as if bashing Aboriginals. The lack of education to the general public affects the media representation and it does perpetuate us. It does affect me personally when I see people making negative and racial connotations towards my culture when they haven't asked my culture. They are going based often on what they have said or they think they know which isn't that.*

Another participant who is female and 26-years old shared her view: *"Yea, they always make such divisive headlines. They try to make inflammatory headlines like native people believe they should have more funding than other schools. They dehumanize Indigenous people."*

A male participant who is 24-years-old who stated:

> *Yes, I do. Social media a lot. I see it on Facebook Saskatoon Starphoenix pages, all the media, CBC, everything you name it, any news outline there is always a native stole something, broken into a car or anything. Even if it is something positive about us, you will see a lot of people who will say negative things on that. I just choose not to look at them anymore. I have zero respect for the media unless it is something positive.*

Lastly, a female participant who is aged 19 and is a high school graduate also expressed her view:

> *Yea, I think so. I mean I follow Starphoenix on Facebook and Global news and all the time you find like negative and not positive comments about Aboriginal people and I think they should lean more towards being positive. They should portray First nation people as good instead of always portraying negative images as Aboriginals are bad people and doing crimes.*

In conclusion, as already pointed out as a limitation for my research, the views expressed by the participants were their own views of how they perceive crime prevention among Indigenous youth, and their views do not represent the views of the Indigenous youth population.

4.4 Discussion

This qualitative study aimed to explore crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP). The research sought to find out the reasons the youth themselves give for the high rates of incarceration of Indigenous youth, and the benefit of the arts programme in improving their own lives from delinquency. From the study and based on the research questions that were presented to the participants, the following is a discussion of the themes that were derived from the analyses of the participants' responses.

4.4.1 <u>Discipline and mentorship</u>

For Indigenous youth in Canada, overcoming crime requires parents to adopt effective parental roles and, together with elders in the community, to serve as good leaders. Most parents wield disciplinary power over their children because children usually spend more time with their parents and family members than they do in school. For, children to become law-abiding citizens, an effective disciplinary role by parents or the family is required. Mentorship can also help in delinquency prevention among Indigenous youth. According to a study by the Home Affairs Select Committee (2015), mentoring essentially guides and prevents youths from delinquent acts and enables them to effectively unearth their talents and skills. My study found out that the lack of discipline and positive role models played a role in Indigenous youth's involvement in crime. For example, a 28-year-old female participant indicated, *"Being there for them and doing things with them, being a parent and like disciplining in a proper way and not spoiling them. If they are neglected they are more prone to being aggressive because they will not have that kind of love and nourishment intended for them."* This means the lack of discipline from family members and elders makes the youths feel they are free and not bound to act in accordance with the rules and regulations in the society. Enabling youth to draw from the positive experiences of people within the community could be an effective intervention mechanism for youth crime prevention (Charlton & Hansen, 2016). The need for positive role models and bonds confirms the attachment component of the social control theory by Travis Hirschi as respondents in my study indicated that disciplining, mentorship, and attachments to positive people in the family and community is a significant condition in preventing crime among Indigenous youth. Linden (2000) in Linden (2001:9) makes a similar argument, which I cited in my literature review: "Research shows that the strength of family ties, parental supervision and discipline, and the role model provided by

parents are all related to delinquency." Therefore, effective supervision by parents and family can help in Indigenous youth crime prevention.

4.4.2 Racism, Discrimination, Partisan Reportage, and Blocked Opportunities

Racism and discrimination that Indigenous people face in the Canadian justice system and in other sectors seems to be a huge problem within Canadian society. Studies have concluded that Indigenous people in Canada experiences of racism is just a daily occurrence (Allan & Smylie, 2015). Canada is reputably recognized globally as a country that upholds the rights and freedoms of its citizens or people. Although a signatory to the UN charter of human rights and other international conventions that speak against racism and discrimination against all manner of persons, ironically this is not the case for Indigenous people in Canada. According to a journal article by Canadian Woman Studies (2008) it notes that the United Nations bodies that advocate for human rights and the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples have added their voices to the continuous marginalization and discrimination of Indigenous people in Canada. Although they represent just about 4% of the population in Canada, Indigenous people are more often racially abused and discriminated in public institutions than are any other groups (2011 National Household Survey; Mackinnon, 2013). As noted, Indigenous people are greatly overrepresented in federal and provincial penitentiaries, to which some have attributed to racism, discrimination, and unfavourable government policies that have disrupted Indigenous people lives and their communities. Rudin (2016) cites reports by Amnesty International and Ontario Human Rights Commission in arguing that Indigenous people in Canada, are both over- and under-police. The over policing of Indigenous people has therefore created a belief that the criminal justice system is very tough on crime when it should deal with Indigenous people and particularly Indigenous youth. Hansen (2014) in Charlton and Hansen (2016:397) asserts that the "disproportionate

incarceration rates of racial minorities, Indigenous peoples, and women are a sad situation and can be considered a political interpretation of tough on crime discourse." This racism and discrimination in my view has been systemic in the health system, employment sectors, the legal system and media reports on issues that pertain to Indigenous people.

Unless the media speaks out on issues affecting Indigenous people, the publicity will not be wide. An example is the case of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, which according to the literature, did not receive wide publicity until recent years (Pierro, et al., 2013). Some scholars have found both lack of media coverage of Indigenous people and bias in headlines and articles about incidents involving them. For instance, Pierro et al. (2013) conducted a study to examine the degree Indigenous stories receive publicity in the media in Ontario. The writers' results indicated that in the period of June 1, 2010 to May 31, 2011 a total of 707, 464 media stories were produced. Out of the total, 1,084 stories focused on Indigenous people with the story of the missing Indigenous women receiving 5% media coverage of the 1,084. Harding (2005:313) in his work "*The Media, Aboriginal People, and Common Sense"* cites a 1996 report prepared by the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples, which concluded, "Aboriginal people and issues are often excluded from the media altogether. On those occasions when Aboriginal people register on the public agenda, their voices are routinely misappropriated by non-Aboriginal people or they are portrayed in terms of familiar stereotypes." This quotation indicates that the prejudice and racism found in larger society towards Indigenous people is to some extent based on the information the media, whose mandate is to inform and educate people, chooses to publish. To support this quotation, participants also indicated very similar views on how the media misappropriate Indigenous people in their reports. For example, a male participant who is 24 years old stated;

> *Yes, I do. Social media a lot. I see it on facebook Saskatoon Starphoenix*
> *pages, all the media, CBC, everything you name it, any news outline there*

is always a native stole something, broken into a car or anything. Even if it is something positive about us you will see a lot of people who will say negative things on that. I just choose not to look at them anymore. I have zero respect for the media unless it is something positive.

Writing 40 years ago, Hall (1978) argued that lack of proper media reports can lead to harmful policies and stereotypes of certain groups of individuals and ethnic groups. This is exactly what is still occurring in Canadian society as partisan reports by the media have presented Indigenous people to the public as dangerous people, a portrayal which I believe is encouraging the continuous stigmatization and marginalization of Indigenous people. Since the media is viewed as a powerful force when it comes to governance, people directly appropriate whatever the media say and form opinions and judgements based on these media report, without making further investigations to verify the veracity of the issue. These practices of the media have given rise to people believing the media exists only to work for the interest of the state and not for the ordinary Canadians like Indigenous people (Harding, 2005).

In a situation where a minority group becomes aware of its unfair treatment by the larger society, the minority group tends to have an amoral view of whatever action its members take. They tend to question the legitimacy of the laws within the society. They perceive that no matter how hard they try, the prejudice directed at them will overshadow their good deeds. For instance, Papachristos et al. (2012:400) argue that people are "…more likely to comply with the law when they believe (a) in the legitimacy of legal actors, but especially the police, and (b) that the substance of the law is consistent with their own moral schedules," In my interviews with the participants, they expressed their displeasure of the police in terms of their detailed monitoring of Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth. For example, a 24-year-old male participant indicated:

I believe the police do have a hand in the prejudice against us especially Indigenous youth. When I get to the mall, I get followed by the security or whatever. If I am

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walking down the street, I see a cop he is watching me looking at me strange. You

see other people and they don't follow them, I mean white people."

The participants also indicated that the structure of Canadian society makes it difficult for them to rise on the social ladder; they believe that there are insufficient opportunities to cushion Indigenous people, and, particularly, to help Indigenous youth increase their social status. This they attribute to the racism and discrimination that has gained deep roots within institutions. The participants believe that societal institutions are supposed to welcome all people regardless of race, class, gender, or ethnicity. That this is not happening, the youths attribute to covert racism and discrimination. If these youths realize that the justice system has not dealt fairly with them, then they see no reason to conform to the laws of the land. They believe that the law should deal consistently with all Canadians, including Indigenous people. The views of the participants affirm the belief component of social control theory used for the study: when one believes that the law is applied equally, there will be conformity, but when there is no equality or fairness before the law, then achieving conformity will be very difficult.

4.4.3 Impact of the Residential School System

History about Indigenous people of Canada cannot be left out when it comes to their colonization by the Europeans. The colonial masters, as a way of gaining control over the native people, introduced measures to weaken the Indigenous community and its social structure (LaPrairie, 1997). One of the measures was the establishment of the residential school system. A system to introduce formal education to these little children and youths turned out to be a dehumanizing event. The abuses at the residential schools have led political figures to comment on how devastating and harsh the system was. For example, Stout and Peters (2011:1) reflect on former Prime Minister Steven Harper's formal apology to the Aboriginal communities on June 11,

2008 before the House of Commons: Harper said, "The "policy of assimilation was wrong [and] has caused great harm. All were deprived the care and nurturing of their parents, grandparents and communities." The former Prime Minister further stated that the "legacy of Indian Residential schools has contributed to social problems that continue to exist in many communities today." Kelly (2008:24) in his article "*Confession of a Born Again Pagan"* based on confessions from the Truth and Reconciliation Forum cites a witness who narrated her story:

> *We were incarcerated for no other reason than being Indian. We were deprived of the care, love, and guidance of our parents during our most critical years of childhood. The time we could have learned the critical parenting skills and values was lost to the generations that attended residential schools, the effects of which still haunt us and will continue to have impacts upon our people and communities. In many instances, our models were the priests and nuns who were our sexual predators and perpetrators.*

As the quotation clearly illustrates, children were taken from their families, lacked parental care, and were abused. The system weakened the traditional role of the family structure, and important cultural and community beliefs like collective responsibility, among other cultural practices (LaPrairie, 1997). The Indian residential school system inflicted long years of suffering, trauma, and abuse on generations of Indigenous people. The effects were felt not only by those who were abused, but by their children and their children as the system had a massive intergenerational impact. In my interviews with the participants, they shared the view that the residential school system helped to sever the traditional family structure of parenting, thereby exposing this current generation to abusive parenting styles from parents who had experienced pain and trauma in the residential schools. For example, a 28 years old female participant who also shared her view indicated, *"First I think is the effect of the residential schools when it took children away from their families, they were not being taught to be parents or essential moral values."*

Furthermore, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2012:77) in its publication "*Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and Residential Schools: They Came for the Children,*" similarly argues, "Parents who had gone to residential school had themselves been damaged by the system. As a result, each generation of returning children had fewer and fewer resources upon which to draw." The lack of parental care and resources because of the residential school system has contributed to the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in criminal arrests and incarceration. The parents of these youth are still feeling the impact of the residential schools. For example, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada in its report on former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's apology to the Indigenous community stated, "Not only did you suffer these abuses as children, but as you became parents, you were powerless to protect your own children from suffering the experience, and for this we are sorry" (p. 2). This quotation clearly illustrates the inability of most of the Indigenous families to effectively perform their parental duties due to the experiences they themselves were subjected to at the residential schools. Due to these experiences, many youths have lost touch with their parents and families. In their search for material and emotional belongingness, many youths have left home to live on their own or to join gangs. Joining gangs' fuels crime among youth in most of the Indigenous communities. This confirms LaPrairie's (1997:44) argument: "These structures have had profound effects on family life and kinship relations, other community relationships, loss of customary social control practices, movement and traditional roles and obligations." When these traditional functions are missing within the family and in the community and when attachment is minimal or lacking, children will be exposed to bad and violent people and engage in crime themselves. This discussion affirms the attachment component of Travis Hirschi's theory as applied to my study: Vital in youth crime prevention is attachment to families and community where shared family and community values are

internalized. When attachment is weak or non-existent, as it is in some Indigenous families, youth crime and delinquency will flourish.

4.4.4 <u>Parental Support and Effective Care</u>

Inadequate parental roles have been identified as a powerful influence in delinquent behaviours among youth (Hawkins, et al., 1998). Parents or family members are naturally supposed to be the guardian angels of their children. Reiss (1951:198) argues, "An important part of family control is the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members." This suggests that part of a family's responsibilities is to ensure the support of the children, providing them with what they need to advance in life. Parents, or the family for that matter, can heighten a child's risk factors for engaging in delinquency, or they can have a protective effect (Public Safety Canada, 2008). Protective parents ensure that their children are well cared for. Parents who expose their children to risk fail to provide parental control, support and care, resulting often in the gravitation of their children towards "at-risk" peers. Peers become a strong influence when parenting is absent. The U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs (2003) argues that a child or youth's association with delinquent or deviant peers is always related to co-offending. When youth or adolescents are in the company of their peers, they typically try to do everything to win trust and recognition from their peer group. If the peers belong to an "at-risk" group, then definitely the youth will be influenced to participate in whatever criminal or illegal activity the group does. When children realize that their family is always there to help and that they can count on the family in periods of difficulty, they can stay focused and more easily resist groups or friends that can put their lives in danger.

Many factors inhibit good parenting. Interestingly, poverty serves as the biggest obstacle for families to meet their parental obligations and responsibilities to their wards or children, and

this is not a new phenomenon. Steinberg (2000:36), for instance, argues, "By far the most insidious cause of negative parenting is poverty. Economic stress, whether chronic or acute, increases the risk for negative parenting." Statistics Canada confirms that a large proportion of Indigenous people live in poverty. An impoverished family is unable to effectively carry out their parental responsibilities and, therefore, encourage their children to seek out support and attachment from "at-risk" groups. Mental health problems have also been identified as another factor that can inhibit parental roles and responsibilities, and mental illness is a risk factor for delinquency (Steinberg, 2000). Parents who suffer from these health problems can sometimes exhibit abusive or violent traits at home towards their children, which can have adverse effects on their children, sometimes leading them to become violent (Steinberg, 2000). It is therefore important that parents who suffer from mental illness and other psychological health problems be given proper medical and counselling treatment. With appropriate treatment, they are more likely to be able to take up their parental responsibilities. The interviews and data gathered from my participants confirms that the lack of parental care and support led some into drug addiction and other forms of juvenile crime and delinquencies. For instance, one of the female participant who is 22 years and a First Nation had this to say:

> *I was kind of neglected when I was younger and I did do crime but not like murder someone but like drugs and stuffs and kind of got into that path. I think if I had the affection from my mum I would have like. I feel I missed a lot of opportunities in my life and I think I could have done a lot more if I had a lot more help in my life. I didn't have anybody, I didn't have any family, didn't have any friends for a while so like am pretty alone and don't really engage with a lot of people and I kind of like it that way because people like kind of make me more sad. I experienced death and I died last year because I over dose and I got brought back to life and that changed my life. I have also lived in abusive home and that you know causes people to do a lot of crime.*

For these young people, participating in criminal activity was a question of survival. Lack of parental care has had a big impact on their lives. My findings affirm the theory that attachment to

family members through support and effective care is critical in preventing crime among Indigenous youth in Canada.

4.4.5 <u>Engagement of Time and Healing</u>

Naturally, a person's inability to find something positive to do in life creates room for indulging in activities that may be illegal. Often these illegal activities are necessary for survival. The participants in my study were asked how SCYAP has been beneficial to them. They answered that SCYAP has engaged their time, and, in doing so, has kept them away from trouble. The participants also stated that through the activities at SCYAP, they have found healing from depression and stress they felt due to the boredom from being at home with nothing productive to do. For example, from the data, a 22 years old male participant sharing his thoughts said:

> *I went through depression and there was nothing that could help me and I found SCYAP and it was the best decision I ever took. I never had any interest in what I want to do. I wanted to go to Saskatchewan Polytechnic but I found it wasn't something I want to do for my life. I heard about SCYAP before because I had a cousin who came here and it was something I want to do for my life I checked it out and I got here. I don't know it has uplifted me and make me feel better about my life. Yea, SCYAP has really helped me in a good way and still is. I feel like I will be a better person after this urban canvas programme.*

Another 19 years old female participant also indicated that *"Yea I think so. It helps me to stay focused and get something to do and not destructive like sitting at home with my friends and thinking about what to do and is positive."*

Charlton and Hansen (2016:408), who also did a study at SCYAP, argue, "This is what an intervention program such as SCYAP is intended to produce. It is intended to keep the clients out of trouble and help them establish positive ways to live and heal." Most of the crime committed by Indigenous youth occurs because they have nothing with which to occupy their minds and time. This idleness the youth experience has largely happened because colonization has taken away their lands and the economic activities of Indigenous people, leaving most of the current generation

jobless. The discrimination Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth, experience in the job market has also led to unemployment as some of the participants agreed that they have been denied access to jobs because of the stigma of being an Indigenous person. In such circumstances having no work or activity has the tendency of leading people in illegal acts and this attest to a reason some Indigenous youth get into crime activities. This theme affirms the involvement component of Travis Hirschi's theory of social control. Having a job or activity in which one is constantly involved makes one more active and focused, which leaves little room or time for delinquent acts.

4.4.6 Building of Self-Esteem, Confidence levels, and skills

My interviews with the participants on how SCYAP has benefited their personal development revealed that the art programme have helped them to improve their self-esteem, confidence, and skills. Studies have shown that low self-esteem and confidence is a predictor of crime and juvenile delinquency. For example, a longitudinal study carried out by Kaplan et al. (1986) revealed that negative self-belief and self-esteem have a relation to delinquent behaviours in adolescents and youth. People with low self-esteem and confidence are unable to achieve their goals as they underestimate their abilities to make things happen and to achieve success. An individual's ability to overcome low self-esteem and confidence gives him or her an edge in pursuing life's goals. Acquiring skills can help individuals to improve their life as these skills can be used to earn a stable income. The youths I interviewed confirmed that through the programme at SCYAP, they have been able to overcome their low self-esteem and confidence by building their commitment level. From the data, a 24 years old male participant who shared his experience indicated:

Oh, yea for sure yeah. It has made me more confident in my art. I am able to think like I could draw anything now. Like before I was kind of hesitant to draw or to paint anything like to paint on a big canvas like I will be intimidated by it. Now I believe I could cover it all. That goes too the same with life like I am more confident to talk more. Before then I would not have probably not been able to do this interview but now am able to express myself the way I feel. Yea and it has helped me a lot.

They claimed that, as a result of this effort, they will not do anything to jeopardize the hard-earned investment that they have made in their lives. This desire will motivate them to continue their commitment to the arts programme and to find jobs or become self-employed. The skills that they have garnered could be used to set up their own art businesses that could earn income for themselves and their family. The skills could also enable them to further their education, which, in turn, would further boost their confidence. The findings from the interviews affirm the commitment component of Hirschi's social control theory that was used for this study: if one is earnest in achieving something in life, one will not jeopardize that by engaging in something that will prove costly in the future.

4.4.7 Improved Social Relations and Sense of Belongingness

Human beings are social beings who need significant others for interactions. Having a good and positive relationship can remedy delinquency or crime. As Drolet and Arcand (2013:29) argue, "Trusting relationships at school or within other social networks emerge as protective factors that are crucial to the positive development of early adolescents." Having no family or ties with significant others can lead to isolation from the wider society. This isolation affects individuals physically and emotionally; some isolated individuals may think they have no moral obligation to do what is right in society and will, therefore, act based on what gives them pleasure. If engaging in drugs or any other delinquent activity is what provides ecstasy to a person, that is exactly what the person will do, which can likely lead to involvement in violence. The participants in my study

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indicated that one way in which SCYAP has contributed to their lives is by helping them to improve social relations and their sense of belongingness. Participants sharing their views argued that through SCYAP, their interactions with people like them has improved and that they no longer feel lonely in society. They now feel they are part of society. From the data, a female participant who is 26 years old indicated, *"SCYAP has made me have a feeling of a sense of belonging here."*

When a person feels displaced in society, sociopathic and psychopathic tendencies may emerge that can eventually lead to crime or delinquent acts. For these youths, their attachment to people like them who are also working to heal and to refrain from criminal activities helps them feel less isolated. As well, they can learn from one another.

4.4.8   Accessible and Affordable Education

It is not surprising that most of the respondents I interviewed said they wanted to go back to school after their training at SCYAP. Studies have shown that education has the capacity to develop skills in people that can help them leave a life of criminal activity behind (Holzman-Escareno, n.d.). Aside from providing skills and an education, a learning institution is also a place where children or people learn to socialize. The type of education a person receives also may determine the person's future. In Canada, according to the statistics, Indigenous people comprise the largest population with a low educational background (Price, et al., 2015; Sawchuk, 2011; 2011 National Household Survey). When one lacks a high school certificate, automatically getting access to a job will be very difficult. When there is no job, then definitely there will be poverty. When there is poverty, the individual is likely to engage in activities that will unlawfully provide a stable income. Calver (2015:5) asserts that "if an individual achieves a higher level of educational attainment, that individual will be expected to achieve the same average labour market outcomes as other individuals who already possess that higher level of educational attainment." This

indicates that providing affordable and quality education, whether formal, vocational or informal, will empower Indigenous youth to generate wealth through employment because of their skills acquired in school. Calver (2015:7) further argues, "There is considerable evidence linking improved education to better labour market outcomes, particularly higher earnings and greater probability of employment." The participants in my study argued that education must be affordable to enable the low-income populations within the Indigenous communities to be able to sponsor their children to receive better and quality education that is tailored to the job market. From the data, a 26 years old female participant sharing her thoughts indicated that:

> *There should be better, easy access to education too. Like everyone want to do something for their life, like no one wants to be trapped and lost so I would say education should be actually affordable to the regular person of our generation, more accessible, compulsory schooling should have better programmes that will set people like to actually handle life like things that will help you in life if you don't want to go to the University and not taught anything like you get thought imaginary numbers and a bunch of bullshit that is not gonna further you in life.*

Moreover, aside schools impacting into these youths' knowledge, it also inculcates good behaviour in children. For example, Holzman-Escareno (n.d:15) argues that "schools stress many behaviors that are not very useful in the criminal world including, treating others with respect and striving to be a good citizen." When these values are introduced to children or youth, they will begin to see crime and delinquency as something that is not worth doing, and they will be more focused on acquiring their education to become useful contributors to the society. Education, therefore, provides many opportunities to an individual, and if these youths get a good education, they will not compromise the goals they hope to achieve; rather, they will be committed to them. Focusing on these goals will make it less likely that they will engage in acts that can lead to crime and prosecution. This theme is related to the commitment component of Hirschi's theory because being committed to studying, receiving good grades, and securing a good paying job at the end of

school will motivate youth not to compromise their future by engaging in frivolous things that can shatter their future goals. In addition, being involved in school leaves little time to engage in other things, such as delinquent acts.

4.4.9 <u>Lack of Job Opportunities and Community Programmes</u>

Statistics from Statistics Canada depict the Indigenous population as growing at a faster rate, with a high percentage of the population being children and youth than in the general population. Wetere (2013:2) similarly argues that the "unprecedented growth rate of Canada's Aboriginal population is five times higher than non-Aboriginal with half of the population under 25 years of age." Wetere (2013:2) further argues, "According to Census 2006, Aboriginal people continue to be three times more likely to be unemployed than non-Aboriginal people. Moreover, 50% of all children on reserves are being raised in poverty." This passage illustrates the serious nature of the unemployment that characterizes the Indigenous population. From an economic perspective, these youths are the energetic people that should be employed and have the skills and training to replace the older people that will soon reach retirement age. This is not the case when it comes to Indigenous youths, as on or near most reserves, there are insufficient job opportunities for these youths. These youths, therefore, wander around with nothing to do. In my interviews with the participants, they argued the lack of job opportunities is among the factors that have led to the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in crime. Although some scholars and studies in criminology have argued that access to job opportunities is not always a solution to averting crime, for these youths a job would benefit them as, for most, their main goal is survival. Some of the participants do not live with their parents and are alone. In a situation where one is alone without a job, how does the person or the family survive? The person will need money for food, clothing, and shelter and, for this reason, will be forced to engage in acts that provide basic needs. Aside

from the needs, the job also occupies the time of the person. In this case, government and stakeholders must ensure that more jobs are established on reserves, especially to give these youths something to do. Interestingly, off-reserve, where there are often job opportunities these youths face job discrimination (Macdonald & Steenbeek, 2015). The systemic racism and discrimination that is deeply engrained in the institutions and at the various workplaces should be condemned and proper reforms or structures be put in place to safeguard the rights of these Indigenous youths for them to have equal opportunities and the zeal to work without fear or intimidation in any sector that they will find themselves in.

The lack of community programmes to keep these youths busy was also identified as a reason for youth crime among the Indigenous youth interviewed. From the interview, a 28 years old female participant indicated, *"I think the lack of programming and education on essential morals and values and lack of support makes them turn into drugs and alcohol which get them into trouble."* When there are no activities, like fun parks and sporting centres, youth will devise their own form of happiness. Some will turn to alcohol, drugs, or join gangs because that is where they believe their happiness will be. If more activities and jobs were provided, youth crime will likely decrease as the youth would be involved in activities that would occupy their time, leaving little time to commit crime. Mutz and Baur (2009) assert that sports participation, in particular, is essential in the development of adolescents and in preventing delinquent behaviours. Although sports can be useful in the prevention of delinquency, they can also encourage it, if the youth or the adolescent engages in this sport with peers who are already delinquent. If Indigenous youth involve themselves in sporting activities and community programmes, they will have less time to engage in delinquent acts. This discussion thus affirms the involvement component of Travis Hirschi's social bond.

4.4.10 Fair justice system and discrimination in the justice system

Justice for Indigenous people is crucial for them as participants believe the selective kind of justice system that Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youths face is also a fundamental cause of their overrepresentation in the federal and provincial correctional centres. Indigenous people believe the Canadian Justice system is a foreign and self-imposed justice system that does not reflect their traditional values of justice and social control. For example, a report by the Osnaburgh/Windigo Tribal Council Justice Review cited in Rudin (2016:5) agrees that: "The justice system, in all of its manifestations from police through the courts to corrections, is seen as a foreign one designed to continue the cycle of poverty and powerlessness." They also believe strongly that the justice system discriminates against Indigenous people and does not serve the interests of impoverished people because it takes money to hire a personal lawyer to defend oneself against criminal charges. Also, the stressful and the bureaucratic nature of our modern courts due to the complexities of a case and the systems makes most Indigenous people lose hope and trust in the justice system. According to the Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission based on a study it did "*The Justice System and Aboriginal People,*"

> When they do engage the legal system, or become engaged by it, the way their problems are dealt with often is out of tune with their unique position as Aboriginal people. As a result, they have come to mistrust the Canadian legal system and will avoid it when possible. Even when they do have to deal with it, we find that they simply minimize their exposure to it. This can take the form of inappropriate guilty pleas, failure to attend court appearances and a perpetual passivity that manifests itself in an apparent air of indifference about what happen to them in court (p. 1).

In addition, the methods that are used to administer justice can be a significant factor for the overrepresentation of Indigenous people and particularly Indigenous youth in the criminal justice system. These mechanisms, as already noted, do not reflect their understanding and way of justice. As the Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission found,

> The methods used by the Canadian legal system to resolve conflicts – particularly the adversarial system – are incompatible with traditional culture and methods of conflict resolution. Additionally, courts are not always a good forum for the resolution of many of the conflicts involving aboriginal people and indeed can be counterproductive (p.1).

For all these reasons, there have been calls to institute a criminal justice system that the Indigenous people understand and that is synonymous to their own culture, beliefs, and values.

Other countries, especially Ghana, are trying to setup alternative dispute resolution (ADR) centres where civil cases that are not criminal cases can be sent for a quick hearing and adjudication. These centres will have lawyers employed by the state to help people who come there. Individuals can also hire a lawyer at their own expense. This system will help to reduce the workload and pressure on the main courts. If Canada were to consider instituting this type of justice system in Indigenous communities, it would be easier for Indigenous people to have access to fair, easy, and quick justice. Such a system could be modeled on the Indigenous people's own beliefs, where their own elders and people who are well versed in their own judicial system would be employed as managers and to give their own judgements. Justice processes such as sentencing circles and restorative justice could be encouraged to enable the Indigenous community members to decide on their own justice. From the data, a male participant similarly indicated that, "… *if there were some more community involvement where members in my community can speak out on their own judgement and collectively come to an agreement with regards to sentencing then that will be more good I believe than what it is now."*

These reforms would contribute to a fair justice system that would be accepted by all. Such a system would help improve the quality of life of Indigenous people. As Walker and Barcham (2010:318) assert, "Aboriginal quality of life can be improved only on Aboriginal peoples' own terms and not prepackaged Eurocentric terms." Until proper justice mechanisms are in tandem

with the beliefs of the Indigenous communities, Indigenous people will still hold the belief that the system is not fair and that it criminalizes Indigenous people, and this believe will do nothing to change the overrepresentation of Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth, in the criminal justice system. As I have argued, based on Hirschi's belief component of the social control theory, since many Indigenous people believe that the Canadian judicial system is unfair to them, reducing crime among their youth is unlikely to occur. Therefore, providing an appropriate justice system that will meet the needs of the Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous youth, is critical to reducing the high numbers of their people currently in the criminal justice system.

4.4.11 <u>Positive Ambitions for the Future</u>

Having a positive goal to achieve in life but then being sent to prison for having committed a crime would demoralize most people. Going to prison would mean an end to the goal. Being in detention comes with its own form of rules, where one's life, and even every movement, is under constant surveillance. Prisoners are under the dictates of an officer who decides when they sleep, eat, or do any activity. Their lives become routinely planned. Having clear and well-defined goals such as educational attainment, job acquisition involves being committed and refraining from activities that could lead them into trouble and detention. In my interviews, the participants, shared inspiring goals that they have set for themselves following their programme at SCYAP. From the data, a 22 year old male participant indicated:

> *I want employment like find a career or something. Something I can do for the rest of my life to make a living. I have a two years old and she needs my help. She needs me to support her and that is the main thing and that's why I started this programme to help her and to benefit her. I have confidence that I know even they said they will help us find employment but I have confidence in myself that I can find employment. I have that drive to find employment and pursue my career. It is mainly like getting my life together after this programme to become responsible. Before I was living life carelessly and didn't care about anything, now I have open my eyes and I think I can do something better for my life.*

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Their goals have kept them on firm ground, focused and committed to their art programmes. Part of their commitment comes from the time they have invested in learning these arts programme as they do not want this time to go waste. Their goals will guide them in their lives and engage them to such a degree that they will have little time for criminal acts. Such positive ambitions, as identified and elaborated, are clearly related to the commitment component of Hirschi's social control theory that has been applied to this study.

In conclusion, in this study, eight Indigenous youth were interviewed. The goal of the study was to secure their views on crime and crime prevention among Indigenous youth. The participants expressed their opinions about the reasons for the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in crime and violence. They did not hesitate to implicate the following: the impact of the residential school system; racism and discrimination both in the wider society and in the criminal justice system; partisan reporting by the media; blocked opportunities, the lack of job opportunities; inaccessible and unaffordable education; and the dearth of community programmes like SCYAP. They also referred to lack of parental care and support. Both the literature and my own research indicate that crime prevention among Indigenous youth requires effective parental support and care, discipline, and mentorship. Participants commenting on the importance of SCYAP to their life also indicated that this organization has engaged their time, provided them with healing, built their self-esteem and confidence, developed their skills, and improved their social relations, all of which have given a sense of belongingness, hope and positive ambitions for the future.

CHAPTER 5: Recommendations and Conclusion

5.1 An Introduction to the Research

This study sought to explore the perspectives of at-risk Indigenous youth attending the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) and the benefits of the programme in youth crime prevention. The organization was founded in 2001 by Darrell Lechman to address the social, economic, and educational needs of "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon. The organization (SCYAP) uses art and culture to improve the lives of these youth. This chapter will focus on the recommendations and conclusion of the study.

5.2   Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations have been made for policy implementation by the federal and provincial government to help deal with Indigenous youth crime prevention in Canada;

1. This study recommends that federal and provincial government advance support for social programmes to improve the living conditions on reserves such as housing, social amenities, and employment opportunities.

2. This study recommends future research be devoted to raising social and cultural awareness to increase educational success for Indigenous youth.

3. This study recommends that national and provincial governments review the funding process in ways that can increase community programmes on reserves and off-reserves and to continue funding existing community organizations that are proven effective.

4. This study recommends future studies on ways to improve mental health concerning Indigenous families and communities.

5. This study recommends expanding public educational programmes for non-Indigenous and Indigenous learners devoted to raising awareness of social and cultural history of Indigenous communities. Without these educational programmes, Indigenous people will likely continue to experience racism, discrimination, and stigmatization in the wider society.

5.3 <u>Conclusion</u>

This study explored crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP). Youth crime prevention has been a significant policy issue for governments as many able-bodied and energetic youth are losing their lives in violent crimes all the time in Canada. Statistics from Statistics Canada depicts a gradual decline in youth crime among Canadian youth. Nevertheless, Indigenous youth continue to be overrepresented in both property and violent crimes, according to scholars and Statistics Canada. This overrepresentation has been attributed to the long-standing legacy of colonialism and its introduction of the Indian residential school system, poverty, dysfunction in the family structures, addiction, and racism that is very much embedded in the Canadian criminal justice system, among many other factors. Although the Indigenous population is very small when compared to the majority group, they have the highest population in all federal and provincial penitentiaries across Canada. Several calls have been made for government to put in policies to help minimize this social menace. There have been collaborative efforts by government and community-based organizations to develop social intervention programmes that could help alleviate youth crime that has characterized Indigenous youth in Canada. Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), the site for this study, is one of the community-based organizations that has been established with the mission of giving life back to "at-risk" youth in Saskatoon through art intervention programmes. This study is very important as the development of all nations and their

economies depend largely on the human capital of its citizenry, which is the youth. The study was exploratory, using a qualitative research method and research design. The purposive sampling method was used for selecting the participants. The research engaged eight Indigenous youth -- four males and four females between the ages of 18 and 30 years – who are in training at SCYAP. These participants were recruited through postings. Data was collected using a semi-structured, open-ended interview guide which consisted of 11 questions presented to the participants. Interviews were transcribed and analysed using Nvivo, which aided in generating the themes for the study. The study used the social control theory by Travis Hirschi as the theoretical framework.

The eight Indigenous youth that were interviewed expressed their opinions that the reasons for the overrepresentation of Indigenous youth in youth crime is due to the impact of the residential school system, racism, discrimination embedded in the Canadian institutions, partisan reportage by the media, and blocked opportunities impeding mobility within the social structure. The youth also expressed their opinions on lack of job opportunities, lack of community programmes to engage the time of the youth, and lack of accessible and affordable education. Participants argued that reductions in Indigenous youth crime would require effective parental care and support, as well as disciplining and mentorship from family members, the community, and elders. There should be enough job opportunities and programmes to engage the time of these youths. For these participants, their enrolment at SCYAP has brought them fulfillment in life. The art intervention programme has engaged their time and provided them healing; it has also built their self-esteem, developed their confidence level and skills, and improved their social relations, giving them a sense of belongingness and positive hope for the future. The study is limited in that it does not claim to speak for the entire Indigenous youth in Canada but rather reflects the views of eight Indigenous youths on crime prevention. The following recommendations were made for policy

implementation: First, that the federal and provincial government advance support for social programmes to improve the living conditions on housing, social amenities, and employment opportunities; second, that future research be devoted to raising social and cultural awareness to increase educational success for Indigenous youth; third, that national and provincial governments review the funding process in ways that can increase community programmes on reserves and off-reserves and that they continue funding existing community organizations that are proven effective; fourth, that future studies investigate ways to improve the mental health of Indigenous families and communities; lastly, that public educational programmes for non-Indigenous and Indigenous learners be expanded and devoted to raising awareness of social and cultural history of Indigenous communities. Without these educational programmes, Indigenous people will likely continue to experience racism, discrimination, and stigmatization in the wider society. This study demonstrates that SCYAP plays an important role in helping Indigenous youth cope with racism, discrimination, and stigmatization within Canadian society. In other words, SCYAP is influencing the lives of the Indigenous youth in positive ways. If the recommendations outlined are critically considered and implemented by government to help improve the conditions of Indigenous families, it will help improve the situations of Indigenous families, and these youths will be beneficiaries as well.

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APPENDIXE A

An exploration of crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP)

Research Agreement

The Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), agrees to conduct the named research project with the following understandings:

1. The purpose of this research project, as discussed with and understood to advance our knowledge on crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP),

2. The scope of this research project is to explore on crime prevention among indigenous youth who utilizes the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP)

3. The method to be used, as agreed by the researcher and the organization, will employ interviewing, to explore on crime prevention among indigenous youth who utilizes the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP).

4. Information collected is to be shared, distributed, and stored in these agreed ways a report will be provided to the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP), for archival purposes or to equip their library and the original data will be stored in a secure environment for five years and then destroyed.

5. Informed consent of individual participants is to be obtained in these agreed ways:

   An individual consent form will be provided by the researcher to the respondent. A copy of the consent form will be left with the respondent where the address of the researcher can be used at any time, should the respondent wish to contact the researcher for additional information.

6. The names of participants and of the organization are to be protected in these agreed ways: The respondent has the right to a choice of anonymity as expressed by a checkmark below:

7. ___ Check to the right to remain confidential in contributing to this research (name will not appear in the publications)

8. ___ Check to the right to being acknowledged for your knowledge (meaning your name will appear in the publications)

As indicated on the consent form, the interviews are confidential. In no instance will the name of a respondent who checked to remain confidential be attached to a record.

Participants will be given the opportunity to cross check if information provided in the course of the interview has been transcribed correctly before the final presentation or publication will be done.

Benefits and commitments

Benefits

The researcher wishes to use this research project for their benefit through publication of the research project in a journal to help advance knowledge on crime prevention from the indigenous youth perspectives.

The research will be useful for policy implementations through the recommendations that will be provided at the end of the study.

The benefits likely to be gained by the organization through this research project are:

- Informational
- Educational

Commitments

The organization's commitment to the researcher is to:

- Recommend reliable indigenous youth within the organization to help contribute in this research project.

The researcher's main commitment to the organization is to:

- Inform the organization about the progress of the project.
- To ensure that participant's rights are respected and safeguarded throughout the research project.

The researcher agrees to interrupt the research project in the following circumstances: _____

- If the organization decide not to participate in the research project any longer.
- If the researcher realises the project will not be useful to the organization.

Signed by:

Date: Date:
                                                         Organization:

_____   _____
(Signature of Researcher)   (Signature of Organization Contact Person)
Name: Name:
Position: Position:

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Christopher Takyi

Phone: 306-881-2293

Address: 321 Anderson Crescent, S7H 4A2

Email: cht098@mail.usask.ca

Participant Consent Form

Project Title:

An exploration of crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the Services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP)

Dear Participant:

I am requesting you as an Indigenous youth member at Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) contribute to this study.

The purpose of this research project is to explore on crime prevention among indigenous youth who utilize the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP). The objectives of this study are to enhance our knowledge on urban youth crime prevention, to help identify factors that help indigenous urban youth move away from crime, to enhance our understanding of role families have to play as an effective intervention mechanism for youth crime prevention and lastly to outline some of the expectations the youth in the programme seek to achieve at the end of their training.

The method of research will employ interviewing. The interviews will consist of about 10 open-ended questions related to youth crime prevention among indigenous youth who utilize the services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP)

There are no known or anticipated harm by participating in this research.

There will be one interview which is anticipated to take approximately 45 minutes; however, the length of the interview is at the discretion of the participant.

The interviews will be audiotaped and transcribed and kept under secure locked password on a laptop and destroyed after five years.

The participant has the right to refuse to answer one or more of the questions without penalty and continue to be a part of this study. Your right to participate in this interview is voluntary and you can withdraw from the interview process anytime you feel uncomfortable.

The participant will be entirely free to discuss issues and will not in any way be coerced into providing information that is of confidential or a sensitive nature. In a situation where participant provide any information that could easily identify them, it will be replaced with a pseudonym in the transcription stage.

The participant has the right to a choice of anonymity as expressed by a checkmark below:

__ Check to the right to remain anonymous in contributing to this research (meaning your name **will not** appear in the publications)

__ Check to the right to being acknowledged for your knowledge (meaning your name **will** appear in the publications)

Confidentiality:

There will be a limitation to the confidentiality of the participants due to the size of the group and the selection procedures. Prospective participants will be identified through assistance with the staff at Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP) who have already been briefed on the rational of the research project. However, participants' consent will be sought and will not be coerced to participate in the research.

Limitation:

The participant will have the right to withdraw during the interview process at any time. However, participants' right to withdrawal will be limited after data has been collected and de-identified for analysis and subsequent thesis publication.

Follow up:

- To obtain results from the study, please contact Christopher Takyi through the number and the email address provided on the top of page.
- Participants contact number _____
- The researcher will follow up by meeting with each participant individually to verify that we have interpreted the data provided appropriately.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact the researcher using the information provided above on page 1.
- This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions in relation to your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975.

By signing below indicate that you have read and understand what has been provided on the consent form, I have had the opportunity to ask questions concerning the research project for which my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

Researcher's Signature	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The following are the questions that will be used as a guide on the research topic **"An exploration of crime prevention among Indigenous youth who utilize the Services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Program (SCYAP)".**

1) Do you believe Indigenous youth have blocked opportunities when it comes to attaining education and other goals in life? Please explain why or why not.

2) Do you believe the criminal justice system deals with Indigenous people fairly? Please explain why or why not.

3) Do you believe having Indigenous community involvement in the justice process (i.e. restorative justice, sentencing circles) is an important part of youth crime prevention? Please explain.

4) What do you think causes Indigenous youth offenders to move away from criminal activity?

5) Do you believe families of Indigenous offenders can help prevent youth crime? Please explain.

6) Do you believe change in family structure such as the effects of Indian residential schools has a significant impact on Indigenous youth crime today? Please explain.

7) What are some of your goals after completing the programme?

8) Do you believe government is doing enough to help reduce youth crime? Please explain.

9) Does SCYAP contribute to your personal development generally and specifically as it relates to your arts training? Please explain why or why not.

10) What are some reasons that explain why Indigenous youth are overrepresented in youth crime arrest and incarceration?

11) Do you believe the media contributes to promoting negative images of Indigenous people in Canadian society? Please explain.

APPENDIX D

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR

A study on *An Exploration of Crime Prevention Among Indigenous Youth Who Utilize the Services of the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP)*

We are looking for Indigenous youth volunteers between 18-30 years of age to take part in the study stated above.

As a participant in this study, you would be invited to participate in an interview that will consist of about 11 open-ended questions related to your experience in training at the Saskatoon Community Youth Arts Programming (SCYAP).

Your participation would involve one session, which is approximately *forty-five* minutes.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study,
please contact:
Christopher Takyi, MA Student
Department of Sociology
at
306-881-2293 (or)
Email: cht098@mail.usask.ca

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This study has been reviewed by, and received approval through, the Research Ethics Office, University of Saskatchewan.