

SEEN BUT NOT HEARD

Native People in
the Inner City



BIBLIOTHÈQUE JUSTICE LIBRARY

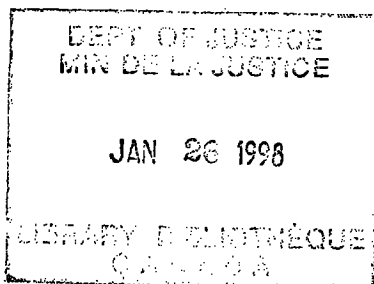


3 0163 00057167 9

E 98 .C87 L11
La Prairie, Carol.
Seen but not heard

C.2

SEEN BUT NOT HEARD
NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE INNER CITY



BY
CAROL LA PRAIRIE
1994

E
98
.C87
L11

Native People in the Inner City

Carol

Not heard : Native people in the inner city

Issued also in French under title: *Visibles mais sans voix*.

"This is a project of the Aboriginal Justice Directorate."—Cf ii.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-662-23215-1

Cat. no. J2-132/1995E

1. Native peoples — Canada — Social conditions
2. Native peoples — Canada — Legal status, laws, etc.
3. Criminal justice, Administration of — Canada.
 - I. Canada. Dept. of justice.
 - II. Aboriginal Justice Directorate (Canada)
 - III. Title.
 - IV. Title: Native people in the inner city.

E78.C2L36 1995 971'.00497 C95-980106-5

This is a project of the Aboriginal Justice Directorate

Published by authority of the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada

by
Communications and Consultation Branch
Department of Justice of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0H8
(613) 957-4522

Director, Publishing: Marie-Claire Wallace
Editor: Ralph C. Deans
Design: Mark Fisher and Line Routhier
Cover: Leo Yerna

© Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 1995
Printed in Canada

Également disponible en français sous le titre
Visibles mais sans voix : les Autochtones dans la ville

The views expressed in this report are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the
Department of Justice.

Principal Investigator

Carol La Prairie

Senior Research Assistant

Bruno Steinke

Research Assistants - Data Analysis

Deborah Whitehead

Iris Tetford

Research Assistants - Interviewers

Audra Simpson - Montreal

Kevin Ward - Edmonton

Sherri Thomas - Toronto

Deborah Whitehead - Regina/Toronto

Deborah Frances - Regina

Contact Persons - Street Level Interviews

Fred Weller

Gary Williams

Ken Williams

Data Programmers

Robert Harn and Associates, Toronto

John Ranson, Statistics Section, Department of Justice, Ottawa.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GENERAL

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VII
DEDICATION	IX
INTRODUCTION	XI

PART I

THE INNER-CITY SAMPLE, SOCIAL STRATA AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.....	I
--	---

PART II

CITY-BY-CITY DIFFERENCES – THE INNER CITY AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.....	155
---	-----

PART III

VICTIMIZATION AND FAMILY VIOLENCE	379
---	-----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Don Avison, former General Counsel, Aboriginal Justice Directorate, Department of Justice, for supporting this research. I would also like to thank David Arnot, the present General Counsel for his support for this publication. Other members of the Aboriginal Justice Directorate and the Research Section, Department of Justice, provided invaluable resources and assistance. These people include Joanne Archambault, Theresa Thivierge, and Dr. Scott Clark.

Bruno Steinke was a competent and conscientious senior research assistant. Iris Tetford, Deborah Whitehead, Audra Simpson, Kevin Ward, Sherri Thomas and Deborah Frances were hard-working and effective research assistants and interviewers. Fred Weller, Gary Williams and Ken Williams performed admirably in arranging street-level interviews. Robert Hann, Hann and Associates, and John Ranson, Statistics Section, Department of Justice, provided essential programming services.

Marie-Claire Wallace, Director, Publishing and Corporate Communications, Communications and Consultation Branch, Department of Justice, devoted considerable time and effort to bring this publication to fruition. I am particularly grateful to Ralph Deans for his admirable editing job. Dominique Bonello formatted the original reports. A number of other people assisted me and deserve recognition. These include David Gullickson, Betty-Ann Potruff, Jan Turner, Hal Pruden, Ab Currie, Jonathan Murphy, Paule Morin, Allen Phibbs, Diane McDonald, Ruth Pitman, Janice Russell, and Hope Hunter.

Directors and managers of social, justice and street-level agencies facilitated the research by supporting it and providing accommodation for interviews. Municipal police forces in Edmonton, Regina, Toronto and Montreal were supportive and co-operative and assisted in defining the inner-city boundaries in each city. To the individuals and agencies involved, I express my deepest appreciation.

Most importantly, I want to thank the native people in the four cities who allowed us to interview them, and who shared with us details of their lives. These were not always easy interviews; painful memories were often invoked. I hope I have done justice to those people and to their stories and that what I have written represents, in part at least, their "voice".

Carol La Prairie

DEDICATION

To all the inner-city native people who gave so willingly of their time and who shared their lives with us.

To Peter, Mark, Gillian and Douglas.

To Philip.

INTRODUCTION

This research was carried out under the auspices of the Department of Justice, Aboriginal Justice Directorate. In addition to exploring the issue of persistent over-involvement as offenders with the criminal justice system, the research provides a "voice" to a particularly disadvantaged group of urban native people - a group usually "seen but not heard". It is about a very specific group of aboriginal people - those who reside in inner or core areas of cities (sometimes these areas are known as "skid row"), and those who use inner-city services. Their lives are explored in an attempt to shed light on their persistent over-involvement in the criminal justice system.

There were three issues which prompted this research. The first was the over-representation of aboriginal people as offenders in Canadian correctional institutions; the second was a need to better understand over-representation by comparing aboriginal people in eastern and western, and large and small urban centres, on the basis of background, experiences in cities, in home communities, and with the criminal justice system; and the third was to provide a voice to aboriginal inner-city people as part of the Canadian federal Department of Justice, Aboriginal Justice Initiative. Selecting cities in western and eastern Canada provided a tool for discerning possible variation in volume and/or seriousness of offenses, migration and urbanization, and differences in cities and home communities.

If, as the literature suggests, groups of particularly disadvantaged people are over-represented in the criminal justice system, this should be reflected in levels of crime and disorder in inner cities. The theoretical framework adopted in the inner-city research incorporates both structural and cultural factors to understand differences in the four cities. This is not an aboriginal/non-aboriginal comparative study. It is comparative only in the sense that it explores differences in aboriginal inner-city groups in two western and two eastern cities. The other comparative aspect is the size of the centres - those in the east are larger than those in the west.

This research does not gather information from a representative sample of *all* aboriginal people living in Edmonton, Regina, Toronto and Montreal. It focuses on the group most vulnerable to the commission of crime, victimization and criminal justice processing, in other words, people at the lowest end of the socio-economic scale living in inner-city areas. The methodology involved delineating inner-city areas of the four cities; selecting people from street level agencies (such as shelters and soup kitchens that street people use), and inner-city social agencies (so that native people who

resided in the inner city, but not necessarily at the street level, would be included); and systematically sampling and interviewing the same number of respondents in the four cities.

In all, 621 interview schedules were completed, coded and analyzed. The analysis involved separating the inner-city sample according to the following criteria - those who were selected at the street level and lived in the inner city (Inner 1), those who were selected through social and justice agencies (Inner 2) and gave their addresses as inner city, and those who were selected through the inner city sampling process but who resided in "outer" city areas (Outer).

The Inner 1 group comprised more males than females and Inner 1 males are the most disadvantaged and marginalized in the entire sample. Their lives are characterized by despondency and hopelessness, and many have hard-core alcohol problems. They are the least well-educated, employed and employable, and most victimized as children. They (and especially males) are the most involved in the criminal justice system. Inner 1 people were involved with the criminal justice system at an early age. They had been in custody more, and for longer periods of time than the other groups. Violence was normalized in their lives. Members of this group feel marginalized in both aboriginal and non-aboriginal society.

Inner 2 individuals are in transition and will either continue a downward spiral until they share characteristics with the Inner 1 group, or move upward into the Outer group. They also show a pattern of childhood disadvantage, deprivation and violence but have had somewhat more stable upbringings than Inner 1 respondents. Inner 2 males, in particular, have had considerable contact with the criminal justice and correctional systems, but to a lesser degree than those of the Inner 1 group. Inner 2 people are less resigned to their fate than those in the Inner 1 group but are also less controlled by alcohol. Being somewhat younger and better educated, they are angrier and more aware of their rights, so tend to be less passive in their contacts with police and others. Inner 2 people are not strongly tied to a reserve but more would like to be, and are looking more than those in the Inner 1 group to native culture for solutions to their problems.

The Outer group has more females than males. The respondents are generally more advantaged, as measured by socio-economic and education indicators and involvement in systems of social control. However, the involvement of this group in the criminal justice system is also extreme. As a group it is the best educated and has the highest

proportion of people employed, but is still far below the standards of the Canadian or the general aboriginal populations. It is the most connected to families, reserves and its members have had more stable childhoods and adult lives. More in this group have custody of children and are ambitious to further themselves and create options in their lives.

Males in the sample were in the criminal justice system earlier than females, had more charges outside and within reserves or home communities, were over-represented in virtually all offenses, and in all types of detention. Males are especially over-represented in provincial and federal detention, and report longer sentences than females. While offenses are not necessarily serious, the number of priors people accumulate makes them more vulnerable to continued detention.

The majority of those sampled reported childhood abuse. For females, child sexual abuse was worse but males reported more incidents of child abuse. For most, however, abuse and violence were facts of childhood and adult life. Child victims of family violence, and particularly of severe violence, reported more unstable family lives, more moving around, and earlier involvement in the criminal justice system. Upbringing, parental drinking (and the severity of the drinking), paternal unemployment, instability, and mobility were all related to family violence. Instability and trauma in childhood translate into instability and other problems in adulthood. Males appear to "act out" (as reflected in involvement in the juvenile justice system) and females to internalize childhood victimization.

For adults who have suffered severe childhood trauma and chronic dislocation and instability, life is disproportionately characterized by alcohol problems, unemployment, victimization, involvement in the criminal justice system, and general instability. The most severely affected of this group are found in soup kitchens, shelters, drop-ins or on the street, moving from one place to another in search of food, clothing or a place to sleep.

The majority of respondents believed they were treated fairly by police, courts and the criminal justice system when accused, but there were important differences between cities and home communities/reserves. In cities, courts fared best and police fared worse in the respondents' perceptions of fairness of treatment. In home communities/reserves, police fared much better than in cities, and treatment by police, courts and the criminal justice system was generally more favourable than in cities.

Perceptions of police treatment are contradictory. Variation in perceptions of the three groups as to how police treat all natives, and groups of natives and whites, reveals that class may diminish the importance of race (that is, the lower on the socio-economic scale, the less likely respondents were to attribute problems with police to the factor of race). General perceptions may also be different from personal experiences. Physical abuse was reported in about one-quarter of personal experiences with police. However, the proportion of respectful/matter-of-fact responses was higher than expected, given the generally negative perceptions people held of police.

The most important finding about disproportionate east/west aboriginal incarceration levels is that answers were much more complex than might be expected. Clearly, it is not one factor, such as offence patterns or the response of the criminal justice system, that accounts for this. It is the *interaction* of certain factors that predict the degree of involvement in the criminal justice system. There are more Inner 1 and Inner 2 people in western cities who are involved; they lived longer in the cities, they were more marginalized and had little education or employment and few skills. They also came from families who exhibited the most disruption. These factors suggest a greater vulnerability to the commission of crime and criminal justice processing. This finding is supported by charge and detention statistics. The younger age of western-city native populations, in combination with low education and employment levels, signals a growing criminal justice problem.

These findings paint a bleak picture of life for inner-city native people, and especially for inner-city males as this group is the most visible on the streets, the least connected to families and communities, and has the greatest potential to be involved as offenders in, and processed by, the criminal justice system. The inner-city people sampled are poorer, less skilled, and less educated than other Canadians, aboriginal and non-aboriginal alike. The inner-city group had been involved in systems of social control at an earlier age and more often, and had been victimized more frequently and more seriously, than other Canadians. The findings also suggest a lack of a "middle ground" on reserves - people who live on them either do very well or very poorly, probably as a result of the concentration of local power. The challenge for reserves is to create communities where opportunities are more evenly distributed, and where those outside the mainstream are better integrated into community life.

Inner 1 and 2 males present the most extreme social and criminal justice system problem in cities. They are the most marginalized. What is normally construed as "crime" by the outside world is an everyday event in the inner city. Life is a matter of survival, fraught with despair, hopelessness, violence, alcohol and drugs. The use of the

criminal justice system to respond to social problems of such magnitude, provides an insight into the incarceration problem. The proportion of Inner 1 and Inner 2 native people in cities is directly related to the magnitude of the native justice and correctional "problem".

The criminal justice system responds to inner-city native people, and particularly to the most marginalized individuals, as it does to any similarly disadvantaged group - as "grist" for the criminal justice mill. The lack of options in peoples' lives makes involvement in the criminal justice system a fact of everyday life. New innovations in policing (i.e. cultural sensitization, aboriginal units) do not appear to affect those on the lowest rungs of the inner-city social strata. Because many inner-city people are offenders one day and victims the next, their relationship with police is often tenuous. Many do not believe police serve them or that they have any legitimate access to police protection.

The criminal justice system, particularly police and courts, may be responding more harshly to inner-city native people in some cities than in others. However, marginalization and alienation resulting from unstable and violent childhood experiences, coupled with a lack of education, opportunities, options, and a dependency on alcohol, are the real culprits in making people vulnerable to the commission of crime and involvement in the criminal justice system. To reduce this involvement, it is necessary to identify more specifically the needs of inner-city native people, and to alter the physical, spatial and emotional/spiritual conditions in which they live both as children and as adults.

A reduction in the involvement of native youth in the criminal justice system is also essential. Findings revealed family disruption and involvement in the juvenile justice system as predictors of prolonged involvement in the adult system, as well as marginalization in adult life. Affecting change for children and youth at risk is essential to reducing involvement in the criminal justice system.

The recidivism literature suggests that combinations of approaches such as treatment *and* surveillance must be explored to determine effectiveness in reducing recidivism. The evaluation of culturally-focused programs for native inmates in correctional settings, and their effectiveness in reducing recidivism, is essential. "Culture" has been the focus of most programing, and the primary component in the rehabilitation of native offenders and for reducing their involvement in the criminal justice and correctional systems. Its value, alone and in combination with other treatment and rehabilitation approaches, must be explored. Diversion and approaches to recidivism, through

sentencing alternatives and correctional programming, are required. There are no "model" programs for all offenders and offenses. There is a need to be focused, to experiment, and to evaluate various approaches to determine their effectiveness for certain offenders, offenses, and circumstances. The merit of mainstream diversion and rehabilitation approaches for adult and juvenile native offenders should not be dismissed. Nor should native approaches for non-native offenders.

Inner-city native people have the same aspirations for themselves and their children as other Canadians, but have fewer hopes of achieving them. Their knowledge and reliance on native culture varies across groups. The majority of people thought either they themselves or other natives should be responsible for making life better for native people. The lack of a political "voice" was evident as the majority of respondents could not, or would not, identify an aboriginal political entity that represented their interests.

Use of opportunities and services depends on people's ability to gain access to and use them. Most want the "good life" but few have the resources to attain it. There are differences in the potential to "rehabilitate" people once they are in the inner-city lifestyle. Many are controlled by their environment - loneliness drives them into the lifestyle, alcohol and drugs keep them there. They suffer from memories that will not subside, systems of social control (criminal justice in particular), dependency on services (welfare, soup kitchens, drop-ins, hostels), lack of education and skills, and a need for the company of others in the same lifestyle. Rehabilitation tends to focus on only one aspect of their lives.

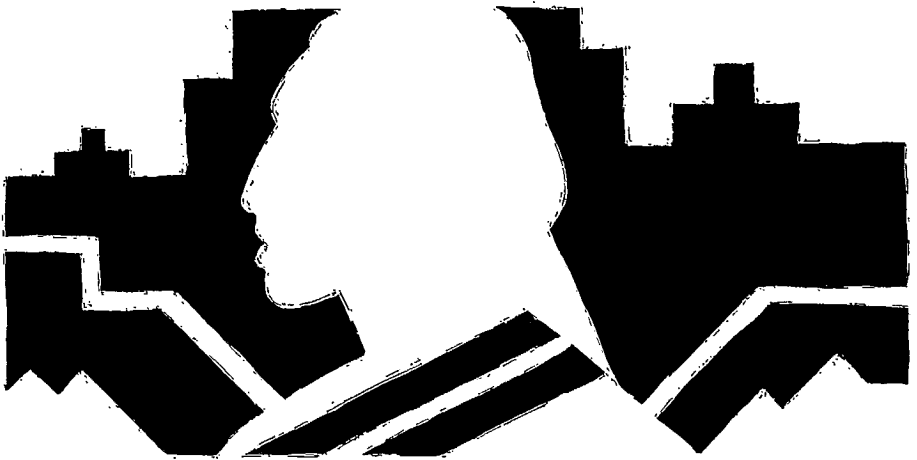
The findings suggest there is a need for *community* development, beginning with safe and secure housing, housing that reflects the relationship of inner-city people to the city and to one another. The primary objective of new approaches to housing, however, is to stabilize inner-city populations so that other types of community development, such as economic revitalization and social organization, can emerge. Transient populations in poor, unstable and inappropriate housing are unlikely to effect change in their communities.

Policy and program attention must be directed to those whose needs are greatest. When "broad brush" solutions are imposed, those with the most and the least needs are treated equally. Conducting basic research about the nature and extent of problems prior to designing and implementing policies, and evaluating policies and programs when implemented, are essential. Who controls a criminal justice system for native people in the inner city, whether native or non-native, is less important than changing

the circumstances that propel people into the lifestyle in the first place. One of the most important conclusions from the research is that the criminal justice system does not "fail" all native people any more than it "fails" all non-natives. But it does fail some of both. The problem is that it fails a much larger group of natives, for the simple reason that more are vulnerable to involvement in it.

This volume is set out in three parts. The first part, *The Inner-City Sample, Social Strata and the Criminal Justice System*, describes the characteristics of the three inner-city groups and their involvement in the criminal justice system. It also provides the theoretical context that directs the research. The second part, *City-by-City Differences - The Inner City and the Criminal Justice System*, provides information about each of the inner cores of the four cities and compares and contrasts the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups, and their relationship to the criminal justice system. It expands the theory of the first part by incorporating social disorganization and social learning explanations and drawing on the United States inner-city literature. The last part, *Victimization and Family Violence*, explores the family violence and victimization literature and incorporates it into the theoretical perspectives set out in the first two parts. It examines the victimization of the inner-city group as adults and children. It provides general family violence as well as spousal, child and child abuse findings.

I



SEEN BUT NOT HEARD
NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE INNER CITY

PART I

THE INNER-CITY SAMPLE, SOCIAL STRATA AND
THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

BY
CAROL LA PRAIRIE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part I

THE INNER-CITY SAMPLE, SOCIAL STRATA AND
THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

<i>Framing the Issues - The context</i>	11
I.1 <i>The Issues</i>	11
I.2 <i>The Problem</i>	13
I.2.a <i>Old assumptions</i>	13
I.2.b <i>New directions</i>	14
I.2.c <i>Migration</i>	16
I.2.d <i>Urbanization and acculturation</i>	18
I.2.e <i>The inner city</i>	19
I.3 <i>Framing the Issues</i>	20
I.4 <i>Research Methods</i>	21
I.5 <i>Limitations of the Methodology</i>	24
I.6 <i>Structure of the Report</i>	24

CHAPTER II

<i>Characteristics of the Sample</i>	27
II.1 <i>The Sample</i>	27
II.1.a <i>Characteristics of the sample</i>	27
II.1.b <i>Overview of the sample</i>	27
II.2 <i>Background</i>	28
II.2.a <i>Reserves and home community</i>	30
II.3 <i>Life in the City</i>	32
II.3.a <i>Crime and victimization</i>	34
II.3.b <i>Aspirations</i>	36
II.4 <i>Summary</i>	37

CHAPTER III

<i>Social Stratification in the Inner city</i>	39
<i>Introduction</i>	39
III.1 <i>Overview of the Three Groups</i>	39
III.2 <i>Background</i>	40
III.2.a <i>Childhood</i>	40
III.2.b <i>Adulthood</i>	45
III.3 <i>Coming to and Life in the City</i>	48
III.4 <i>Crime and Victimization</i>	52
III.5 <i>Summary</i>	55
III.5.a <i>Inner 1</i>	56
III.5.b <i>Inner 2</i>	57
III.5.c <i>Outer</i>	58

CHAPTER IV

<i>The Criminal Justice System and the Inner City</i>	61
IV.1 <i>Criminal Justice Issues: Relevant Literature</i>	61
IV.2 <i>The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Accused and Victims</i>	64
IV.2.a <i>Police treatment of accused</i>	64
IV.2.b <i>Reporting victimizations</i>	66
IV.3 <i>Perceptions of the Criminal Justice System</i>	68
IV.3.a <i>General police treatment of native people</i>	68
IV.3.b <i>Perceptions of fairness of own treatment</i>	70
IV.4 <i>General</i>	70
IV.4.a <i>Legal representation and courtworker services</i>	70
IV.4.b <i>Guilt</i>	71
IV.5 <i>Summary</i>	71

CHAPTER V

<i>Discussion and Conclusions</i>	75
V.I <i>General Discussion</i>	76
V.I.a <i>Social stratification in the inner city</i>	77
V.I.b <i>Childhood experiences and adult life</i>	79
V.I.c <i>Reserves</i>	80
V.I.d <i>Coming to and living in the city</i>	81

V.I.e	<i>Criminal justice system</i>	82
V.I.f	<i>Services and aspirations</i>	83
V.2	<i>Conclusions</i>	84

CHAPTER VI

	<i>Implications of the Findings</i>	89
VI.1	<i>General</i>	90
VI.2	<i>Prevention</i>	93
VI.3	<i>The Criminal Justice System</i>	94
VI.3.a	<i>Policing the inner city</i>	94
VI.3.b	<i>Diverting people from the criminal justice system</i>	96
VI.3.c	<i>Reducing recidivism</i>	96
VI.4	<i>Summary</i>	97

	Endnotes	99
	References	105

Appendix I:	<i>Differences - Select variables</i>	115
Appendix II:	<i>Offence types from most to least serious</i>	127
Appendix III:	<i>Chart and tables</i>	129

CHART AND TABLES*

Table II.1	Percent Type of Offence by Total Offences	131
Table II.2	Detention Type by Detention Time, Total Sample	132
Table III.1	Age by Location and Gender	132
Table III.2	Status by Location and Gender	133
Table III.3	Home Community by Location and Gender	133
Table III.4	Upbringing by Location and Gender	134
Table III.5	Family Violence by Location and Gender	134
CHART III.1	Ten Variables With the Strongest Levels of Significance By Respondents Present Location	135
Table III.6	Grades by Location and Gender	136
Table III.7	Age First in Criminal Justice System by Location	136
Table III.8	Juvenile Offences by Location	137
Table III.9	Marital Status by Location and Gender	137
Table III.10	Child Custody by Location and Gender	138
Table III.11	Source of Money by Location and Gender	138
Table III.12	Alcohol Problem by Location and Gender	139
Table III.13	Live on Reserve by Location and Gender	139
Table III.14	Home Community/Reserve Geography by Location and Gender	140

Table III.15	Age of Arrival in City by Location and Gender	140
Table III.16(a)	Charges by Location and Gender	141
Table III.16(b)	Criminal Code Charges by Location and Gender	141
Table III.17	Number of Criminal Code Charges by Location and Gender	142
Table III.18	Type of Offence by Location and Gender	143
Table III.19	Type of Detention by Location	144
Table III.20	Number of Detentions by Location	144
Table III.21	Total Detention Time by Location	145
Table III.21A	Charges by Detention by Location	145
Table III.22	Total Person Victimizations by Location and Gender	146
Table III.23	Total Number of Person Victimizations by Location and Gender	146
Table III.24	Injury in City Victimizations by Location and Gender	147
Table IV.1	Police Treatment by Gender - City and Home Community/ Reserve	147
Table IV.2	Police Treatment by Location - City and Home Community/ Reserve	148
Table IV.3	Not Reporting Victimization by Location - City and Home Community Reserve (%)	148
Table IV.4	Police Treatment of All Natives by Location	149

IO Native People in the Inner City

Table IV.5	Police Treatment of Natives and Whites by Location.....	149
Table IV.6	Police Treatment Rude Natives/Whites by Location	150
Table IV.7	Are Police the Same by Location and Gender	150
Table IV.8	Perception Treatment Home and City Police by Location and Gender	151
Table IV.9	Perception Treatment Home and City Justice System by Location and Gender	151
Table IV.10	Perception Treatment Home and City Courts by Location and Gender	152
Table IV.11	% Respondents with Legal Representation by City and Home Community/Reserve by Location and Gender	152
Table IV.12	% Respondents with Courtworker Services by City and Home Community/Reserve by Location and Gender	153
Table IV.13	Guilt by Location and Gender	153

* Only those tables referred to in the text have been included here. Supporting tables that reflect other findings will be compiled in a separate volume, which will include the questionnaire, coding manual and the supporting tables from all three parts of the study.

CHAPTER I

FRAMING THE ISSUES - THE CONTEXT

I.1 *The Issues*

Three issues prompted this research. The first was the seemingly intractable and persistent over-representation of aboriginal people as offenders in Canadian correctional institutions (Depew, 1993:1; Moyer, 1985; Muirhead, 1983; Jackson, 1988). The second was a need to better understand over-representation by comparing aboriginal people in eastern and western, and large and small, urban centres on the basis of their background and their experiences in cities, in home communities, and with the criminal justice system. The third issue was to provide a "voice" to aboriginal inner-city people as part of the Aboriginal Justice Initiative, federal Department of Justice. Many voices have been heard by those involved in the Initiative but the voice of native¹ people in the inner city has been notably absent. Why is this voice important?

Mainstream criminology literature is replete with references to the disproportionate involvement of certain groups of people as offenders in the criminal justice system. For the past 20 years, young, unemployed, unskilled black males have dominated United States and British literature and research (Miller, 1992; Waddington, 1983). More recently in Australia and New Zealand, as in Canada, aboriginal people have been the focus of research and policy attention (Hazelhurst, 1987, 1988; Wilson and Lincoln, 1991). Researchers have debated the role of the criminal justice system, primarily police (Norris, *et al.* 1993; Ericson, 1982) but also courts and corrections (Christie, 1993; Mathiesen, 1990; Hazelhurst, 1987), in promoting and sustaining the disproportionality. Suicide and homicide rates garner considerable attention (Doob, Grossman and Auger, 1994; Moyer, 1992; Greene, 1993; Kennedy *et al.* 1991), and have been used to document the marginality and conditions of life for these same groups. What are the commonalities among those who sustain the "criminal justice industry" (Christie, 1993) and are documented in media stories of despair and hopelessness? Are race and culture the overriding factors in determining vulnerability to the commission of crime and criminal justice processing? Is colonization at the heart of this over-representation and its persistence over time?

In aboriginal-specific terms, Doob *et al* argue that in Canada:

The factors that are responsible for the current high level of aboriginal homicide relate to the over-all position of aboriginal people in Canadian society (1994:20).

Colonization in all its forms is well documented as the forerunner to many of the contemporary problems facing aboriginal people in Canada and other countries (Pratt, 1993; Morse, 1989).²

Race and culture have been the most obvious factors in criminal justice issues involving blacks in England and the United States, and indigenous populations elsewhere. In Canada, one result is a burgeoning aboriginal criminal justice "industry." The adoption of culture conflict as the overriding factor in aboriginal over-representation in the system has given credence to the belief that "only natives can help natives" and that alternative services that reflect native differences and aspirations must be available for those in need. This industry has not been restricted to aboriginal services. Aboriginal criminal justice has become a new growth area in mainstream justice projects and programs involving provincial and federal governments and private justice organizations across the country.

Depew describes the engrained use of culture conflict to explain aboriginal disproportionality in the criminal justice system but argues that:

the comparative question is not one of culture differences but one about politics and the uneven distribution of political and economic power and resources in Canadian society (1993:19).

He goes on to say that:

a number of authors have argued that assertions of 'culture conflict' in the area of justice administration simply mask more fundamental issues of political and economic marginality among Aboriginal peoples (1993:19).

Muirhead's (1983) analysis of inmates in B.C. correctional institutions supports Depew's conclusion. In both Depew's and Muirhead's analyses, culture conflict is secondary to social, political and economic marginality.

Research in Australia and New Zealand, while reinforcing and legitimizing the culture conflict argument, nonetheless reveals the economic and social marginality of aboriginal people in those countries. What appears to have polarized thinking around the culture conflict argument in Canada is that culture is at the heart of aboriginal self-government and the settlement of various land and other claims. Expanding the use of culture conflict, to incorporate concerns such as disproportionality in the criminal justice system, has widened the political agenda and, at the same time, provided more scope and legitimacy to a growing "aboriginals servicing aboriginals" infrastructure.

It is clear from a reading of the literature, however, that culture and socio-economic marginality, whether in reference to blacks in Britain and the United States or aboriginal populations in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, are often interchangeable. The historical facts may be different but the contemporary results are similar: Those most likely to be represented in prison populations come from the most disadvantaged segments of society (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1993; Christie, 1993; Mathiesen 1990; Comack, 1993). In Canada, this is the aboriginal underclass (Muirhead, 1983; Edmonton Inner-City Task Force Report, 1992; Dosman, 1972; Brody, 1971), and in the United States, the black underclass (Blau and Blau, 1982; Sampson, 1993; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989; Wilson, 1991).

1.2 *The Problem*

1.2.a *Old assumptions*

Until fairly recently two pervasive beliefs, with a profound influence on policy and program activities, have dominated the field of aboriginal criminal justice in Canada. The first is that most of the offences for which aboriginal people are incarcerated occur on the reserves. The second is that all aboriginal people are equally at risk in the commission of crime and in criminal justice processing.

The first belief was grounded in what many see as the interchangeability of native people and reserves, and to the fact that the most powerful political voices, and the most readily identifiable native groups, are from reserves. In the late 1960s, policing and other criminal justice efforts aimed at reducing the involvement of aboriginal people in the criminal justice system, reflected this belief. It is only recently that research identifying urban areas as the most serious problem with respect to involvement in the correctional system has been acknowledged (La Prairie, 1992; McCaskill,

1970, 1985; CCJS 1993; Edmonton Inner-City Task Force, 1992). This acknowledgement has not necessarily resulted in the attention some feel the urban area deserves. Indeed, a dearth of good research concerning aboriginal people in urban areas was recently noted by Kastes (1993) when reviewing the literature for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

The "equality of risk" assumption is located in two factors. The first is the profusion of socio-economic data about native people and the way data are used. Rarely are data differentiated to reveal social stratification in native society. They are presented, instead, as if native people were a homogenous group, socially and economically.³ One of the few attempts to capture differences among urban native people was that by Dosman in 1972, although Brody (1971) and Morinis (1982) in Canada, and Guillemin (1979) in the United States, carried out ethnographic work in aboriginal-populated skid row areas of various cities. Only recently has the inner city as a phenomenon in relation to "outer" city aboriginal people been identified (La Prairie, 1992; Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre n.d. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 1989).

The second factor is the belief in equal and widespread victimization. The pervasiveness of "equality of victimization" stems from what is widely recognized by aboriginal and non-aboriginal people alike as the historical injustice of colonization, and the need to rectify that injustice through self-government. Victimization reinforces the need for aboriginal-controlled systems - a pillar of self-government. Degrees of victimization have not been isolated because to do so would diffuse the strength of the justification for aboriginal - only services, and control of services.

1.2.b *New directions*

Community-based justice research among the Cree in James Bay, Quebec, provided important clues for understanding community absorption of crime (La Prairie, 1991), and for stimulating the inner-city research. The importance of the finding was not only understanding community behaviour and the response of the criminal justice system, but how the criminal justice system responded when people committed similar acts *outside* the boundaries of reserves.

The research in James Bay revealed that there was considerable attrition from what was reported to police, recorded by police in official files, charged, and processed to court. This situation is true in non-aboriginal communities as well, but to a lesser degree.

The differences in aboriginal communities such as James Bay are the kinship networks, familiarity, and physical proximity of people. People use police to stop immediate trouble but are reluctant to invoke the formal process because of familiarity and kinship.⁴ Local systems of justice may involve police who are community members, or police who know people well and function more in a social- service role rather than in a crime-control role (Singer and Moyer, 1981). When these same behaviours, however, are invoked outside the "safety" of communities, there is not the same tolerance and the criminal justice system responds to the offence and not the offender.

Recent research had indicated that the majority of aboriginal inmates in correctional institutions had committed the crimes for which they were incarcerated in urban settings⁵ (see Cawsey, 1991; McCaskill, 1985, 1981; Peat Marwick *et al*, 1990; CCJS 1993; Edmonton Inner-City Violent Task Force, 1992). This finding, in tandem with community absorption of crime, provided the basis for examining in urban settings the group most likely to be involved in the criminal justice system.

The other important criminal justice issue that emerged from previous research was the east/west disproportionality of aboriginal incarceration. In relation to the size of their populations, aboriginal people are disproportionately incarcerated in western correctional institutions (Moyer *et al*, 1985; La Prairie, 1992; Correctional Services Canada, 1990). In Ontario for example, two times as many aboriginal people are incarcerated as their population in the province would lead one to expect; in Saskatchewan it is four to five times.

In this research, the problem of over-representation of native people in the criminal justice system is related to offences committed by native people living in cities, and to social and economic stratification that puts those living in certain geographic areas, *i.e.*, inner cities, at greater risk than others to the commission of crime and criminal justice processing. Selecting cities in western and eastern Canada provided a tool for discerning possible variation in volume and/or seriousness of offences, migration and urbanization, and differences in cities and home communities.

Migration and urbanization are discussed below. These issues are important in understanding why people come to cities and how they adjust. For some, the city provides opportunities to further educational and employment aspirations begun at home. For others, it is a funnel into criminal justice, social and child welfare, and other systems of social control.

1.2.c Migration

The real crux of the urban issue in Canada is steady off-reserve migration. In 1966, 80% of the aboriginal population lived on-reserve and 20% off; in 1990, the comparable figures were 60%-40% (Kastes, 1993), and the majority of this group resided in mainly non-aboriginal towns and cities (Depew, 1993:6). In 1986, 31% of the aboriginal population lived in large urban areas of 100,000 or more compared with 54% of the non-aboriginal population (Siggner, 1992). In a period of five years, the aboriginal population of Winnipeg increased from about 16,000 to more than 27,000 (Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 1989). The president of the Native Council of Canada stated that "the native population grew an average of 41% in Canada's 25 largest cities between 1986 and 1991" (*The Ottawa Citizen*, November 5, 1993:6). A levelling in migration may be occurring. Kastes (1993:57) notes:

the literature suggests that significant movement of people to urban centres began to occur in the early 1960's and lasted through most of the 1970's. By the early 1980's, however, some researchers began to record a "levelling off" of migration trends.

Unlike on-reserve aboriginal people, Metis and non-status Indian populations are primarily concentrated in urban centres such as Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver (Depew, 1993:8).

The reasons for off-reserve migration are varied. Hawthorne (1966) related the trend to the fact that the reserve system could no longer support an expanding population. Since that time, economic and other limitations of reserve communities have dominated the literature (Monu, 1976; Denton, 1972; Morinis, 1982; Nagler, 1970; Yewbury, 1980; McCaskill, 1981). These limitations include unemployment, isolation, lack of educational and other opportunities, poor housing and a low standard of living. Adhering to the general thesis but developing the context, Johnston (1979) casts migration into a push-pull dichotomy. He claims that migration occurs either because people are pushed out of reserves (because of unemployment, few resources, etc.), or pulled into cities (because of hopes for employment, search for education, desire for independence, etc.).

There is little information on why particular people or groups migrate from reserves and why others stay. Peters (1992) suggests that Indian men and women have different objectives in moving to the city. In her research in Saskatoon, Peters found that employment and education were more important for Indian men, while Indian women

most often cited problems on the reserve such as lack of housing and opportunities. In this respect, pull factors seem more important to Indian men and push factors to Indian women. Nagler (1970) and Dosman (1972) come closest to a class analysis in describing who migrates to cities. Implicit in their work is the notion that haves and have-nots on reserve maintain the same social positions in cities, and that groups migrate for different reasons. As Kastes (1993) notes, however, the lack of systematic and comprehensive research about urban aboriginal people leaves much to speculation.

Frustration of aspirations on reserve (Monu, 1976) and the lack of a viable reserve-based economy (Falconer, 1985) are the traditional explanations for out-migration. Kastes, however, contends that these are no longer the primary reasons as economic development has shifted toward reserves (1993:20). Although done in the late 1970's, Gerber's work may still be useful in hypothesizing about current migration (Gerber, 1979). In a sophisticated analysis of out-migration, she uses the dual notions of "institutional completeness" and "personal resource development" to explain adaptation to the modern world. Her work revealed that it is not a single factor, such as employment, that dictates whether people stay or leave reserves, but a complex interacting of geography, reserve size, accessibility, urban proximity, involvement in the main-stream, on-and off-reserve work, language retention, integrated schooling, and income. It is these factors, in combination, that determine group and personal viability, and that influence decisions people make about leaving reserves.

A particularly important finding of Gerber's for the research at hand relates to prairie and non-prairie reserves and land ownership. In attempting to explain more general differences, Gerber (1979:416) found that:

the vast majority of bands in the prairie provinces were organized communally, whereas those of the non-prairie provinces were conceived in more individualistic terms. Within the prairie provinces, the band and its leaders usually determine the use of land and the distribution of group resources, while among non-prairie bands property may be allocated to individuals who can bequeath their assets to one child or "sell" them to another band member.

The migration implications are considerable and may explain the finding in the present research of more concentrated, long-term urban populations in the western cities. Powerless people, without hope of access to land or group resources, may be more inclined than those with a sense of access to resources, to take up permanent residency in cities. It may be the power structure on eastern and western reserves, in conjunction with levels of poverty, that account for differences in migration.⁶

I.2.d *Urbanization and acculturation*

Denton (1972) claims native people stay in cities because of employment, mixed marriages, children growing up in urban areas and conflicts on reserve. However, Nagler (1970) and McCaskill (1981), in examining urbanization in Toronto, and migration and urbanization in Winnipeg, respectively, would argue that even if native people stay for those reasons they do not necessarily become urbanized. Nagler contends that the lack of urbanization is due to cultural differences, while McCaskill maintains that there are low levels of adjustment because migrants do not commit themselves to an urban lifestyle. McCaskill believes that Indians come to urban areas in search of jobs and not because of dissatisfaction with reserve life.⁷ The limited research on variation in acculturation among different social strata of aboriginal people coming to cities leads to the assumption of a homogenous urbanization "problem." In explaining urban adaptation, Kerri (1976) and Peters (1987) focus on the importance of contacts with family and friends in developing coping strategies. Price (1978) maintains that Indians find security against the impersonality of the city in social enclaves and Indian associations. Graves (1973), in studying the rate of return to reserves of Navaho migrants, found that those with a sense of personal efficacy, who believed in the possibility of economic improvement, exhibited relatively low rates of return to the reservation and of arrest for drunkenness. Where differentiation is discussed (see Gurstein, 1977; Clatworthy, 1983; McCaskill, 1981; Kerri, 1976), it usually refers to people's ability to adjust, based on length of time in the city, rural/urban values, family support systems, and does not differentiate groups according to class.

Dosman (1972) and Peters (1987) provide other perspectives which counter that of homogenous acculturation. Dosman describes how reserve groups (which he identifies as "leading families," "self-supporting," "semi-dependent," and "confirmed indigent") carry their experiences into the urban area, and these experiences dictate how well they adjust. Peters challenges findings and assumptions of previous research that migrating Indians live disorganized lives in cities. She found evidence of family and kin networks being mobilized to cope with unemployment and poverty. Peters emphasises jobs rather than adjustment as the central problem of migrating natives.

The important point in all of this is that people leave reserves with different educational, employment, social, and emotional "tools" for dealing with cities and city life. They have different contacts and supports. They leave for different reasons. Many, as Gurstein (1977) suggested, are ill-prepared and ill-equipped for successful integration into urban communities. Many others are well-equipped (Dosman, 1972:56). Being

ill-equipped, however, does not prohibit aspirations to middle-class status. But the achievement of these aspirations is more difficult for certain groups, as Greene (1993:107) notes, in relation to those living in poverty in the United States:

Aspirations to the middle-class world - a dream held by most people living in poverty in this country - feels like a remote and unlikely possibility to adolescents caught in the web of poverty.

Urbanization and adjustment may be particularly difficult for native people at the lowest socio-economic levels because their social distance from middle class values is greatest. Graves (1973) cautions that the acquisition of middle-class personalities, without access to middle-class goals, creates problems for lower-class people. For lower-class native people, the class and culture value conflicts are considerable, as data on crime and disorder in inner cities would suggest (see Edmonton Inner-City Violent Crime Task Force, 1992; Brody, 1971; Morinis, 1982; Ma Mawi Wi Chi Centre, n.d.). For those coming to cities well-equipped, it is exchanging essentially one set of middle class values for another.

1.2.e *The inner city*

Data are limited but there is evidence that registered Indians (identifiable because of official information maintained on this group) and inner and outer city aboriginal groups differ along a number of socio-economic dimensions. Recent calculations of demographic data for registered Indians and for the total aboriginal group in eastern and western cities reveal obvious differences. Registered Indians in western cities, especially Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, and Edmonton in 1991, had more children, less education, less labour force participation and more unemployment than their registered counterparts in Halifax, Montreal and Toronto. And registered Indians are generally lower on these dimensions than the total aboriginal population (La Prairie, 1992: 11-14). Native people in inner and outer areas show similar differences in cities where data are available. For example, studies in Winnipeg and Edmonton revealed that inner-city aboriginal people were far below their outer city counterparts on a number of socio-economic indicators (Ma Mawi Wi Chi Centre, n.d.; Edmonton Inner-City Violent Crime Task Force, 1992).

Overall, the research suggests that social stratification and the experiences people have in their families and communities dictate the roles they play in cities. It is the ill-equipped who are mostly seen on the streets of the inner city. McDonnell (1993:29) claims that:

Canadian cities are in fact full of urban refugees from the neglect, domestic violence and sexual abuse of community life on many reserves.

High levels of family and other violence in native communities have been increasingly documented in the Canadian and United States criminology literature (B.C. Task Force on Family Violence, 1992; Carter and Parker, 1991; Fischler, 1985; Piasecki *et al.*, 1989; Hodgson, 1990; Lujan *et al.*, 1989; Doob *et al.*, 1994; Comack, 1993; Moyer, 1992; Frank, 1992). Indeed, Hull (1983:35) suggests that:

Reserves are seldom stable communities, but more often resemble colonies in which the residents take out their pent-up frustrations on each other.

Alcohol and drug abuse, poor parenting, childhood turmoil and instability, delinquency and general disorder are often cited in research in contemporary aboriginal communities (Condon, 1992; La Prairie, 1991; McDonnell, 1993). As a result, many migrants from reserves have been in a long-term downward spiral before ever arriving in cities.

If, as the literature suggests, groups of particularly disadvantaged people are over-represented in the criminal justice system, this should be reflected in levels of crime and disorder in inner cities. While research describing inner-city areas is notably absent in Canada, one study in Edmonton found that within the inner-city area, between 33% and 45% of all crimes reported to police were violent as compared to 12.7% in the rest of the city. The report also noted that in Alberta 50-60% of incarcerated aboriginal offenders come from urban areas (Edmonton Inner-City Violent Crime Task Force, 1992:23-26). There is a large body of United States literature on the relationship between inner-city life and crime (Skogan, 1990; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1993; Blau and Blau, 1982; Byrne and Sampson, 1986; Wacquant and Wilson, 1989). It is only degrees of social disorganization, slum housing, family disruption, unemployment, alcohol and drugs, hopelessness, and despair, which separate inner cities.

1.3 *Framing the Issues*

Exploring the issue of disproportionate representation involves the following hypotheses; there are differences in the circumstances of native people coming to the cities; there are differences in the way urban criminal justice systems respond to and process native people; there are differences in the nature of the inner cities and the cities themselves. These explanations are not mutually exclusive and it was expected that the answer to the over-representation question might incorporate all three. To date, the activities of the criminal justice system have been emphasized so this issue was fully

integrated into the research. But it was also important to move beyond the criminal justice system to examine other aspects of life in an attempt to explain the involvement of native people in the inner city in the criminal justice system.

Explaining the *persistence* of the over-representation phenomenon involves the hypothesis that, for a number of reasons, acculturation is not occurring for the group most vulnerable to involvement in the criminal justice system. These reasons include: the inability of those at the low end of the social scale to enter the labour market in any long-term way (Clatworthy, 1983; McCaskill, 1981; Kastes, 1993); the internalization of the ethos of cultural separation (Phinney *et al*, 1992); and the retention of cultural values (Callan and St. John, 1984). The nature of cities and the place of native people in them is essential to understanding migration, acculturation and deprivation. While there is an implicit suggestion in some research on native people in urban settings that findings can be extrapolated from one city to another (see Dosman, 1972; Peters, 1987, 1992), this research hypothesized that it was the very *differences* in cities that accounted for some of the variation in over-representation.

This research examines these hypotheses in relation to native people in the inner-city areas of four cities. It uses social stratification within the inner city as its primary unit of analysis. In seeking to explain over-representation and variations in this phenomenon, this research explores childhood and family experiences, child and adult victimization, experiences in coming to and living in the city, involvement in and perceptions of the criminal justice system in both cities and home communities, and hopes and dreams in the past, the present and the future, as a means of exploring the hypotheses.

1.4 *Research Methods*

This is not an aboriginal/non-aboriginal comparative study. It is comparative only in the sense that it explores differences in three distinct aboriginal inner-city groups in two western and two eastern cities. The other comparative aspect is the size of the centres - those in the east are considerably larger than those in the west. The same research questions would probably apply to a similar non-aboriginal group. The purpose of this research, however, was to define and explain aboriginal differences. An aboriginal/non-aboriginal comparison is a logical "next-step" and could provide important directions for criminal justice program and policy activities.

The focus of this study was the group at the lowest end of the social scale generally - aboriginal people using inner-city agencies and services and on the street. National data suggest that aboriginal socio-economic levels are lower than those of the general

Canadian population. Data also reveal different levels of affluence in aboriginal society. These differences are not often identified in the aboriginal criminal justice discourse, where aboriginal people are usually described as a social and economically homogenous population, equally at risk for the commission of crime and for criminal justice processing. Thus, a fundamental premise of the research was that aboriginal society is not homogenous and reflects a stratification similar to non-aboriginal society.

The methodology involved delineating inner-city areas of the four cities; selecting people from the street-level agencies (such as shelters and soup kitchens street people use), and inner-city social agencies (so that native people who resided in the inner city, but not necessarily at the street level, would be included); and systematically sampling and interviewing the same number of respondents in the four cities.⁸ Because there are no census data in the four cities on the size of the inner-city aboriginal populations, the same number of respondents were selected in each city. Aboriginal interviewers were trained to interview the social agency group, and the principal investigator carried out street-level interviews. All interviews used the same questionnaire and the five aboriginal interviewers were trained to conduct identical interviews.

Street and social service agencies were contacted to explain the research and to elicit assistance in finding people to interview. As much as possible, similar agencies, and the same number of people to be interviewed in each agency, were identified in all four cities. This was problematic, however, because there were different aboriginal and non-aboriginal street and social agencies in the four cities, and a different number of agencies. For example, there were more agencies in Regina and Toronto than in Edmonton and Montreal. A description of the sample acquired and its limitations will be discussed later. Police in each city assisted in designating inner-city areas, and areas where aboriginal people lived and frequented. Where available, police data on aboriginal and non-aboriginal offenders were examined to focus on the inner-city areas.

People were interviewed where they were situated and there was no attempt to set up appointments or interview people in offices. Contact people who were known on the streets were hired to make contacts with street people to explain the research, introduce the principal investigator and negotiate the interviews. The street-level interviews took place on the street, in drop-ins, parks, soup kitchens, shelters and fast-food restaurants. Social and justice agency interviews occurred wherever space was provided. Each respondent was given an honorarium of \$10 for his or her time.⁹ Each interview took one to two hours. Confidentiality was assured and no names appeared on interview schedules.

In all, 621 interview schedules were completed, coded and analyzed. Several ways of organizing the data were explored. The one producing the most consistent and significant findings involved separating the inner-city sample according to the following criteria - those who were selected at the street level and lived in the inner city, those who were selected through social agencies and gave their addresses within the inner city, and those who were selected through the inner-city sampling process but who resided in "outer" city areas. Because the interviews were comprehensive and detailed, each interview became a life story. People's lives, their backgrounds, and experiences with the criminal justice system, as both victims and offenders in cities and home communities or reserves, were explored. The findings are based on the perceptions and reports of respondents and provide an analysis of the information collected in interviews.

An important methodological issue is the definition of certain variables. For example, "family violence" refers only to witnessing spousal or sibling physical assault and/or direct child and sexual abuse. It does not include incidents of verbal or emotional abuse. To rank the degree of violence, a five-point scale was devised, from least to most severe, reflecting frequency of assaults and degree of injury. There are four family violence variables in the data set - a general one and one each for spousal, child and sexual assault.

The offences are grouped into seven offence types. Type 1 are most serious - homicide, serious aggravated assault and serious sexual assault; Type 2 are primarily assaults and some trafficking offences; Type 3 are mainly impaired driving and break and enters; Type 4 are mainly thefts and shoplifting but also possession of marijuana, and prostitution; Type 5 are administrative offences - fail to comply, fail to appear, breach of probation, fine default; Type 6 are non-*Criminal Code* drunk charges; Type 7 are *Juvenile Delinquency Act* offences.

All data except family violence and offence data were coded by an individual with no prior involvement in the research. The family violence and offence data were coded only by the principal investigator. Analyses of frequency distributions and cross-tabulations (including chi-square values, which generate levels of "statistical significance", described in this report simply as "significant"), and a statistical technique, that distinguishes group and predictors of certain outcomes, furthered the analyses and provided the basis for many of the findings.

I.5 *Limitations of the Methodology*

The interview method limits the data to the events people were able to remember. This is particularly problematic in eliciting information about involvement in the criminal justice system. People often have difficulty remembering events that occurred long ago, and their sequence of occurrence.¹⁰ As a result, the research does not attempt to link offences with detention or time in detention, or to follow charges to outcome. In a similar vein, contacts with police did not include the factors involved in those contacts, except in a very general way. The research attempts to provide a general synopsis of involvement with police, courts and the correctional system, from the perspective of respondents.

Similarly, information about childhood and family violence is general and does not include the factors involved in each event. Many of the incidents occurred long ago and again, people had difficulty remembering the details. The intent in exploring family violence, involvement in the juvenile justice system, and other issues was to provide a broad picture of people's childhoods and experiences in families and communities.

Missing data (as reflected in different number sizes for some variables) are attributable to several factors. Either the variable was not applicable, people did not wish to answer or could not remember, or the interview progressed in such a way that it was not possible to ask the question. The conditions for interviewing were not always ideal and some interviews progressed more smoothly than others. The final number of completed interviews was less than originally planned, (621 rather than 800) due to a number of logistic and other reasons, so there are limits to how detailed the analysis can be. For example, tests of significance are not indicated in some of the tables because the cell numbers are too small for reliability.

I.6 *Structure of the Report*

This report comprises three parts that ensue from the research. All follow the same general format - describing the problem to be examined and discussing the theoretical issues and their relationship to the literature. Each part presents findings that speak to the problem and a discussion of how the hypotheses have been addressed. Each contains some conclusions, recommendations for change, and appendices.

Part I describes the total sample and explores males-females, age group, home community and social stratification differences (as reflected in the inner/outer categorization). It also examines the role of the criminal justice system in the lives of native people in the inner city.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

This chapter describes characteristics of the total sample. It provides general information about the inner-city respondents in the four cities. Where relevant and representative of perceptions held by others, quotes from interviews are used to illustrate particular issues or findings.

II.1 *The Sample*II.1.a *Characteristics of the sample*

Information about the total sample should be kept in perspective. When people are categorized according to age, gender or social strata, findings (and opinions) can vary quite dramatically. Those with the most profound sense of marginalization, in both native and non-native society, hold quite different perceptions from those of less marginalized social strata.

II.1.b *Overview of the sample*

In this study there is a total sample of 621 respondents, divided between the four cities. There are more males than females, (60%-40%) which is surprising given that demographic data reveal aboriginal women to be generally over-represented in urban areas (Kastes, 1993:69).¹¹ Two-thirds are registered Indians, 15% non-status, 12% Metis and 7% Inuit - with three times as many Inuit females as males.

The majority were between 25 and 44 years of age. The mean age of males and females was the same - 32.1 years. Respondents came from 176 reserves and from a number of different cities and towns in all provinces and territories except Prince Edward Island. More came from the same reserves in Saskatchewan than in the other provinces. Because of the cities selected, 29% named Saskatchewan as their home province, 24% Ontario, 16% Quebec, 16% Alberta, and 14% were from other provinces and territories.¹² A small number (3%) came from the United States. Crees represented the single largest aboriginal group (46%), followed by Ojibway (17%), Inuit (9%), Micmac (5%), Saulteaux (4%), Mohawk (4%) and Algonquin (2%). Those

remaining represented 28 other aboriginal groups. Most (71%) identified both parents as native, and where only one parent was native, it was more likely to be the mother. More than one half (51%) had English as a first language, 39% an aboriginal language, 6% Inuktituk, and 4% French.

II.2 *Background*

People were asked a number of questions about their backgrounds, including where they were born, how long they lived on reserve, the location of reserves or home communities, and a chronology of where they had lived during their lifetimes. Information about parents, upbringing, family stability and violence, and education, including whether they attended residential school, was also solicited. Personal information about marital status, children, and relationships was collected. Respondents were asked why they came to the city, their experience or knowledge of the city, their problems on first arrival, and life in the city, including employment, drinking and present problems. Finally, they were asked about comfort in the city, and if they would like to return to the reserve to live or work.

The majority of the people sampled were born on reserve (54%), one-third in urban and the rest in rural areas or small towns. Nearly 75% belonged to a band. Only 37% spent their childhoods on reserve and about 25% were from remote communities. Of those not from cities (66%), most came from communities of less than 3000 people, and more than 500 km away from the present city. Slightly more than one third of those in the sample were raised by both parents, 27% by single parents, 21% by foster or adoptive parents, and 15% by other family or a combination. Almost 40% had seven or more siblings and more than 71% had 4 or more siblings.

Less than half the respondents said they came from stable childhood environments, and 72% reported some form of family violence (of those, 49% had more than one of spousal, child and sexual abuse, and 28% of these forms were of the most severe variety). Biological parents were the perpetrators in the majority of family violence (60%), followed by extended family (11%), 2nd foster/adoptive parents (11%), step-families (8%). Almost one-quarter of the sample reported drinking alcohol at 12 years or younger. Nearly 69% said both parents had an alcohol problem.

One-half of the total sample had grade nine or less education, and 76% were presently on welfare or other social assistance (disability, mothers allowance etc.). Only 11% of the sample were employed and the majority of those had

only part-time employment. One 35-year-old male described the lack of work as acting against native people because, "native people become discouraged easily - discouragement becomes a way of life."

Most of the sample were single (the majority, however, had been in two or more relationships during adulthood) and one quarter common-law. A very small percentage were presently married. Two-thirds had native partners in their various relationships, and the majority had children, although only 41% of those had custody of their children. Nearly one quarter attended residential school, of which slightly less than one half reported positive experiences, 38% negative and 17% half and half. When asked about their own exposure to native culture in the form of ceremonies, legends, teachings, and traditional activities, slightly more than one half (54%) reported having no exposure, 22% reported "a lot," and 24% "some."

In terms of where people had spent the *majority* of their lives, fully one half named the city, 20% named reserves, 16% towns or rural areas, and the rest had moved from place to place. Less than one quarter had been in the city three years or less, and 35% had been 15 years or more. More people came to the city at 15 to 24 years of age than in the other age groups and mainly for employment, family or personal/community problems.

While most people did not have familiarity with cities before coming they had contacts involving family or friends. The vast majority (82%) now feel comfortable in the city, although nearly 40% of newcomers felt alien or out of place when they first arrived. Loneliness and confusion were the single most serious problems. Only 7% identified racism as the most important problem.¹³ More males than females came to the city for jobs. A third of those from reserves did not return for visits, and only about one fifth of the total sample wanted to live or work on reserves. People who were raised off reserves, for a variety of reasons, had a difficult time returning, feeling alien and being resented for leaving or accused of being "white". One such 22-year-old raised off-reserve said:

The biggest problems natives have is their sheltered lives on reserves and seeing life as 'them' and 'us' - we're our own worse enemies. Natives want other natives to be miserable like them and if people try to get out, are accused of being 'too white.'

Drinking was a continuing topic of discussion among native people in the inner city and the majority of the sample has, or had, a drinking problem. Their own or other's experiences with alcohol were readily related as a major social activity and a major problem. It brings people together and it drives them apart. It causes trouble and cements friendships. People spend years trying to escape alcohol abuse only to slip back when lonely or facing a crisis or loss. It causes some people to leave communities and draws them to cities. It keeps many in the inner city and causes fights and violence. Drinking "to forget things" is a common lament. One person said drinking, "blocks out reality - it's like going to sleep for awhile and pulling a blanket over your head," another that: "you drink when you have no job and nothing to do." Trying to quit is almost as problematic as drinking. One woman claimed:

I tried to quit once but my husband got real mad at me. He had some friends over and I wanted to drink ginger ale. They kept saying 'let's have a drink for old times sake.' Every time I left the room he filled my glass with alcohol. He said I was trying to be better than him when I tried to quit.

II.2.a Reserves and home community

People were asked a number of questions about life on their reserves. The purpose was to elicit perceptions of reserves to determine if these influenced whether people migrated to cities. The questions related to social and economic arrangements, how people perceived themselves and their families to be socially placed in communities, and how they perceived power structures on reserve. People were also asked about social stratification and if there were certain people of families who were "looked down upon." Finally, questions were asked about how reserves were policed, if police treated everyone the same and the levels of violence on reserve.

For some, the reserve was an escape from a life in the inner city. For others, the city was an escape from the reserve. As will be discussed in Chapter III, one's perspective of life on reserve is often shaped by one's experiences and opportunities. More than three quarters of those with reserve experience believe certain people (i.e., Chief and Council) and/or families held the power, and held power for a long time. Power was evidenced by having the best jobs, most money and possessions. One woman put it bluntly:

People leave to get away from favouritism and because you can spend your whole life there and never get anything. If you don't got the last name you're

not in...if I was the chief's daughter and wanted a car I would only ask the band to back me up and that would be it.

One 23-year-old unemployed man complained that, "all the kids of the Chief on my reserve graduated from high school and are now at university - they had a chance." Fifty-six percent (56%) thought jobs and houses on reserve were distributed on the basis of connections. Nearly 80% saw their own families as "average" or at the low end of the social scale, and 60% thought certain people or families were looked down upon (surprisingly more females than males believed certain people or families were looked down upon on reserves). More than one-half (55%) thought their family was in this category. The primary reasons for non-acceptance were "being different" or "parental misbehaviour." A 41-year-old Cree male talked about being looked down on in terms of power:

People and their families are looked down on if they're not in power. Some people want you to leave if you don't have any power.

Another reason for non-acceptance is what may be seen as a rejection of the culture. A 34-year-old male raised off-reserve in a white foster family described his experiences with his own reserve:

I never felt so comfortable in my life as when I was in school in Vermilion and I was the only native. I don't want to return to my own reserve because no natives want to hear that other natives are not prejudiced against whites and my reserve treats me badly because of that and because I was raised with white people.

Others had different experiences and complained of discrimination and hostility in towns, cities and rural areas because of being the only natives. For them, life on reserves was supportive and a relief from the strain of being in the non-native world. For those who fit in, reserve life is positive; for those who are different, it is not.¹⁴

RCMP policed about half the home communities/reserves, and police were stationed in most communities. Only 23% said police in their home communities did not treat all natives the same, as compared to 65% who said police in cities do not treat all natives the same. Nearly 60% of those from reserves who responded to the question thought the level of reserve violence was medium or high, and most thought it involved non-family.

II.3 *Life in the City*

A series of general questions involved life in the inner city for native people. These included perceptions of problems native people have coming to cities, how they get into and out of the inner-city lifestyle, adequacy of opportunities and services in cities and how they are used, use of friendship centres, how people know about services, and what they think native people coming out of prison need most.

When asked to identify the problems of other native people who come to the city, the only differences (to their own problems) were in degree. Generally, people ranked problems higher for others than they themselves experienced. Although 12% said *they* had no problems, no-one identified this possibility for other natives. Many believed natives get into the inner-city lifestyle because of loneliness (one person claimed: "loneliness seems to draw people into it," and another that: "I drink because I haven't found anything better to do."), having nothing to do, or because they brought the lifestyle from reserves. One 46-year-old woman who has lived all her life in Edmonton said:

Native people come from the bus depot into the inner city because that's where they have come from (i.e., inner-city lifestyles) in their own towns and reserves.

The majority believed the only way out of the lifestyle was through will-power and a desire to change. Less than one third believed escape was possible through help from others, or having a job, or alcohol and drug treatment. Some felt that experiences inextricably change people. A 30-year-old mother of four said, "Violence and fighting between parents really changes you." An articulate 42-year-old Metis man believed "people with rough experiences as children are the most difficult to get out of the inner-city lifestyle." He felt pressure to stay in the inner city because he had no job and did not feel welcome anywhere else. Another claimed that, "those who stay in it are moulded and shaped by it and don't think they can do anything else." A 25-year-old male prostitute perceived it differently: "If I reach out (in the inner city) I know there's someone to reach back."

The majority of the sample believed there were enough opportunities in cities for native people. Those who believed opportunities insufficient wanted more employment (42%), education (25%), and community development (25%) in the city. Nearly two thirds of the sample believed most or some natives make use of available

opportunities. Fifty-six percent (56%) also believed there were enough services. One person went so far as to say that there were "too many services - it's a scam. Native people just take advantage of them and don't try to help themselves." Another person identified a different problem: "Political organizations and social agencies are absorbing resources themselves and they (resources) are not getting to the people." Those who found services insufficient wanted more housing/shelter (30%), better delivery of services (31%), drop-in centres (28%), cultural (7%), and legal services (4%). A complaint in all cities was that most services were closed on weekends and kept business hours. One person protested that existing service regulations were not reflective of the inner-city lifestyle:

We need information and services after normal working hours - the normal day in the inner city doesn't start until dark.

Most believed advertising was the most appropriate way to educate people about available services. However, a 35-year-old Sioux felt that direct contact was more appropriate because:

Indian people won't ask for anything - they are brought up not to ask for things - won't say if they need something.

Slightly less than half believed services were well used. A 27-year-old single Cree said:

People get so deeply involved in alcohol and drugs they don't think of using services to change their lives.

Forty six percent (46%) of the sample said they did not use the friendship centre in their present city, compared to 44% who said they did (but there is variation by city). The primary reason for non-use was attributed to "nothing for them there", or because people were not aware of the services offered. More than 18% felt unwelcome, and 15% claimed the centre was "too far away." One 46-year-old Metis man stated: "if you're not 'in' the native group, no point in going to the friendship centre". Another man, in explaining why he does not use centres, said: "People who don't drink think they're better than those who drink."

Interestingly, although people did not identify "counselling" as a need in their own lives, more than one quarter believed prisoners needed this most when released from prison.¹⁵

II.3.a *Crime and victimization*

People were asked about fear of victimization and being the victim of an offence (person or property) in their reserve/home community and in the city, and about the seriousness of the victimization in terms of personal injury. Respondents were also asked about juvenile and adult offences for which they were charged both in their home communities or reserves, in the present city or in other places, about whether or not they went to court, and about what happened in court. It was not possible to gather specific information about the outcome of each charge because many people were not able to recall events - particularly if the charge occurred long ago. Because incarceration is a critical native justice issue, respondents were asked about the actual time they spent in various types of detention.

Slightly more than half the sample thought they lived in a stable part of town. Fewer thought there was a lot of crime in their neighbourhood, and people most feared violent victimizations. In explaining her own fear of crime, an Inuit women from a remote community said:

I'm really afraid of crime and being assaulted here. I got afraid watching TV at home and because of what my friends said about the city. But nothing has happened to me here... but I'm still afraid.

Old people, drunks and non-whites were perceived to be the most vulnerable to victimization.

In terms of actual victimization, nearly two-thirds reported a victimization outside their home community and, of those, 84% reported a violent victimization. For many, violence was a way of life. A 36-year-old man claimed he saw: "violence everywhere - in drop-ins, on the street, in my rooming house." One woman said: "fighting (in the inner city) is usually over money, drinks, and men jealous of their wives or girl friends". Another claimed: "women fight more than the guys - lots of fights over guys." The majority of the violent victimizations (52%) involved serious injury, but 74% of the victims did not report the victimization to police. It was the same as home communities/reserves where 75% did not report victimizations.

People did not report victimizations either because they did not think the offence important enough, did not want to "rat," wanted to "settle own scores," (one mother of four said that if a guy's daughter was molested he wouldn't go to the police - would

kill the person or nearly beat him to death) or were afraid of retribution. One 46-year-old male with a long history of serious injury victimizations said he did not report because:

If you report someone to the police you are called a 'rat' and could end up dead. If I report I'll get it worse. You know what a rat is eh? I might have ended up in the river.

While people generally identified less victimization on reserves than in cities, they reported fewer single and more multiple victimizations on reserves.

Eighty three percent (83%) of the sample had been charged with an offence (including *Criminal Code*, JDA, public drunkenness), and 81% with a *Criminal Code* offence. In comparison, only 44% had been *charged* with an offence on reserve or in their home community (this does not mean they did not commit offences - many left these places when very young). Fifty-five percent (55%) had five or more charges in the city in which they were interviewed. One half had committed a juvenile offence and 81% an adult *Criminal Code* offence. Offence Type 4 (thefts, shoplifting, soliciting) comprised the single highest city category, followed by Type 3 (B&E, impaired driving). Serious offences (Types 1 and 2) were 29% of the total offences (Table II.1 *Percent Type of Offence by Total Offences*).

In terms of detention, fully 63% of the total sample reported spending time in some form of custody, including juvenile, pre-trial, provincial or federal detention (comprising 78% of the males and 43% of the females in the sample). Of the total detentions served, 21% were for juvenile detention, 38% for pre-trial, 35% for provincial, and 7% for federal detention¹⁶ (Table II.2 *Detention Type by Detention Time, Total Sample*). A third of juvenile detention was three months or less, compared to 55% of pre-trial and 24% of provincial.

It was surprising that 39% of those who had been in detention had their first custody experience at 15 years or less. For some, going in and out of prison became a way of life, and may have created a fantasy about the real world. One man who spent 18 years in correctional institutions, described his own experiences:

When you're in prison you go through a fantasy trip about all the good things that happen outside and reality sets in when you get out.

When asked about how people who committed serious violent offences should be treated by the criminal justice system, nearly half thought the system should be more severe, 34% thought the present response appropriate, and only 13% thought it should be less severe. However, the reverse was true for "not so serious" offences (property, victimless crimes) where 62% thought the system should be less severe. One 36-year-old Cree who claimed he had been in jail of one kind or another for 30 years, said the justice system, "gives not too serious offences serious sentences, and is too lenient with serious ones."

II.3.b Aspirations

An important part of the interview was asking people what they wanted in their lives, for their children and what were their dreams as children. They were also asked who they felt should be responsible for improving the lot of native people, whether well-off natives assisted poorer natives, and finally, who they considered to be their political "voice".

When asked what they wanted in their lives in the short and long term, employment and education were mentioned most often. In more specific terms, people talked about marriage, children, a home - "a decent life" and about quitting alcohol and drugs. A small proportion identified cultural/spiritual goals. Respondents wanted their own children to have "a decent life" (58%), and 26% wanted them to have a good education. However, one person remarked: "people in the inner city do not have skills and money to reach their ambitions." Another said:

Once you stay poor long enough you soon don't have any good clothes to even go looking for a job. If welfare gives you money for clothes to go job hunting they take it off your cheque.

One important aspect of attaining a decent life and staying "where you are" in the city has to do with how accepted you feel elsewhere. A 28-year-old single male on welfare put it succinctly:

Everyone would like to live in a rich area in the city but wouldn't feel comfortable. Feel comfortable with your own kind.

Their own dreams as children included being a police officer (at 13% the largest single category), a counsellor or teacher or nurse (12%), other professional (doctor, lawyer, architect, pilot, dentist, actor etc.); non-professional (hockey player, baseball player,

rancher, rock star, bodyguard), and 7% wanted to be involved in traditional native activities - trapper, chief, council member, etc. Only 11% had no dreams. A surprising 36% of the sample could not identify an individual who had a positive influence on their lives. Of those who did, 34% said "other relatives" and 28% said parents. A 40-year-old Ojibway woman who was seriously abused as a child said:

The most positive influence in my life was my home room teacher and the movie 'Mary Poppins'. When I saw that movie I knew that being a child was not all sadness.

The majority of people thought natives (themselves and other natives) should be responsible for improving their lives. Half the sample believed well-off natives would not help poor natives and only 26% gave an unequivocal "yes" to the question. The majority (56%) either said no organization provided them a political voice or they could not identify one. Only 21% identified an actual aboriginal political entity whether a national or provincial political organization, tribal or regional body, chief or band. One street-level man remarked:

Inner-city people have no-one to speak for them. Well-off natives like to pretend they are victims but when they do that they victimize their own people.

II.4 Summary

The important points about the total sample are that it reflects many aboriginal groups and reserves across the country; people are relatively comfortable in cities even though their lives are not free of problems and most had difficulties in adjusting; there is attrition from reserves and people come to cities looking for a better life, or to escape a bad situation or to lose themselves in one. Most wanted to stay in the city to live and work.

The majority (72%) reported family violence and 49% had more than one incident of spousal, child and/or sexual abuse. Many had disruptive, disjointed lives as children. Parental drinking and instability also characterized those childhoods. As adults, unemployment, alcohol problems, and lack of education and skills plagued people's lives and limited their options. More than three-quarters of the sample were on welfare or other social assistance. The majority of those from reserves felt that power structures in the community and their own (or families') social standing disadvantaged them from the beginning.

Involvement with systems of social control, especially police, courts and corrections is a fact of life for many. Of the total sample, 81% had been charged with a *Criminal Code* offence, 41% had 11 or more charges, and 76% of those charged had spent some time in custody - 85% of the males and 61% of the females. When violently victimized in cities (two-thirds of the sample), 74% did not report to police. A recognition of their marginalized role is reflected more in their perceptions of how natives are treated by police than in their actual treatment. The majority of the sample have or had a drinking problem and alcohol was a factor "all" or "most of the time" in 77% of offences.

Aspirations of inner-city respondents are similar to those of other Canadians. They aspire to a better life and want jobs and education for themselves and their families. They are unsure how to obtain these and have difficulty in relating to existing opportunities and services. Some have such severe alcohol problems they relate to little. Others live a quiet rage at their exclusion from mainstream and aboriginal society, and a decent life. Others are struggling to change their lives, to become part of the 'Canadian dream'. The majority do not feel they have a "voice," or that any aboriginal organizations speak on their behalf. Many also feel alienated from urban aboriginal services such as friendship centres, and see themselves marginalized in those places as well.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE INNER CITY

Introduction

In some respects this chapter represents the heart of the research. By dividing the sample according to where people were selected, and where they resided in the inner and outer city and by comparing the groups, a social strata emerged.¹⁷ This is important because it suggests that ascription to a particular group, such as "inner city," does not mean that all group members share the same characteristics. This finding supports a central thesis of this research - that all native people are not equally at risk for the commission of crime and criminal justice processing, and that "risk" increases with the degree of marginalization in the broader as well as in aboriginal society.

III.1 *Overview of the Three Groups*

As previously described, people were designated according to certain criteria. Those who were selected at the street level (in soup kitchens, shelters, drop-ins, and on the street) and had addresses in the inner city, were designated Inner 1; those selected through social and justice agencies were designated Inner 2; and those with an address outside the inner city were designated Outer.¹⁸

The Inner 1 group comprises 35% (N=213), the Inner 2 group 40% (N=245), and the Outer group 25% (N=153), of the total sample. Males dominate in the Inner 1 and Inner 2, and females in Outer. Sixty-two percent of the Inner 1 group are males, compared to 64% of Inner 2, and 47% of Outer. For females, the comparable figures are 37%, 36% and 52%, respectively.¹⁹ There are no significant differences for the proportion of females in the three groups, nor for total males and females by age groups.²⁰ There are male differences by location (Table III.1 *Age by Location and Gender*).

More Inner 2 individuals had been in the city a short time (0-3 years), and more of the Inner 1 group for a longer time (9 or more years). More of the Outer group were

born in the city. Approximately the same proportion of registered Indians are in all groups but more Metis are in Inner 2, and more non-status in Outer. More females than males are Inuit (Table III.2 *Status by Location and Gender*).

More Inner 1 individuals reported "varied" as home community, meaning they had moved around a lot in their lifetimes. More Inner 2 and Outer individuals listed "cities" as home community, and similar proportions of each group identified reserves. Differences in home community are significant for males but not for females (Table III.3 *Home Community by Location and Gender*).

With the age, status and gender findings in mind, the substantive findings in relation to the three groups, and to males and females within the groups, will be described in this chapter. These are organized by childhood and adulthood, crime and victimization, coming to and life in the city. The chapter will conclude by discussing differences in aspirations of the three groups. Male-female differences within the groups will be noted, where significant.

III.2. Background

One of the most important issues in this research was exploring the relationship between childhood experiences and adult life. Significant findings are presented below.

III.2.a Childhood

More Inner 1 individuals were born on reserve - nearly two thirds as compared to one-half for the other groups. More Outer people were born in cities and Inner 2 in rural areas or small towns. There were no significant differences in where groups spent their childhoods but, while 63% of the Inner 1 group were born on reserves, only 42% spent their first 16 years there. Inner 1 individuals also came from larger families - nearly a quarter came from families with 10 or more children, compared to about 15% of the other groups.

The differences in upbringing between the groups provides an initial understanding of the downward spiral in the lives of the Inner 1 group, in particular. One young Inner 1 part Blackfoot male, whose mother was a prostitute, in explaining his life and the lives of his siblings, said:

From the time I was 13 or 14, life with Mom was hell... but I followed her into the streets. My mother lead the way for my sister to work the streets. I felt

that it was my mother's fault for my brother's doing coke because she introduced it to them. I didn't get into that much though. I see that it's my Mom leading the way for this to happen. I expect she'll die in the next year from a heart attack or stroke.

Significantly more Inner 1 males and females were raised in foster care, Inner 2 and Outer males by single parents, and females by both parents (Table III.4 *Upbringing by Location and Gender*). Some told stories of continually moving from parents to foster parents and back again; of mother's boyfriends moving in and out; of relatives who took them in when there was no place to go. Some talked of never really knowing their own parents because they were abused as babies, and were still angry and feeling deserted. One 21-year-old Mohawk male, who spent his childhood in foster families, belonged to a gang of young natives like himself. He said of the group:

We hang out together. When we see people who remind us of our parents we take out our anger on them.

A 24-year-old non-status male with a face scarred from fights and beatings, said he was deserted by his mother as an infant but when his father died:

Mom came to town and brought me and my sisters to Regina. She said she was taking us out for coffee and we ended up in Regina. When we got there Mom gave me a case of beer and a package of cigarettes and said, 'Go have some fun.' I was 11 years old.

Inner 1 males reported the most unstable lives and moving around the most as children. There are no significant differences among the three groups of females. A 19-year-old Inner 1 male, who was raised in seven different foster homes because his grandmother could not handle him, lamented not belonging anywhere:

I wanted to live with normal parents, go to school, get my own room, ghetto blaster and shit like that, where you can call up your friends to come over. I never had that.

There are only slightly significant differences for attendance at residential school - more Outer individuals did not attend as more were from cities. There were no differences between Inner 1 and 2 groups. However, the Inner 1 group spent significantly *less* time at residential schools than the other groups. The most common negative complaints about residential school were "too strict" and "loneliness;" the

most common positive remark was “good friends.” The majority of those who had attended residential school were neutral or generally positive about their experiences. A few told stories of negative parental experiences at residential school. One 50-year-old Outer male said about his father’s experience:

He didn’t like it. The brothers used to kick the kids in the stomach ‘til they bled. My father didn’t want us to go so he extinguished our Indian rights.

There were no differences among the groups for exposure to cultural guidance but the source was somewhat different. The majority with exposure to culture learned their culture from parents but more Inner 1 individuals learned from grandparents and relatives, and the Inner 2 and Outer group from elders.

The findings on family violence are important. While there are no significant differences among the three groups overall, there are differences among the males in the groups. More Inner 1 males and females reported violence and the most severe violence in their families (Table III.5 *Family Violence by Location and Gender*).

A 26-year-old Inner 1 male suffered abuse both at home and in most of the foster homes he was sent to (because of chronic abuse by his father). He said of foster homes:

It was bad - we were called names, strapped with belts, knocked unconscious. I broke into the next door neighbour’s house to steal guns to protect myself - I got locked up in the city cells.

The severity of violence is often extreme. A 36-year-old single Prairie Cree male said:

I have scars on my wrist and all over my back from what Auntie did to me with a pair of scissors when I was about four or five. Auntie also made me sleep under a table and not in bed.

People also spoke of witnessing severe violence. An 18-year-old urban-based Sioux male told the following story:

When I was six or seven, my grandfather started slapping my grandmother and knocking her head side to side. When he would knock her out he would

pour cold water on her to waken her up. He threw her down the stairs and then pulled her back up by the hair and then sat her in the chair; hit her again and threw her on the floor and began kicking her. He wasn't drinking.

Violence is not restricted to males. A 21-year-old Inner 1 Cree female talked about the pervasiveness of violence in her family. Her father beat her mother senseless from the time she could remember - he beat all the children including her and put her in the hospital. She was sexually assaulted by uncles and an aunt. She was first taken from her family because her father tried to kill her when she was a few weeks old by throwing her in a fire. Her great-grandmother took her and kept the father away until she was older:

An Inuit woman with a scarred and twisted arm said:

My father was mad at me - I don't know why, he was always mad at me. When I was five he put my arm in the washing machine rollers and left me there all night.²¹

Women in all groups spoke of sexual abuse within families, and in foster and step-families. A 39-year-old Ojibway woman explained why she left home at 15 and came to the city:

My father raped me when I was 5 and gashed my forehead open. He raped me all the time and injured me. I left home at 15.

The Inner 1 group went into foster care at an earlier age and stayed longer than did either of the other groups. An 42-year-old Odawa male interviewed at a drop-in centre said:

I went into a foster home when I was two. I don't know why I was in those homes. I never knew my mother then. I've met her and I wish I hadn't. I was in about 10 foster homes. They beat me in two of the foster homes - one was native and one was white. Everybody beat me up - every day it happened. I even got beaten up by the kids in school because I wasn't from there. The priest beat me up one time - thought I'd B&E his house. Every time I ran away the CAS would take me back to the same place and I'd get beat up again.

A 29-year-old Inner 2 male related his foster care experiences:

My dad died and my mother didn't want me. When I was small, about one or two I think, I was put in a foster home. I guess I was hard to handle because I was in about eight different ones. The foster dad in one sexually abused the other foster kids but not me - he just yelled bad things at me all the time.

A more sophisticated technique²² to distinguish differences among the three groups revealed that more of the Inner 1 group suffered severe abuse by foster parents, extended family and "varied" others. More of the Inner 2 and Outer groups were abused by biological and step-parents. This, in conjunction with the finding of no real differences in the groups for the incidence or severity of family violence, suggests that who commits the abuse may be as important as the abuse itself.

Inner 1 and 2 males and females had lower educational achievement than the Outer groups (Table III.6 *Grades by Location and Gender*). "Combination" childhoods revealed the poorest education attainment, as children moved so often. A 30-year-old male with such a childhood explained missing school:

I used to go back and forth from my mom's to foster homes. Once when I was about 11 my mom didn't come home for about a month so I never went to school. I missed a bunch of school.

Females generally started regular drinking at older ages than males, but Inner 1 males started at the latest age, which is also consistent with findings about spending childhoods on reserve. The Outer group started drugs at an earlier age, probably because more were from cities. The Inner 1 group was involved in the criminal justice system at the youngest, and the Outer at the oldest, age (Table III.7 *Age First in Criminal Justice System by Location*).

One 41-year-old Chipewyan who spent years in correctional institutions, including Prison for Women, explained how she was first involved in the system:

My life was ruined because at 15 my mother reported me to the RCMP for drinking and I was put into an institution for delinquent juveniles. I never told my mother how angry I was - thought it would hurt her feelings.

Inner 1 individuals committed the most juvenile offences - 51% of Inner 1 had five or more juvenile offences, as compared to 39% of the Inner 2 group, and 33% of the Outer group (Table III.8 *Juvenile Offences by Location*). The same proportions of the Inner 1 and 2 groups had juvenile detention but those in Inner 1 had longer sentences. Outer individuals had the least incidence of and time in juvenile detention.

While the majority of all juvenile offences were against property (46%), Inner 1 individuals had significantly more JDA offences, and more Inner 2 individuals had a combination of person and property offences. The fact that Inner 1 individuals still received more detention time, in combination with more JDA offences, would suggest that their social status, in conjunction with their childhood status, acted against them at a very early age, making them especially vulnerable to social control systems such as child welfare and juvenile justice.

When asked the question about positive influences in their lives, fewer Inner 1 males than other males identified parents, but there were no differences for females. The same was true (but less significantly) for negative influences - more Inner 1 males identified parents. More Inner 1 males said they were not accepted on reserves because of parental behaviour. There were no differences among females. A recurring theme among many inner-city people, and especially those in the Inner 2 and Outer groups, was the importance of the time they spent with grandparents.

Although not statistically significant, half of the Inner 1 group considered spousal assaults the most common violence on reserves, compared to less than 40% of Inner 2 and Outer individuals. More of the Inner 1 group saw power on reserves a "class" issue. Two thirds of Inner 1 individuals felt "looked down upon" on reserve, compared to approximately one half of the other groups. As children, more Inner 2 individuals wanted to be police officers and slightly fewer of the Inner 1 group wanted professional jobs, compared to the other groups.

III.2.b Adulthood

Adult findings reveal that the differences among the three groups in childhood are played out in adulthood. A 23-year-old Outer female from the N.W.T. said:

I think people who commit offences, or are a victim of abuse, are people who were exposed to a poor upbringing - I think this is where it starts.

More Inner 1 males were single, compared to males in the other groups. There were no significant differences for females (Table III.9 *Marital Status by Location and Gender*).

Inner 1 individuals had more children and had more relationships over their lifetimes (this is, in part, because this group has a somewhat higher mean age). However, 73% of the Inner 1 group did *not* have custody of children, compared to 58% of Inner 2, and 41% of Outer. Inner 1 males had the least amount of custody and Outer females

the most, but gender was also related to class as fewer Inner 1 than Inner 2 or Outer females, had custody of children (Table III.10 *Child Custody by Location and Gender*).

Being on welfare correlates with group status or "class" as it is used here. A far greater percentage of Inner 1 individuals, compared to those in the other groups, were on welfare. For females, being on welfare is also related to class (Table III.11 *Source of Money by Location and Gender*). Only 6% of the sample with grade 9 or less were employed, compared to 15% of those with at least high school education, and lower education correlated with social strata. Those from reserves were over-represented in both low educational attainment (i.e., grade 9 or less) and in high school graduates, which supports the thesis, as suggested previously, that reserve life is either very positive or very negative, depending on one's social situation. The lack of education inhibits people even looking for jobs as noted by a young Inner 2 male:

People don't even bother looking for jobs - they know they won't find one because they have no education... no skills. Sometimes all they can do is go out all night looking for bottles to pick up or... maybe panhandle.²³

An 18-year-old Sioux male who grew up in the city living on welfare observed:

Welfare is killing whatever Indian people stand for. If you are on it all your friends are too and everyone is the same and just starts partying when cheques come out.

Inner 1 individuals had the least amount of full-time work - 4% as compared to 6% for the Inner 2 group, and 16% for the Outer group. Only 1% of Inner 1 individuals were on education funding, compared to 16% of those in Inner 2, and 18% of those in Outer. A lifetime of being "mainly unemployed" was, for Inner 1 individuals, much more likely than for those in the other groups (48% to 24% and 28%, respectively). An Inner 2 male contended that for many of the native street people, jobs would not do any good because "everyone in the inner city is hooked on alcohol, drugs and prostitution." However, a 21-year-old Cree in school felt that people's "lifestyle often changes when they have jobs or are in school." A slightly older male echoed these sentiments: "People feel so useless because they have no jobs and nothing to build on."

The effects of having no education and skills are far-reaching. One typical, unskilled, and unemployed 19-year-old Inner 1 male, with a history of break and enters and assaults, said:

When I have something to do every day, except just sitting around watching TV at the drop-in centre, I don't get in trouble.

Inner 1 but especially Inner 2 individuals moved around more than those in the Outer group, probably because the Outer group is more stable. At the time of the interview, more Inner 1, and generally more males than females, cited "problems", and more had personal, and alcohol and drug problems. Nearly one quarter of Inner 2 and Outer individuals had no problems, but those who did were more inclined to cite employment (males) and social problems (females). More males in the Inner 1 category had "no permanent address" (12% as compared to 7% for the Inner 2, and none for Outer group) and lived alone. Inner 1 individuals cited "evictions" more often than those in the other groups as the reason for changing residence, although housing was the main reason for all groups.

Alcohol problems were related to charges for Inner 1 and 2 individuals, but not those in the Outer group. Inner 1 generally had the most problems with alcohol (Table III.12 *Alcohol Problem by Location and Gender*). Inner 1 and 2 males and Inner 1 females committed the most offences on reserve. In response to how people who committed offences on reserves were treated, one 34-year-old Blackfoot woman made a distinction based on the seriousness of offences:

People with serious records are treated differently from those just doing little things.

A 25-year-old woman with federal time put it differently:

Those who get into trouble are the 'outsiders' in the community.

In terms of preference for working and living on reserves or cities, more of those in the Inner 2 and Outer groups than in the Inner 1 group, were favourably disposed to reserves, even though the majority in all groups wanted to stay in cities. Inner 1 males and females were *least* inclined of all to live or work on reserves (Table III.13 *Live on Reserve by Location and Gender*).

An Inner 1 man justified not wanting to return to the reserves:

The reserves are only good for some people. The 'have-nots' from the reserve end up in cities - treated like second class citizens in our own communities.

All the reserves are like this - under self-government the rich get rich and the poor get poorer

But others, particularly those in the Inner 2 and Outer groups, had different perceptions of reserves and self-government, and were generally more favourably disposed to living and working there. A 38-year-old Ojibway male from northern Ontario explained his aloneness in the city:

Even though I'm with my wife and children it's not the same way families are at home, where family means aunts, cousins, grandparents and everyone accepts you and looks out for you.

The majority of the sample with reserves experience believed that power on reserves is limited to certain people and families. A 23-year-old Sioux Inner 2 male claimed that "qualified people are not given opportunities on reserve so leave."

In terms of present aspirations, significantly more Inner 1 individuals wanted to quit alcohol and drugs, compared to the other groups. Outer individuals wanted more education, and both the Outer and Inner 2 groups stressed employment. For long term aspirations, more Inner 1 people identified a "decent life" (probably because this group is the most disadvantaged), and again, the Inner 2 and Outer groups emphasized education and employment. Sixty percent (60%) of Inner 1 people (and more females than males) thought well-off natives did not help poor natives, compared to approximately 46% each for the Inner 2 and Outer groups.

III.3 *Coming to and Life in the City*

The majority of respondents (those not born in cities) were from reserves or communities near urban areas (towns or cities). More females than males came from remote communities - about a third of the females compared to one fifth of the males (Table III.14 *Home Community/Reserve Geography by Location and Gender*). Consistent with that is the finding that more Inner 1 and Outer females were from communities farthest from their present city.

There were differences in the ages of coming to the city. More Inner 1 individuals came between the ages of 15 and 24 and, as mentioned previously, more Outer individuals were born in cities. Inner 2 and Outer males spent the least time in cities (Table III.15 *Age of Arrival in City by Location and Gender*). There were differences

among the groups in the reasons for coming to the city. More Inner 2 and Outer people came for education and employment, and Inner 1 for family, friends or personal reasons. The majority of all groups intended to stay and there were no differences in contacts or familiarity before coming. There were, however, some differences in expectations. While most found the city as expected, more Inner 2 and Outer individuals found the city *better* than expected. Inner 1 and 2 females found the city worse than did all males, and Outer females.

To many, especially Inner 1, the inner city was home. A 32-year-old Chipewyan male explained:

Feel comfortable here - would really miss it - it's like a big family. When I have money I buy people beers and when I'm out of cash they look after me.

People talked about feeling accepted in the inner city where:

living is a lot easier because there are no demands or pressures - people accept you for what you are. People feel safer and more understood.

The inner city is also the first place many want to get to when coming to the city:

People come immediately to the inner city. Everyone knows that it's the most exciting part.

A 29-year-old Micmac male related his perceptions of the transition from the reserve to the inner city:

People leave reserves because they're going around in circles on reserves and know there won't be no new jobs. Also hear good things about city life - the fun and glamour and not what it's like living on streets and alcohol problems.

To some, the inner city represents a constant threat:

Don't buy anything expensive unless you've got a good secure place to keep it. People so afraid down here - they don't have much and are afraid of losing what they have.

and:

Lots of "rolling" when welfare cheques come out.

To others, living in the inner city represents a deepening of despair:

People get too close and only see others just like them. You give up easily yourself if you see people with the same problems all the time - it's like looking in a mirror and seeing your own reflection.

and:

I'd heard about 'the drag' but didn't know people would be shitting themselves, puking in the streets and dying.

One male talked about being accepted on the street:

You bully your way in, not a rat or coward, and stand up and fight if you're going to live. Lots of people fall by the wayside.

Inner 1 people felt most settled in the city even though it was the most marginalized group. Inner 1 males visit their reserves least often. Inner 2 and Outer males generally visit more often than females of all groups. Outer people want to stay in their present areas while more Inner 2 individuals want to move to another area of the city. More Inner 1 people move to certain areas of the city because of friends while those in Inner 2 move because of personal choice, or to be near inner-city services. Outer individuals move the least of the three groups for "housing" reasons.

When asked what they liked about living where they did, Inner 1 people stressed "friends," while those in Inner 2 and Outer groups emphasized services. More Outer people found nothing negative about where they lived. More Inner 1 people complained about alcohol and drugs. Eight percent (8%) of the Inner 2 group complained about racism, compared to 2% of those in the Inner 1 group, and 1% of the Outer group. Inner 2 people also cited crime and violence as bad aspects of their areas. The stability of the city area in which they lived was also perceived differently. More Inner 1 people thought their area "mostly unstable," while more Outer people considered their areas "mostly stable." One 30-year-old Inner 1 individual explained why he felt his area was unstable:

You never know what's going to happen in the next half hour or the next day. There's lots of solvent abuse, lysol drinkers.

Perceptions, however, may vary according to one's own life. An Inner 2 male said of the same area:

It's stable - it's a good place to live if you know the right people.

More Inner 2 people perceived "a lot" of crime in their area of the city but the differences were not significant. Inner 1 and Outer people perceived similar amounts of crime, which is surprising given that they come from very different areas of the city. Perceptions of what constitutes "crime" may vary by socio-economic status and experiences. Generally, Inner 1 males and females were less fearful of victimization, even though they have the most experience with it. Inner 2 and Outer females most feared victimization. More Inner 1 people thought drunks are the most vulnerable to being victimized in the city, whereas Inner 2 and Outer people thought non-whites and females were most vulnerable. Outer females are most inclined to think women are most vulnerable, even though they themselves have been less victimized than females in the other two groups. A 30-year-old Inner 1 Cree woman said that sometimes, just coming to the inner city from another province can make you vulnerable:

If you are not from Alberta people want to see how good a fighter you are. I got into a lot of fights and sometimes I was hurt real bad. I was used to fighting with my old man but not with strangers. If you don't fight you're called a 'failure'.

When asked about problems other native people might experience coming to the city, all cited loneliness, followed by alcohol and drugs. Inner 1 people emphasized alcohol and drugs, Inner 2 racism, and Outer; loneliness. There were also differences in perceptions of how native people get into the inner-city lifestyle. More Inner 1 people thought "friends" influenced newcomers, more Inner 2 individuals blamed boredom and having nothing to do, and friends, while the Outer group was fairly evenly split between those reasons and people's backgrounds. One Inner 2 female explained the problem for many natives who first come to the city:

When natives first come to the inner city they're naive about how everything works. Maybe different for those with skills but once into the inner city they become like everyone else. Native people in the inner city are very convincing and start natives using drugs - then they're gone and become just like the rest.

There was general agreement that "having the will to change" got people out of the lifestyle. Significantly more Inner 1 people (especially males) thought city services

were adequate and that native people were aware of them, but did not use them to their advantage. One person explained that "there are lots of opportunities and resources but people are scared to take them - afraid of rejection or failing." The Inner 1 group, more than the others, thought that direct contact was the best way to make people aware of services. One female said:

No-one has a clue how to get information. Young guys wander around the city drinking and getting into trouble but won't ask anyone for help. They don't read the things put up on walls.

Or they lament the loss of programs they felt were useful:

"Beat the street" was good - had upgrading, computers, day care... but ran out of money.

One person said not having anyone to talk to for help and guidance was a major problem for inner-city people:

You have to make an appointment to talk to a counsellor at welfare and sometimes it takes a long time so you end up just talking to your friends, but they don't know any better than you. Feels like you get the brush-off at social services and you need information and counselling about what to take, and there's no-one to help you.

Childhood and other experiences often inhibit people from seeking ways of change. A 41-year-old drummer said:

People would help native people if they asked for help but they won't ask. They think all the time and remember how they feel when they wake up in the morning and think about it all the time. Reality is only nice if you're the right people.

Inner 1 people used friendship centres the least - fully 60% did not use them, compared to 41% of the Inner 2 group, and 36% of Outer.

III.4 Crime and Victimization

The crime and victimization findings, like those concerning childhood and socio-economic status, reveal the Inner 1 group to be offenders and victims most often. A

higher percentage of the Inner 1 group had been charged with an offence and, as with other previously identified variables, male/female incidence was related to class. Fully 96% of Inner 1 males and 85% of Inner 1 females had been charged with an offence (including *Criminal Code*, public drinking, and JDA). These figures compare to 91% males and 69% females for the Inner 2 group, and 83% males and 56% females for the Outer group. The figures are somewhat lower for *Criminal Code* charges only. Inner 1 also has the most charges (Table III.16a *Charges by Location and Gender*; Table III.16b *Criminal Code Charges by Location and Gender*; Table III.17 *Number of Criminal Code Charges by Location and Gender*).

Significantly more Inner 1 individuals said they were charged with offences in their reserves/home communities. Both Inner 1 and Outer offenders committed more *multiple* offences in those places than those in the Inner 2 group. Interestingly, 50% of the Inner 1 group felt pressure to leave the community because of their offences, compared to only 32% of those in the Outer group. Inner 2 people committed more assaults and B&E's on reserves, and Inner 1 more serious (serious assaults) and minor (thefts, administrative) offences. Outer group offences included common assaults, B&E's and thefts but, overall, fewer Outer group people were involved in offences.

A 27-year-old male who served seven years of a 14-year sentence for a sexual assault on his reserve, described the shame he feels at being seen by someone from his community:

I moved from institution to institution so no-one from my community would see me. I'm really afraid and ashamed of being seeing by someone from home.

For offences committed outside reserves/home communities, Inner 1 and 2 people committed them in significantly more places, and the number of city charges was highest for those in Inner 1. For example, nearly 39% of the Inner 1 group committed 1 or more offences in their present city, as compared to 33% of the Inner 2, and 20% of the Outer groups. However, two thirds of reported offences occurred outside the reserve/home community. Of those, 89% were committed in cities. There were no differences among the groups in use of alcohol in city or home community offences. Overall, there was little difference among the three groups in types of offences committed. Taken together, however, Inner 1 males and females were somewhat disproportionately represented in serious (Type I) and not so serious offences (thefts, shoplift, public drinking, JDA), whereas Inner 2 males and females were over-represented in Type 2 - common and other assaults, and robbery. Outer females were

under-represented in some types of offences, such as Types 2, 3 and 5, but were slightly over-represented in public drinking offences (Table III.18 *Type of Offence by Location and Gender*).

In explaining crime in the inner city, one 46-year-old Metis with a long record said:

It's all crime here. When you get only \$400 a month what else can you do? So many people take so much until they explode - violence brings jail time and death.

An articulate male who sees himself as the protector of the weak and defenceless in the inner city, reacted angrily to the subject of crime:

Depends on how you define it. From my perspective it's a way of life - from newspapers and politicians it's crime. What it's all about is an industry. Poor, powerless people keep the industry going - police don't need guns and billy clubs to talk to people but they use them. Should be putting money into opportunities for people and not police and courts.

Type of custodial detention is also different for the groups. Inner 1 people were over-represented in provincial and federal custody, while Inner 2 people were over-represented in Juvenile and Pre-trial detention. Outer people were under-represented in all types of detention. Inner 1 and 2 people had the longest time in detention. Inner 1 individuals had been in and out of detention most often (Table III.19 *Type of Detention by Location*, Table III.20 *Number of Detentions by Location*, Table III.21 *Total Detention Time by Location*). It is easy to see how involvement in the system builds over time. Of those charged with offences, 76% spent some time in detention. While offences were not necessarily serious, the number of priors people accumulated made them vulnerable to continued detention.

In discussing his incarceration, an 18-year-old Inner 2 Metis male who had done four months for assaults and B&E's said:

When I was in... I learnt more about crime than I ever had before. I learnt how to do crime. We'd sit around talking about crime. After that, the charges just started rolling in left and right.

Another Inner 2 male derided the use of jail: "... jail is another form of the streets..." and the general lack of respect for natives:

Native people commit crimes because they don't get respect. That's all I want. I think respect should be built into the justice system, especially at the juvenile system. Every culture is different. This needs to be looked at.

There were also significant differences among the groups in incidence of personal victimization and number of victimizations. Inner 1 females had the highest incidence of victimization, followed by Outer females, and Inner 1 and 2 males. The Outer males and Inner 2 females had the least. A similar pattern held for the number of victimizations although the Inner 2 males had the most male victimizations. The Inner 1 males and females had a higher proportion of multiple victimizations compared to other females and males (Table III.22 *Total Person Victimizations by Location and Gender*); and Table III.23 *Total Number of Person Victimizations by Location and Gender (Total)*.

Many Inner 1 females told of victimizations by spouses or partners that were so numerous they "couldn't count how many." A 30-year-old woman said:

I don't know how much he beat on me - the father of my middle children. He was on coke and beat me all the time. Threatened to kill me if I tried to leave. He was pimping and on drugs.

There is also a difference in the seriousness of victimizations but the same pattern emerged. The Inner 1 females received the most serious injuries followed by Inner 1 males (Table III.24 *Injury In City Victimizations by Location and Gender*).

These findings are important in documenting that all females are not equally at risk for victimization, as is often suggested in both the popular press and government reports (Statistics Canada, 1993).

III.5 *Summary*

This chapter examined differences among the groups that comprise the inner-city social strata. It revealed that there are significant differences that distinguish the groups. On the basis of socio-demographic, victimization, and involvement in the criminal justice system findings, the Inner 1 males, are the most disadvantaged of all - 96% of males and 85% of females have been charged with an offence. Inner 2 females are the second most disadvantaged group. Involvement in the criminal justice system is also very high for Inner 2 people. Outer people are least involved but their involvement is still high. Two-thirds of reported charges occurred outside reserve/home community and 89% of those occurred in the four cities.

III.5.a *Inner 1*

Although more Inner 1 people are born on reserves, and reserves offer more stability in childhood (as revealed in the previous chapter), this finding does not appear to extend to this group. One of two childhood scenarios appear to exist for Inner 1 people: those who remain on reserve come from the most excluded or problem-ridden families; and those who leave often go into the child welfare system. Either way, from childhood and into adulthood, life for the Inner 1 group is a downward spiral. Intense and frequent involvement in the criminal justice system only exacerbates their marginalization and alienation in society. The Inner 1 group is the oldest in age of the three groups and the most alienated from reserves.

Inner 1 people report the most disruptive and unstable circumstances in childhood; are most vulnerable to violence in foster and extended family situations; and more had been in foster homes and in multiple foster homes. This group also came from the largest families. They report more parental unemployment and moving around. They also had the least advantage and stability in adulthood, and are most likely to have had unstable lives. Inner 1 people had the most alcohol problems, highest incidence of welfare and unemployment in their lifetimes, more multiple relationships, more children but less custody, were more alone, and were more likely to find city life worse than expected at first, but now be most comfortable in cities. Part of the reason for this comfort is that friends are very important to this group and drinking binds people together. Inner 1 moved to be near friends, and was more likely than the other groups to claim they drink to "have fun."

Inner 1 people also had the most entrenched involvement in systems of social control - particularly child welfare and the criminal justice systems. This group has more total criminal offences, total charges, and total custody time than the Inner 2 or Outer groups. It also has more serious victimizations. Inner 1 people are the least fearful of victimization and see people like themselves - older, drunk, or the helpless - as most vulnerable to crime. They are the least punitive about criminal justice responses to serious offenders.

Inner 1 males and females share many of the same characteristics but there are some differences in the variables in which they are dominant. There are also variables where only Inner 1 males or Inner 1 females dominate. For example, alcohol problems are more significant for males (including their reasons for drinking - sociability and friendship), as are their numbers of relationships, perceptions of unstable lives, and having friends in the inner city. Some of the factors *only* significant for males are:

being alone, instability in childhood, family violence, time in provincial custody, total custody, finding life in the city worse than they expected, present comfort in cities, and not wanting to live on or visit reserves.

Some of the factors *only* significant for females are: time in pre-trial custody, committing thefts (shoplifts and frauds), victimization, being victimized by another native, and being victimized by a spouse or partner. While being charged with an offence does not differentiate males in the three groups, it does females. Overall, males are more likely to be charged than females, and alcohol is more likely to be involved in males' offences (the exception to this is Inner 1 females' offences).

III.5.b *Inner 2*

Inner 2 is the youngest group. While not as well educated as the Outer group it is slightly better educated than the Inner 1. More are on social or education assistance than on welfare. They are less content than Inner 1 people with where they live and would prefer a change. Inner 2 individuals like the services in the inner city but not the crime, so are more fearful than Inner 1 people of victimization. They see non-whites and women as being the most vulnerable to victimization. They are most punitive about dealing with serious offenders. Unlike Inner 1 people, more of this group have worked half their adult lives, have fewer children than the Inner 1 group but more than the Outer group, have more custody of children than Inner 1 (but less than the Outer), have slightly fewer charges in the city, have fewer alcohol problems and perceive alcoholism as a disease.

More Inner 2 people have been raised by single parents in a variety of places. More of this group have witnessed spousal abuse. When abused as children, more have been abused by biological or step parents but (more than Inner 1 people) claim to have had stable childhoods, and to have stable lives. More want to live and work on reserves than the other groups but fewer spent their childhoods on reserve. They started drinking at an earlier age than Inner 1 or Outer people but this does not seem to translate into earlier involvement with the criminal justice system. More Inner 2 males than the Inner 1 and Outer groups had "a lot" of exposure to cultural guidance in childhood. This, however, is not the case for Inner 2 females.

Inner 2 people share many socio-economic characteristics with those in the Inner 1 group but these are less extreme. They have more "sometimes" alcohol problems, whereas more Inner 1 have "always" alcohol problems. Inner 2 people do not have as many charges and have not spent as much time in detention, but part of the reason for

these differences is their younger age. More have committed assaults. Their involvement in the criminal justice system is also extreme. On an individual basis, however, they are less alienated from families and communities and their lives are less controlled by alcohol.

III.5.c *Outer*

The Outer group was more advantaged than the Inner 1 and 2 groups along a number of dimensions, but was still disadvantaged in relation to the Canadian non-aboriginal population and to a more affluent aboriginal population.

The age of people in the Outer group fell between those in the Inner 1 and 2 groups. It was the best educated, with most employment and most full-time employment, and with the least involvement in systems of social control, whether child welfare or the criminal justice system. More people in this group were born in cities but spent their childhoods on reserve, in similar proportions to the other groups. More came from communities farthest away from the present city. Fewer were raised in foster families and more with single or both parents. Outer group people also came from the smallest families, and more perceived their childhoods and adult lives to be stable. Outer males had the least exposure to cultural guidance in childhood but there were no differences for females.

More Outer people were married, had fewer children, had the most custody of children, and had had the least number of relationships. Like Inner 2 people, more of those in the Outer group wanted to live and work on reserves, and to visit reserves most often. More came to cities for education and employment, and found cities to be as expected or better. More liked their neighbourhoods, mainly because of the services and stability, did not want to move, and identified their present problems in cities as being related to employment. They had the least alcohol problems of the groups. Like those in Inner 2, they believed women and non-white people are most vulnerable to victimization. Outer males had the fewest victimizations but females had more victimizations than males. Other natives (usually partners or spouses in the case of females) were the main perpetrators. Outer people had the least number of charges, number of city charges, and detentions of all types. Outer people were generally more punitive toward serious offenders than those in Inner 1 group, but were less so than those in Inner 2.

One reason Outer people appeared less disadvantaged is because it comprised more females, who appeared to respond differently than males to childhood experiences, and were seeking education and other alternatives. Even though females exhibited fewer

personal and other problems than males (except for victimization, the majority of which was by spouses or partners), there were clear "class" differences among females. Those in the Inner 1 group were more disadvantaged along a number of dimensions, in comparison to those in the Inner 2 group, and especially to those in the Outer group.

Attendance at residential school did not distinguish the three groups, as might be expected. Nor did it correlate with any of the important outcome variables in adulthood - alcohol problems, being on welfare, employment in lifetime, involvement in the criminal justice system, and victimization (in childhood or adulthood), although city-by-city differences will be explored in the next part. Exposure to native culture in childhood was not positively associated with any of the same outcome variables.

CHAPTER IV

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM
AND THE INNER CITY

Societies of the Western type face two major problems. Wealth is everywhere unequally distributed. So is access to paid work. Both problems contain a potentiality for unrest. The crime control industry is suited for coping with both. This industry provides profit and work while at the same time producing control of those who might otherwise have disturbed the social process (Christie, 1993:11).

The role of the criminal justice system in effecting the disproportionate involvement of aboriginal people is at the heart of recent provincial inquiries (Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991; Indian Justice Review Committee, 1992; Linn, 1992; Cawsey, 1991), and the theme of much aboriginal political discourse. It is also at the heart of this research. Elaboration on other aspects of life for inner-city native people does not minimize the significance of the criminal justice system.

This chapter describes perceptions of those in the three groups about police, their treatment by police as victims and offenders, and the general fairness of the criminal justice system as a whole.

IV.1 *Criminal Justice Issues: Relevant Literature*

In recent years criminal justice has become an important aboriginal issue. However, empirical research data have not greatly influenced the aboriginal criminal justice discourse, nor estimations of the role of the criminal justice system as a causal factor in the over-representation of aboriginal people in that system. In assessing, for example, differential policing of aboriginal people, Depew cautions that:

... from a research perspective one cannot simply dismiss Aboriginal allegations of police racism and discrimination on the grounds that existing evidence is mainly anecdotal and replete with perceptions, beliefs and untested assump-

tions about this important issue. In order to confidently substantiate claims of police mistreatment of Aboriginal Peoples as a reason behind Aboriginal over-representation in correctional institutions, more complete and reliable documentation... is required. Specifically, there is a need for controlled comparisons between, first, police jurisdictions in order to pinpoint possible differential charging and arrests of Aboriginal peoples, and second, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders, victims and complainants in order to determine if there are disparities in police treatment of Aboriginal peoples which may be traced to racial bias or discriminatory practices (Depew, 1993:56).

The larger body of criminological literature is useful in framing some of the relevant issues, particularly as it relates to policing (because police are the "gatekeepers" to the criminal justice system) and, to a lesser extent, to courts and corrections.

The literature on courts and corrections and their role in the over-representation phenomenon, as with police, confuses as much as it enlightens. Guilty pleas, legal representation and sentencing have received little systematic and comparative research attention. Where research exists the analyses are often limited. Some research shows shorter sentences for aboriginal accused but a more frequent use of incarceration (Clark, 1992; Cawsey, 1991). There is some evidence that parole is granted differentially to aboriginal inmates but the reasons are not fully explored (Cawsey, 1991).

Police treatment of powerless people (often equated with racial minorities such as blacks and natives but increasingly including homeless and street people) has drawn academic (Bayley, 1994; Stenning, 1993) and media interest, as well as being a subject in special street studies (Ambrosio *et al*, 1992). Although some research indicates that a person's demeanour is often more significant in determining police action than social status as measured by age, race, gender, or social class (Norris *et al*, 1993), others suggest:

*the quantity and quality of law enforcement that citizens receive, both as victim and suspect, reflects the underlying pattern of social stratification in society (Norris *et al*, [1993:4]).*

Stenning (1993:III.I), in a review of the literature and from his own experimental study on police use of force and violence against visible minorities, concluded that:

credible systematic evidence of discriminatory use of force or violence by police against members of visible minority groups is not presently available in

any of the jurisdictions surveyed, but credible systematic evidence of verbal abuse is.

As is the case with many contentious criminological subjects, the debate about differential policing of certain races or classes continues. Perhaps the issue is not so much about race or class but about how police view themselves in relation to people who they (the police) deem a challenge to their authority, either through disrespectful behaviour or direct challenge and confrontation. The importance of this issue for an inner-city population is critical because this group represents the most socially, politically, and economically powerless of all groups in society. As previously suggested in this report (Chapter I), and as Comack (1993:32) notes:

when an individual's life chances are poor, their likelihood of coming into contact with the law will be increased.

The personal dysfunction of many of those who end up in inner cities compounds their problem of social and economic disadvantage. The limited literature on native people in inner cities suggests that alcohol and drugs, and histories of abuse, both as children and adults, are commonplace (Brody, 1971; Dosman, 1972). Anger, frustration, and a sense of hopelessness and despair at being rejected and unprotected by the dominant society (and often by families as well), dictate much of daily life and personal activity. It is not surprising that contacts with police, the ultimate authority figure, are often fractious. But these contacts are not necessarily without consequences for those perceived to resist police authority. Norris *et al* (1993:27) claim that:

those who challenge police authority are 'taught' that the consequence of non-compliance is brusque and belittling treatment.

In commenting on the same issue in relation to police in the United States, Bayley provides a broader analysis of what underlies police action in certain situations:

The disrespectful ones need 'to be taught a lesson; they can't be allowed to get away with it.' This is particularly true if such people fit the stereotype of the chronic offender - young, black, and male. Police talk quite openly about people who 'flunk the Big A,' meaning the attitude test. People with a 'bad attitude' are not only threatening to police individually, they constitute a symbolic attack on law itself.^{2}*

By the same token, however, police forces in Canada have generally recognized the need to better understand and reflect the populations they serve. Various initiatives, from adopting community-based policing policies, to problem-solving policing, to hiring from minority groups so that police forces reflect the make-up of the community, to cultural sensitivity training for police officers, to creating aboriginal or multicultural units - all of these are components of many contemporary police forces. How well these approaches work is the subject of much debate (Weatheritt, 1986; Greene and Mastrofski, 1988). However, there has not been the same attention to inner cities. Some police forces, such as those in Vancouver and Edmonton, have special initiatives in these areas, which may be motivated more by their large aboriginal populations than by needs of the inner city (because aboriginal justice issues are more prominent than inner-city ones). Canada does not have the same kind of ghetto areas and ghetto-related concerns as the United States and Britain, so inner cities may not be seen as problems in the same way, or elicit the same interest and attention.

IV.2 *The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Accused and Victims*

The research focused on a number of criminal justice issues in both home communities or reserves and other places, but primarily in the cities where respondents now reside. The reason for the separation of places was to discern if any differences in treatment were perceived by people. As mentioned in Chapter I, some research suggests that tolerance for crime and disorder may be related to familiarity and kinship in communities, so it was important to identify the response of the system in both places. People were asked about their treatment by police as accused and as victims.

IV.2.a *Police treatment of accused*

Respondents were asked about how they were *generally* treated by police as offenders, both in their home communities and in the city where they presently resided. Five responses were offered - respectful, matter of fact, rude (abrupt, negative), verbally abusive (racial slurs, name calling), and physically abusive.²⁵ It is important to emphasize that responses reflect only what people say about their own treatment and are not derived from any of the facts or circumstances surrounding the events.

In cities, 41% of the total responses reflected respectful or matter-of-fact treatment, 18% rude treatment, 17% verbally abusive treatment, and 24% physically abusive treatment. There was little difference when controlling for length of time in city, which would suggest that policing innovations are not affecting the people in the sample.²⁶ In home communities/reserves the comparable figures are 55% for respectful/matter-of-

fact treatment, 14% rude treatment, 13% verbally abusive treatment, and 18% physically abusive treatment. The perceptions people hold of treatment by police is more positive in home communities/reserves. One woman summed up what many said:

They treat you nicer at home. They know you and treat you good. Here they think everyone is bad and when they see you think you've done something. The RCMP at home are pretty good.

In cities, males identified more physical abuse (29% to 13%), and more verbal abuse (18% to 13%) than females in contacts with police.²⁷ At the same time, more males identified being aggressive with police and for some, particularly Inner I males, getting a "lickin" from police was little different from the abuse that many had suffered over their lifetimes.

Some relate problems with police from years past. One 41-year-old Cree Inner I male said:

Many years ago the cops picked me up on the street and wanted me to fight another native. I ran to the... hotel and hid but they found me and told me if I didn't fight him I would get put in jail. Took us to the river and we fought but he gave me a good lickin'.

There is a general perception that policing has improved in the past 10 to 15 years, but there are still problems. The lack of any significant difference between those who had been in the city a long time (and identifying abusive treatment from 10 or 20 years ago), and those in the city eight years or less, makes this claim questionable. For example, a 31-year-old Inner I Seneca male said:

About a month and a half ago, it was about ten thirty at night when the police picked me up... just checking. They took me down to... - ran me through CPIC - they took me down there and twisted my leg - have ruptured ligaments on my knee.

A 31-year-old Inner I Inuit male related an experience that occurred four years ago:

They (the police) picked me up somewhere down here. Took me to a railroad yard. There was two policemen - one looked like a rookie. Handcuffed me behind my back. Made me get out of car and started beating on me. Put me across the hood with their nightsticks and poked me in ribs. Then they left me there. I was only drunk and disorderly... I never mouthed back after that.

A 40-year-old Inner 1 Ojibway male maintained that the problem today is rookies:

Rookies are trying to make a name for themselves and don't understand street life. Put them out on the street with no money for a while and then you'll get to know us and the facts about life on the street.

In cities, more females than males reported rude treatment (24% to 15%). Thirty-seven percent (37%) of males reported respectful or matter-of-fact treatment, compared to 50% of females. In reserves or home communities, reports of police treatment were generally more favourable for males but less so for females, especially those in the Inner 1 group. Treatment of males and females by city police was significantly different, but by home police there was no difference (Table IV.1 *Police Treatment by Gender - City and Home Community/ Reserve*).

When controlling for the groups that comprise the social strata, Inner 2 identified the most physical abuse by police in the city. However, when controlling for time in city (including only those who had been in the city eight years or less) it is the same for Inner 1 and 2 people (25% each), and less for those in the Outer group (11%). The only real difference is for the Outer group.²⁸ In examining police response in home communities or reserves, Inner 2 people report the most physical abuse. The Outer group reported the most respectful or matter-of-fact treatment in cities, followed by those in the Inner 1 group. The Inner 1 and Outer groups reported the most respectful treatment in home communities or reserves (but the home community or reserve differences are not significant) (Table IV.2 *Police Treatment by Location - City and Home Community/ Reserve*).

Some people spoke about the kindness of individual police officers and their understanding of street life and of the circumstance of inner-city people. An older male said, "the older ones are good - they understand us better than the young ones." Others were frank in their admissions of causing problems when in contact with police and that the police "were only doing their job."

IV.2.b *Reporting victimizations*

People were asked two questions about reporting victimizations: did they report, and how were they treated by police when reporting. There are differences in response between males and females and among the three groups.

Of those in cities who did not report victimizations to police (74% over-all)²⁹, 81% were male and 64% female. Twice as many females as males said they were treated

respectfully and taken seriously when reporting a victimization. The Outer group reported higher levels of being treated well than the other two groups. More than three quarters of those in the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups did not report victimizations, compared with 61% of the Outer group (Table IV.3 *Not Reporting Victimization by Location - City and Home Community/Reserve [%]*).

In home communities or reserves, reporting victimizations to police was almost identical to the city - 75% did not report. More Outer individuals did not report - 84% compared with 76% of those in the Inner 1 group, and 67% of those in Inner 2. This finding may be explained by the fact that the Outer group comprised more females, many of whom said they were victimized by spouses or partners in home communities or reserves. One woman interviewed in a safe shelter told of repeated abuse and her fear of reporting:

How many times he beat on me? I couldn't count. Lots in the last 14 years - with bats, fry pans, steel toe boots. I never told police cause I was scared of him.

Approximately one third gave "settling own scores" and "not ratting" as reasons for not reporting in the city (this was highest for the Inner 1 group and lowest for the Outer), and 30% said the victimization was not important enough to report (even though the majority of victimizations involve serious injury).³⁰ Thirteen percent (13%) were afraid of retribution, and 12% said police would not do anything about it anyway. A 36-year-old Inner 2 woman said she would not report anything to police again because of an experience in the past:

I cashed my cheque... I had a part-time job and then I lost the money. I went to the police and they gave me a form to fill out. But I got charged with public mischief because they didn't believe me. I was innocent.

There are differences between males and females in reasons for not reporting. For males, "not ratting" or "settling own scores" were the most important reasons overall - 42%. For females, fear of retribution was the single most important reason (29%), which is probably related to the fact that females are disproportionately victimized by spouses or partners. However, nearly 30% of both males and females thought their victimization was not important enough to report. Males are somewhat more cynical than females about police response - 14% did not report, believing police would not act, compared with 9% of females.

IV.3 Perceptions of the Criminal Justice System

IV.3.a General police treatment of native people

A number of questions in the interview referred to opinions about the general treatment of native people by police. These included whether they thought police treated all natives the same, if police treated natives and whites the same, if police would treat a rude, belligerent native the same as a rude, belligerent white, and if all police were the same. People were also asked if they thought they had been guilty of all, most, some, or none of the offences for which they had been charged. Finally, people were asked for perceptions of the fairness of their treatment by police, courts and the justice system.

When asked, as a general question, whether or not police treat all native people the same, the majority said "no" but significantly more individuals in the Inner 1 group said "yes" (Table IV.4 *Police Treatment of all Natives by Location*). Some (21%) believed that differential treatment was owing to the actions of individual officers, nearly half (48%) thought it was owing to the behaviour of natives, and the rest (31%) thought it was an issue of class - that is, more affluent, better-dressed and well-off native people were treated with more respect. While more Inner 1 and Outer individuals attributed differential treatment to the behaviour or actions of natives, significantly more Inner 2 people attributed it to class. One 30-year-old Inner 2 Metis woman said:

Police treat natives who have education and jobs better; or if you come from... reserve because they have money.

A 21-year-old Inner 2 male said:

... it depends on the way you look or your class... the lower class gets treated like shit.

An Inner 1 male believed, however, that: "it depends on the person and how he is on the street."

Inner 1 males scored higher than all male and female groups in attributing differential treatment to the behaviour and actions of natives. One Inner 1 male said:

I've seen lots of it... if you're an asshole with the cops they treat you bad... some guys think they gotta be tough to be cool so mouth off at the cops.

When asked whether police treat natives and whites alike, 75% said whites are treated better but significantly *fewer* Inner 1 people gave this response (Table IV.5 *Police Treatment of Natives and Whites by Location*). One 25-year-old Inner 1 man said:

It doesn't matter if you're white or native - if you're 'street' you're dead.

A 30-year-old Inner 2 female explained that the real problem was having a record:

Even if you don't say anything they check your record and then are rough with you. Once police label you, you will always have trouble with them.

A 26-year-old Inner 1 male with a long record said: "I'm always treated bad by police whether I do anything or not."

Only 58% of Inner 1 people, compared to 83% of those in the Inner 2 and Outer groups, said police treated whites better. This was consistent for males and females. One 38-year-old single mother of five also felt that being older was protection from police abuse:

If you're older the police treat you better - they think you might know your rights.

A final question related to police treatment of rude, belligerent natives and rude, belligerent whites, and whether police treated the two the same. Nearly half (47%) said they were treated the same, compared with 25% in the previous question, who said natives and whites were generally treated differently. Again, those in the Inner 1 group varied. Fully 60% of those in Inner 1, compared with 37% of those in Inner 2 and 46% of those in the Outer group, said police would treat the two "rude" groups the same (Table IV.6 *Police Treatment Rude Natives/Whites by Location*). Inner 1 females were responsible for most of the variation.

When asked whether all police are the same, only 10% said "yes," 24% said "most bad," 32% each said "most good" and "half and half" - 64% of the total sample. There were no differences among the three groups but there were amongst males. Inner 1 males scored highest in "most bad" (34%), and Outer males in "most good" (38%). There were no differences among the females (Table IV.7 *Are Police the Same by Location and Gender*).

IV.3.b *Perceptions of fairness of own treatment*

People were asked how they were *generally* treated by police, courts and the criminal justice system when involved as accused in both cities and reserves or home communities. Respondents were given three possible responses - fairly, unfairly, and half-fair and half-unfair. The findings that follow are by group, and by males and females within each group.

In cities, police were considered the least fair of the three justice components, especially by Inner 2 people. Courts received the most positive response and the: "justice system" placed between the two, but was almost identical to policing. One 23-year-old Inner 2 Saulteux man said: "the justice system passes everyone through like a superstore." Outer people had higher perceptions of fairness than the other groups, but it is important to note that the majority in all groups (except the Inner 2 perception of police) considered their treatment fair. An interesting finding is that Inner 1 females had better perceptions of their treatment by police than did Outer females (Tables IV.8,9,10 *Perception Treatment Police, Justice System, and Courts by Location and Gender - City and Home Community/Reserve*).

Reserves or home communities generally fared better than cities in the way people perceived their treatment, especially by police, but the numbers were much smaller than in cities. Outer females were generally most positive about their treatment. The Inner 1 and 2 females were least positive about police. The Inner 1 group was the least positive overall (especially about home courts), which supports the earlier conclusion that this group is particularly disadvantaged in their home communities or reserves.

IV.4 *General*

IV.4.a *Legal representation and courtworker services*

The vast majority (81%) of people in the sample had legal representation (primarily legal aid) in cities.³¹ There were no differences for males in the three groups but more Inner 1 females were represented than females from the other groups. In home

communities or reserves, only 68% had legal representation and there were no differences within the male and female groups. An interesting finding was that more males than females (in cities and home communities) were represented by legal counsel, probably because they commit more offences and more serious offences (Table IV.11 *% Respondents With Legal Representation by City and Home Community/Reserve by Location and Gender*).

Only about 25% of people with charges received courtworker services in cities and there were no group or male/female differences. In home communities/reserves, 27% of the males and 13% of females received courtworker services. Many people did not seem aware of courtworker services (Table IV.12 *% Respondents With Courtworker Services by City and Home Community/Reserve by Location and Gender*).

IV.4.b *Guilt*

The majority of those charged with offences said they were guilty of all or most offences. More of those in the Inner 1 and Outer groups (both males and females) said they were guilty, and more Inner 2 group people said they were not guilty of offences for which they were charged outside reserves or home communities (Table IV.13 *Guilt by Location and Gender*). There were no differences in perceptions of guilt for offences on reserves or home communities, but admissions of guilt were generally higher there than in cities.

IV.5 *Summary*

The findings for the total sample reveal the following: females when accused of an offence report better treatment from police in cities than males; 41% of the total sample report being treated respectfully or matter-of-factly; 24% reported physical abuse; people generally report better treatment from police in home communities or reserves than in cities; two-thirds thought police treat some natives differently from other natives; one half thought it was because of the way some natives acted; three quarters thought whites were generally treated better by police than natives; but only 53% thought rude whites were treated better than rude natives.

Most people did not report violent victimizations because they did not think them important enough, or would settle problems themselves. More females than males did not report for fear of retribution.

The vast majority of accused had legal representation. It was higher in the cities than in home communities, but only about one quarter had native courtworkers for city offences.

The majority felt they were guilty of all or some of their offences and were treated fairly by the justice system, police and courts. In cities, courts ranked the highest and police the lowest in fairness; in home communities courts were still the highest (except for those in the Inner 1 group) even though fewer had legal representation, followed by police. Generally, city rankings were lower than home communities, especially for police. Being female and belonging to the Outer group seemed most advantageous in terms of police treatment - whether as a victim or an offender.

The differences in the three groups as outlined in Chapter III are supported by the findings in this chapter. These are of interest because those in the Inner 1 group have had the most experience with, and exposure to, police, but were less inclined than the other groups to attribute differences in police treatment of natives or natives and whites to racism or classism. Inner 1 people felt the behaviour or actions of natives, rather than class or race, were most likely to affect how police treated them. At the same time, however, more Inner 1 males than those in the other groups thought police were "mostly bad". Generally, people believed police treated whites better than natives but when asked a specific question about rude natives and rude whites, the number who thought whites were treated better decreased. Slightly more people believed police were good than bad, and one third thought they were half and half.

The findings are of interest on two counts. First, class, as measured by socio-economic level, may influence perceptions of police treatment where the importance of race is diminished. For example, when asked the question "do police treat all natives the same," most said they did not, but nearly one third attributed that to class - "looking better, richer, well-dressed." However, people attributed differences in the treatment of natives and whites to race. The Outer group consistently reported better treatment from city police than did the other groups. This suggests that either police treatment is based on class, or the demeanour of this group when involved with police is different from that of Inner 1 or Inner 2.

Second, general perceptions may be different from actual experiences. For example, while three quarters of the sample said police treat whites better than natives, 42% said they themselves were usually treated respectfully or matter-of-factly when in contact with police in cities. When asked questions about the treatment of native people by police, people often drew on what they had "heard" rather than their own experiences.

The fact that Inner 2 people generally report the most physical abuse from police, both in cities and home communities, may reflect their more aggressive, less submissive attitude. They also believed police treated natives worse than non-natives. More felt they were not guilty, or guilty of only some offences, and, in cities in particular, they generally perceived the police, the courts, and the criminal justice system to be less fair to them than other groups' members do. However, their perceptions of treatment in their reserves or home communities was much more positive. For Inner 1 people, police abuse may be related to more aggressive and less submissive behaviour when drunk.

Alcohol problems make Inner 1 people vulnerable in confrontations with police because they are more liable to be aggressive when drinking. But this group is also vulnerable because they are submissive and will not usually report incidents of police or other abuse. While the Inner 1 group may feel most marginalized and without police protection in the cities, they are less inclined than the other groups to attribute their problems with police to race, as the findings on perceptions of police reveal.

Reporting victimizations relates to gender and class. Males are less inclined than females to report victimizations. Those in the Outer group are more likely than those in Inner 1 and Inner 2 to report victimizations. The fact that over 40% do not report because they believe the victimization is not important enough (even though actual injury occurred) or that police will not do anything, suggests the degree of alienation many feel about police. It also reveals how much inner-city people accept violence against them as normal or deserved.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings set out in Chapters II, III, and IV provide information about native people living in urban areas, specifically in the urban cores of four Canadian cities, who use inner-city agencies and services. This part describes the sample, the inner-city social strata, and the response of the criminal justice system to native offenders and victims, as well as the perceptions of the inner-city group to the system. It addresses some of the central issues of the research, including differences in the circumstances of native people coming to cities, differences in the way in which the urban criminal justice system responds to native people, and/or differences in inner-city native people themselves. The east/west and city-by-city differences are the subject of Part II.

National data suggest that aboriginal socio-economic levels are lower than those of the general Canadian population.³² Data also reveal different levels of aboriginal affluence in Canadian society.³³ The aboriginal differences are not often identified in the aboriginal criminal justice discourse, where aboriginal people are usually described as a socially and economically homogenous group who are equally at risk for the commission of crime and criminal justice processing. This research attempts to delineate some of the differences within inner-city populations.

Understanding differences in aboriginal society allows a greater understanding of need. The ultimate value of this research is that it provides a "voice" to a group whose voice is rarely heard. It enables program and policy makers to identify those most at risk and to direct and focus resources. There is a persistent tendency to regard people with a common identity (such as "native" or "inner city") as sharing characteristics and needs. The argument put forward here is that in order to mount effective responses to problems, it is essential to have a clearer understanding of those problems. It is especially important in times of financial restraint that those with the greatest needs are identified. A major impediment to effecting change is that people with the most need often have the least ability to acquire resources. The "squeaky wheel" attracts attention, the silent wheel does not.

This research explored a number of dimensions of over-representation, adopting the theoretical perspective that certain groups are especially vulnerable to the commission

of crime and to criminal justice processing. It categorized inner-city native people according to certain criteria and examined characteristics of each group to determine possible variation.³⁴ It found that inner-city native people are different along a number of social and economic dimensions, and that social strata exist even within the inner city. This debunks one of the long-held assumptions in much of the aboriginal criminal justice discourse and literature - that native people are equally at risk for the commission of crime and criminal justice processing.

This chapter discusses the findings presented in the previous chapters, and draws some possible conclusions. It is important to remember this is only one of three parts that describe the inner-city research. It is necessary to read all three in order to fully understand and contextualize the research.

V.1 *General Discussion*

Who are inner-city native people? How are they different from other Canadians and from other aboriginal Canadians? The inner-city people sampled in this research are poorer, less skilled, and less educated than other Canadians, aboriginal and non-aboriginal alike. For example, 9% of those aged 15 to 49 in the inner-city sample have post-secondary education, compared with 33% of the aboriginal, and 50% of the Canadian population, in the same age range. The inner-city group also has the highest level of unemployment - 63% overall, compared with 25% for aboriginal people generally, and 10% for all Canadians³⁵. These differences are even more extreme when groups are distinguished by inner-city strata where, for example, 85% of the Inner I group is unemployed and 51% have grade 9 or less education.

The inner-city group has been involved in systems of social control at an earlier age and more often, and been victimized more frequently and more seriously than other Canadians. In the inner-city sample, 92% of the males and 68% of the females had been charged with a *Criminal Code* offence at some time in their lives, 41% had 11 or more charges, and 21% had one or two charges. While comparable data are not available, one study on recidivism, using mid-1980 RCMP data, revealed that 40% of the non-aboriginal group sampled had only one charge (Campbell, 1993). Sixty-three percent (63%) of the inner-city sample had spent time in detention.

More of the charges in the inner-city sample were for offences against the person - approximately 30%, compared with 10% for the non-native accused population, and 14% for the aboriginal accused population (from 1990 data gathered in Calgary and Regina). Alcohol is also a greater factor in offences committed by inner-city people -

64% of their offences involved alcohol, compared with Calgary and Regina in their entireties, where 34% and 38%, respectively, of the aboriginal accused; and 14% and 23%, respectively, of the non-aboriginal accused, were impaired at the time of offence (CCJS, 1993).

Seventy percent (70%) of females and 60% of males in the inner-city sample had been the victim of a person offence involving injury. The female figures are much higher than recent data, which showed that one-half of all Canadian women had been the victims of violence, where pushing, threatening etc., were included (Statistics Canada, 1993). The inner-city findings include only incidents of actual physical violence. There are no comparable data for males, but it is expected that male incidence of violence in the inner city is higher than aboriginal and non-aboriginal populations elsewhere.

These findings paint a bleak picture of inner-city native people, and especially for inner-city males, as this group is the most visible on the streets, the least connected to families and communities, and has the greatest potential to be involved as offenders in, and processed by, the criminal justice system. To understand the dimensions of the inner-city problem, it is necessary to discuss the findings in relation to social stratification in the inner city.

V.I.a *Social stratification in the inner city*

Important social, economic and background characteristics distinguish the three inner-city groups. There are differences among the groups, and among males and females within the groups. Some of these differences relate to childhood and others relate to adulthood. It is clear, however, that life as an adult is directly related to life as a child. The male differences within groups are more extreme than for females, but female differences are also subject to class influences.

The Inner I group comprises more males than females, and Inner I males are the most disadvantaged and marginalized in the entire sample.³⁶ Their lives are characterized by despondency and hopelessness, and many have hard-core alcohol problems. They are the least well-educated, least employed and employable, and the most or victimized as children in terms of being in foster homes, or victims of family violence or instability. They had fewer positive parental influences, and are more alienated from families, reserves and other people (except those in similar circumstances) as adults. They (and especially the males) are the most involved in the criminal justice system. They have more charges, and charges in more places.

Inner 1 people are involved with the criminal justice system at an early age. They have been in custody more, and for longer periods of time than people in the other groups. Violence is normalized and members of this group (and especially males) appear to view their abuse - whether by family, strangers, or police - as a re-affirmation of their own "badness."³⁷ They are, however, more inclined than the other groups to say police treat natives and whites the same. Inner 1 individuals are the least fearful of crime, although the most familiar with violence. They are also less punitive about how offenders should be treated, perhaps because of their own involvement and experiences with the system.

Although exposed to native culture as children in the same proportions as the other groups, Inner 1 people are more alienated from reserves and less inclined than Inner 2 people to perceive cultural solutions to their problems. Females share many of the same characteristics as males, but to a lesser degree. More of the females are from remote communities. Members of this group tend to feel marginalized in both aboriginal and non-aboriginal society.

The Inner 2 group is in transition and will either continue a downward spiral, where they share characteristics with the Inner 1 group, or move upward into the Outer group. They also show a pattern of childhood disadvantage, deprivation and violence, but have had more stable upbringings. More of this group are from rural areas and "combination" childhoods, and those childhoods are the most unstable of the group. Inner 2 males, in particular, have had considerable contact with the criminal justice system and detention, but to a lesser degree than those in the Inner 1 group. They are less resigned to their fate than the Inner 1 group but also less controlled by alcohol. Being somewhat younger and better educated, they are angrier and more aware of their rights, so tend to be less passive in their contacts with police and others.

Generally, fewer Inner 2 than Inner 1 people feel guilty of the offences for which they were charged. They are more verbal than Inner 1 individuals about "fairness" in treatment, and less likely to see abusive treatment as deserved - they "fight back" more, partly because, as a group, they have fewer alcohol problems. They are the least inclined to perceive city police, courts and the justice system as fair. They are more inclined to say police treat whites better than natives and to attribute problems with police to racism. Females of this group are the most fearful of violence.

Inner 2 people are not strongly tied to a reserve but more would like to be, and (more than Inner 1) are looking to native culture for solutions to their problems. The identification with native culture provides a sense of power that escapes them in other

aspects of their lives. There is a greater adoption of a "new age" native spirituality and invocation of related terms. As with Inner 1, there are more males than females in this group but there are also more Metis than in Inner 1.

The Outer group has more females than males. It is generally more advantaged, as measured by socio-economic and education indicators, and by involvement in systems of social control. As a group it is the best educated and has the highest proportion of people employed, but is still far below the standards of the overall Canadian or aboriginal populations.³⁸ It is the most connected to families and reserves, and its members have had more stable childhoods and adulthoods. More of this group have custody of children and are ambitious to further themselves and create options in their lives.

Alcohol is not a problem for most Outer people. They are also less involved in the criminal justice system, as measured by incidence of charging, number of charges and detentions, and have had fewer victimizations. They are generally less angry than Inner 2 people and certainly much less despondent than Inner 1. More of the Outer group regard treatment by city, home community police, courts and the justice system as fair. Like Inner 2, this group feels whites are treated better than natives, even though more feel their own treatment by police was fair. Outer individuals feel accepted in aboriginal society but also have roots in the city, since more were born in cities (even though the majority were born on reserves). They are the most punitive of all groups in what they feel should be done with offenders who commit both serious and not so serious offences.

Attendance at residential school does not distinguish the three groups, nor does it correlate with any of the important outcome variables such as: charges and number of charges, detention in any type of correctional institution, being on welfare, having alcohol problems, being a victim, or number of victimizations. There may, however, be city-by-city differences that will be explored in Part II. Exposure to native culture as children only distinguishes Inner 2 males, but, like residential schools, that is not positively associated with any of the outcome variables.

VI.1.b Childhood experiences and adult life

The majority of those sampled reported childhood abuse. For females, incidence of sexual abuse was higher than for males but, for most, abuse of one kind or another was a fact of daily life. Child victims of family violence, and particularly of severe violence, reported more unstable family lives, more moving around, and earlier involvement in the criminal justice system. Upbringing, parental drinking (and severity of drinking), paternal unemployment, instability, and mobility were related to family violence.

Where "problem" parental drinking, as defined by respondents, was present, it was severe and involved both parents. As well, family violence followed in the majority of cases. Severity of violence increased with the amount of parental drinking. Most family violence was perpetrated by biological parents, but children who lived in other circumstances, i.e., in foster families or with step parents, or who moved from one family situation to another, were more vulnerable to family violence and to severe violence. The Inner 1 group is over-represented in those brought up in foster or varied family circumstances. An important finding is that, when asked about positive influences in their lives, fewer Inner 1 individuals had any. Inner 1 people also reported more negative perceptions of parents and relatives than the other two groups.

Instability and trauma in childhood translate into instability and other problems in adulthood. For adults who suffered severe childhood trauma and chronic dislocation and instability, life is disproportionately characterized by alcohol problems, unemployment, victimization, involvement in the criminal justice system, and general instability. The most severely affected of this group are found in soup kitchens, shelters, drop-ins, or on the street, moving from one place to another in search of food, clothing or a place to sleep.

Males respond differently than females to childhood trauma. This is most evident in the degree of their involvement in the criminal justice system and, for many, their alienation from families and children. Considerably more females have custody of children but the likelihood of both male and female custody increases with class. This finding is important because it suggests that class transcends gender in an area where gender is usually perceived to be the main factor. It also reveals differential access to money and roles for males and females, as will be discussed later.

V.I.c Reserves

There is considerable attrition from, and limited visiting to, reserves. Most respondents wanted to live and work in cities, but more of those who want to live and work on reserves visit reserves often.³⁹ The reserve data are complicated and at times contradictory. The apparent stability, indicated by spending considerable time on the reserve, does not appear to predict a better quality of life, especially for Inner 1 people. Intervening factors - such as parental drinking, paternal unemployment, family violence, and community status and acceptance - may counteract the positive effects. More Inner 1 people report being alienated from reserves, committing more reserve offences, coming

from larger families, paternal unemployment, and feeling "looked down upon" on reserve. Inner 1 people who were born on reserve seem to go one of two ways in childhood - staying in communities in dysfunctional families, or leaving to go into the child welfare system.

It is not simply a matter of where people are raised or have spent the majority of their lives, although the lack of any community roots seems to correlate with a certain "rootlessness" in adult life. For some who do have roots, belonging to communities can also have negative consequences. For example, the findings suggest the lack of a "middle ground" on reserves. People who live on them either do very well or very badly, probably as a result of concentration of local power, as was identified by 77% of the sample with reserve experience or connections. Some people found resentment and refusal of jobs when attempting to return. To them, leaving in the first place became a form of punishment. The inability to vote in reserve elections when off-reserve limits opportunities to alter community power structures and enhances the sense of alienation.

V.I.d Coming to and living in the city

The majority of people in the sample had lived a long time in the city, are comfortable and settled, and prefer to remain in cities rather than return to reserves.

People come to the city for different reasons and with different "tools" for survival. Some come looking for jobs or to further their education, as is the case with more of Inner 2 people and especially those in the Outer group. Others come with families, or because they were moved to foster homes in cities, or because they are trying to escape their pasts. Some are pushed from communities because they are different, cause problems, are not accepted. Others are pulled into cities by the excitement, the availability of alcohol, or friends.

Some of these circumstances are more characteristic of one group than another. For example, Inner 1 people started out on reserves in similar proportions to the other groups but, as children, went more frequently into unstable environments, often moving from place to place and to homes characterized by violence. For many of the Inner 1 group, despair and hopelessness began at a very young age. The search for love and acceptance dominates much of their lives and, for many, the street, and street

friends and "families" are critical to their survival. People talk about the generosity of others "in the same boat."⁴⁰ For some, the inner city provides a haven and an escape from their backgrounds. It also offers acceptance. The need for friendship is most pronounced for Inner 1 individuals, and most social life revolves around alcohol.

Most have a love/hate relationship with the inner city. Inner 1 people recognize the hold alcohol has over their lives but have few options to escape the inner city or fulfil their aspirations.

More Inner 2 people are anxious to leave, to be in better surroundings, to get away from what they perceive is crime and instability, but their movement is restricted by a lack of skills, work and money. The Outer group is on the margins of the inner city so are relatively satisfied with where they live, but also want to increase their options. The inner city looms large even to the Outer group, and for many the pull is strong. The main concern of the Inner 2 and Outer groups is to find jobs, to get more education. The deterrents to getting out of the inner city are the same problems that brought them in - lack of skills, limited education, no experience. For many, the inner city is both a trap and a haven.

V.I.e *Criminal justice system*

In recent years the involvement of women as offenders in the criminal justice system has captured attention. The major problem, however, as incarceration rates and this research reveal, is the involvement of males. Males in the sample were in the criminal justice system earlier than females, have more charges outside and within reserves or home communities, and are over-represented in virtually all offences, and in all types of detention. Males are especially over-represented in provincial and federal detention, and report longer sentences than females.⁴¹

People had more offences and victimizations outside their home communities or reserves because the majority of their lives are spent in cities. Accused usually have legal counsel in court, but the limited involvement of courtworkers is surprising. This inner-city group probably has more involvement with the criminal justice system than any other group in society, and the absence of courtworker services raises an issue. Perceptions of police treatment are revealing. One's class (as measured by socio-economic level) may diminish the importance of race. General perceptions may also be different from personal experiences. Physical abuse was reported in about one quarter of personal experiences with police. However, the respectful and matter-of-fact proportions were higher than expected, given the perceptions of how all natives, and natives

and non-natives, are treated. When given an example of a specific situation involving rude natives and whites, perceptions were more positive than in response to the general questions.

The majority of people believed they were treated fairly by police, courts and the criminal justice system when accused, but there were important differences between cities and home communities or reserves. In cities, courts were perceived most positively and police least positively in fairness of treatment. In home communities or reserves, police fared much better, and the perception of treatment by police, courts and the criminal justice system was generally more favourable than in cities. There are two possible explanations. First, familiarity between police and communities may result in the greater use of discretion by police. Second, selection and training of police may be different in forces that work in reserves, towns and rural areas.

Fear of crime and victimization in the inner city is predominately a female issue, or a concern to which females are more likely to admit than males. Males have more personal experiences with the kinds of crime they fear but females are generally more fearful. This is especially true of Inner 2 and Outer females, even though Inner 1 females have experienced more actual violence in their lives. An interesting finding is that people who have been exposed to the most violence and victimization in their lives are often the least fearful of crime. People from reserves are also more fearful of crime than those from other places.

V.I.f Services and aspirations

The majority of the sample believes there are enough opportunities in cities for native people, but those who consider them insufficient want more employment, education and community development. The majority also believes most native people make use of opportunities. Fewer, however, believe services are adequate, but more of the Outer than the other groups feel they are not. Better housing and shelters, improved delivery of services, and more drop-ins are the most commonly expressed needs.⁴² Knowledge and awareness of services is identified as a problem - only half believed native people know about services. Most feel advertising is the most appropriate way to inform people, but more Inner 1 people consider direct contact essential. This suggests a need for different strategies for delivering information.

Inner-city native people have the same aspirations for themselves and their children as other Canadians, but fewer hopes of achieving them. Their knowledge and reliance on native culture varies across the groups, with the Inner 2 and Outer groups most

interested. While aspirations are similar to those in mainstream society, most native people would like to retain their cultural distinctiveness and to have services reflect culture, but not to the detriment of achieving other goals. The majority of people thought either they themselves or other natives should be responsible for making life better for native people, but more Inner 1 people felt government should be responsible. Positive perceptions of the generosity of more affluent natives increased with class – more Outer than Inner 1 individuals thought affluent natives would give to poor natives. The lack of a political “voice” was evident, as the majority of respondents could not, or would not, identify an aboriginal political entity that represented their interests. Use of friendship centres was also limited - almost half the sample said they did not use the centres either because they were not useful, they felt unwelcome, or the centres were too far away.

There were differences in the changes people wanted in their lives. Inner 1 males emphasized quitting alcohol and drugs; Inner 2 and Outer males emphasized employment. Females wanted education and employment. There seemed to be little “fit” between people’s aspirations and their potential for achieving them, particularly for the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups. More Inner 2 and Outer people (especially females) were involved in exploring their native culture. For some, often young males, the discovery of their native roots (if adopted this meant finding and returning to their reserve) was perceived as the ultimate solution to their problems, even if they had never lived on one and knew nothing about reserves.

V.2 Conclusions

What conclusions can we draw from this examination of inner-city native people? How can these conclusions be useful in affecting policies and programs not only of governments, but of those involved in the delivery of inner-city services.

As revealed in the inner-city sample, there is neither equality of victimization (as reflected in people’s backgrounds, experiences, life chances, socio-economic levels, etc.), nor equality of need. Nor is there the same ability of people to explore and use services and opportunities. There are differences in reasons for coming to cities and in the “tools” people bring with them. The most disadvantaged people are street level males and, to a lesser extent females, who are marginalized in both native and non-native society. But the other groups are also marginalized, particularly in relation to non-aboriginal and aboriginal society.

Violence is a way of life and, for many, normalized behaviour.⁴³ A large number have come from families, whether biological or otherwise, with extreme violence and dysfunction, and their childhood experiences follow them into adulthood and shape their lives.⁴⁴ There are exceptions, however. People with identical experiences in childhood sometimes have different experiences as adults. This research does not provide conclusive findings but suggests that a constellation of factors, related in unknown ways, leads to certain outcomes. One positive person or event may influence the outcome.

Isolation does not appear important in determining who comes to the city, contacts in the city, knowledge of the city prior to arrival, or adjustment to the city. The majority of respondents not born in cities were from reserves or home communities close to urban or semi-urban areas, and in the central parts of the provinces. The "push" from communities is different for different people. For some, it is the lack of jobs and education. For others, it is their behaviour at home or a lack of access to opportunities. For those who left as children, moving with families or going into the child welfare system were the most common reasons for leaving.

The "pull" of the cities is often connected to the push from communities. Those with few options on reserve (and often with alcohol problems) come to cities looking for excitement and readily available alcohol. Stories of city life attract them. Once in the city, however, they are propelled into drinking parties and enforced idleness (because of a lack of skills and personal problems). Loneliness and the alienation in large cities drive newcomers into the inner-city lifestyle. Once in, it is difficult for them to get out; there are considerable pressures to stay and few options for leaving.

Inner 1 and 2 males present extreme social and criminal justice system problems in cities. They are the most marginalized and least likely to have jobs or custody of children to occupy their time. Their enforced idleness leaves time to dwell on childhoods and past experiences. Unskilled, unemployed and often emotionally deprived and immature, these males have no means of exercising authority or control over anyone other than wives, girlfriends or each other. Idleness, in combination with alcohol, often leads them into behaviours that involve the criminal justice system. Many Inner 1 and Inner 2 females have children, and custody of all or some of them, and therefore have two advantages over males -- access to more social assistance, and retention of a traditional role.

The Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups are similar to non-aboriginal groups at the same level of society.⁴⁵ For many, especially at the street level, life is not very different for natives or non-natives. The concentration on racial differences is, in some sense, a privilege of those "better off". This research found that perceptions of racism appear to increase with class and that racism is of more concern to females than males. Street people, for example, as represented by the Inner 1 group, are more "colour blind" than the other groups, and often form street "families" with natives and non-natives alike.

The use of the criminal justice system to respond to social problems of such magnitude provides an understanding of the incarceration problem.⁴⁶ In the context of the inner city, what is normally construed as crime by the outside world is an everyday event - involving survival, despair, violence, alcohol and drugs, always reflecting people's lives and experiences.

For many, punishment is routine and when meted out by the criminal justice system, only reinforces their view of themselves and their place in the world.⁴⁷ The criminal justice system, although pervasiveness and harmful, is relatively marginal in relation to other problems in the lives of inner-city people, especially Inner 1 and 2 males. It responds to them as it probably does to any similarly disadvantaged group - as "grist" for the criminal justice mill. Their lack of options makes involvement in the criminal justice system only another facet of everyday life.⁴⁸ New innovations in policing (i.e., cultural sensitization, aboriginal units) do not appear to affect those on the lowest rungs of the inner-city social strata. Except for the Outer group, reports of physical abuse by city police did not vary significantly when controlling for time spent in city. While research is necessary to explore this further, one possible explanation is that sensitivity to native people is as much a class as a race issue. Cultural sensitivity training may make police more sensitive to those who have higher status, but evaporates when dealing with those further down the social scale.

A striking finding was the perception people held about their own victimizations and about reporting these to police. Inner 1 people had the most serious injury victimizations, yet they reported the least. Because many inner-city people, and especially those in the Inner 1 group, are offenders one day and victims the next, their relationship with police is often tenuous. They do not believe police serve them nor that they have access to police protection. They feel "labelled" as offenders, so believe their victimizations will not be taken seriously. Worse still, they believe that reporting may make them vulnerable to further victimization. They divide their view of policing into two groups - those who have a legitimate right to call and use police, and those whose only status is "offender," with no rights to police protection.⁴⁹

Opportunities and services depend on people's ability to gain access to and use them. At an abstract level, most want the "good life" but few have the resources to attain it.⁵⁰ Inner 1 and 2 males, in particular, have little sense of their potential and thoughts of a better life often take the form of fantasy. Day-to-day survival is a preoccupation of Inner 1 people so considerations of opportunities are greatly reduced. Dependence on alcohol and drugs reduces them further. The Inner 2 group has less alcohol dependency and entrenchment in the inner-city lifestyle, but little confidence beyond the boundaries of their narrow world. Females in all groups, but particularly Inner 2 and Outer, are less involved in alcohol or the street scene but have problems seizing opportunities. For those with children, child-bearing began at a young age, so women in their late teens and early twenties often have several children. Child care and lack of money are their major obstacles to pursuing opportunities.

There are differences in the potential to "rehabilitate" people once they are in the inner-city lifestyle. Many are controlled by their environment - loneliness, which drives them into the lifestyle; alcohol and drugs, which keep them there; memories, which will not subside; systems of social control (criminal justice, in particular); dependency on such services as welfare, soup kitchens, drop-ins, and hostels;⁵¹ lack of education, skills, and attitudes, and the need for others in the same lifestyle. Rehabilitation tends to focus on only one aspect of their lives.

One of the main problems inner-city native people face is exclusion in two worlds - in both aboriginal and non-aboriginal society. A tangential issue this research raises is the relationship native people in cities want to promote with mainstream society.⁵² It would appear there are two realistic possibilities, given that assimilation is universally rejected - either physically and culturally separate and isolated, or physically integrated but culturally distinct.⁵³ For many in the inner city, leaving reserves creates problems when they return. While competition for scarce resources on reserves is part of the problem, there is often an implicit (and sometimes explicit) condemnation for leaving, involving accusations of rejecting the culture or the reserve lifestyle. Given the choice, the majority of people in the sample said they preferred to stay and work in cities. For Metis and non-status natives raised in small towns and cities, the consequences of moving are less severe or long-term.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Planners interested in the reduction of crime have rarely dealt with broader aspects of the economy. Instead, the recommendations have centred on criminal justice agencies and the apprehension and punishment of offenders. This priority is shameful considering that social factors like economic inequality, unemployment, poverty, racism and social disorganization predict fluctuations in crime rates more reliably than factors based on police, courts or prisons (Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1993:443).

Where does research end and policy begin? There is always a danger of undermining the role of the policy maker in presenting formal recommendations in research reports such as this. At the same time, it is unrealistic to believe that there is no role for the researcher in policy making. In attempting to find middle ground, some general considerations, which emerged from the literature and interviews, are presented in this chapter. These relate primarily to servicing and other needs of inner-city people, as well as to some considerations for crime prevention and the response of the criminal justice system.

This research revealed that access to opportunities depends in part, largely on circumstances. For example, Inner 1 people have pronounced alcohol problems and are the least able to gain access to existing opportunities. People in this group are the major users of street-level services but they are "serviced" without any fundamental change in their lives. Inner 1 people have very basic needs - help with overcoming alcohol, finding housing, and to be kept occupied and safe. Their ability to use education and job-training courses may be limited. Members of this group have been victimized most severely and are plagued by memories of their lives, particularly of their childhoods. Friends are of extreme importance and any initiatives should proceed with this factor in mind. Direct contact with this group is required when information is being dispensed.

The Inner 2 group is younger, less dependent on alcohol, and has the potential for using education and job-training opportunities. This group needs job-entry opportunities where skills can be learned on an apprenticeship basis. They, like those in In-

ner I, want "real jobs" that provide some stability in their lives. They complain about needing more upgrading and more skills training. Like those in the Inner I group, memories plague and often immobilize them. For this reason, and because people are unaware of what is available, direct contact and intervention are also critical.

The Outer group is least problematic from a "servicing" perspective, and the primary user of existing services. In general, these people are already motivated to increase their options and many are involved in activities that further their goals. For females, the important issue is child care, but for both males and females continued access to upgrading, to other educational opportunities, and to employment is essential. The Outer group is most able to benefit from advertising and more likely to seek out opportunities and services than the other groups.

The following is a very general discussion of some of the inner-city findings. There is no "quick fix" to improving people's lives and reducing their involvement in the criminal justice system. But there are other ways of viewing both the problems and the solutions.

VI.1 *General*

There is some literature on services to native people in urban settings but, as in much of the more general literature, native people are treated as a homogenous group and few distinctions are made. However, some of the issues raised are of interest here.

The literature reveals two streams of thought in promoting and bettering services for native people in cities. The first, supported by Falconer (1985) and others (Reeves and Frideres, 1981; Price, 1975), emphasizes community development in responding to the needs of urban natives. It promotes the formation of urban aboriginal institutions, within a broader community development context, emphasizing, among other things, "empowerment," health, education and training, employment, culture and leadership, sports and recreation. Inherent in this approach is the facilitation of an adjustment to urban life, and the creation and institutionalization of an aboriginal "community" and servicing sector.

The second stream emphasizes individual needs and its proponents argue primarily for jobs and job creation (Peters, 1992; Clatworthy, 1983; Hull, 1983). Hull claims that, despite extensive government action, improvements will not take hold until unemployment is dealt with. Clatworthy, in a critique of existing urban employment, questions the utility of basic job-training, life skills, and short-term work experience programs to

improve the employability or employment opportunities of native people. He bases this on his finding that there are no substantial differences in labour market behaviour between longer-term native residents and recent migrants. Focusing more broadly, and commenting on crime prevention in the United States, Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1993:439) argue that:

policies that foster entry-level jobs with multiplier effects, and industrial expansion are required... and... bold experimentation and planning by civil organizations and federal bureaus.

In the inner-city interviews, jobs and the stability regular work would bring were the most commonly expressed concerns, even though the actual ability of people to work varied greatly. At the same time, other respondents promoted more holistic approaches, suggesting large centres for native people, where they could be together in cities. Some thought these centres should strongly reflect native culture, while others felt they should be welcome for all inner-city people. One perspective on the need for a centre was provided by a 36-year-old Ojibway Outer group male who had spent six years in the city:

Need a centralized piece of land where everything is all there and there is a community instead of all these organizations that provide services.

The notion of "community," in that sense, is compelling, particularly for the Inner I group whose lives are often splintered by services: they go to one place for breakfast, another for lunch, another to watch TV, a different place for dinner, and then to a shelter (or the streets) to sleep. People may wander the city in groups but there is no sense of home, of belonging anywhere, of staying in one place. However, simply creating another "structure" can have the same limitations as welfare, particularly if it is not something in which users have a major stake.

There seems to be agreement that chronic dependency on welfare creates particular problems for the people who receive it, and also shapes how they are serviced. The dependency of most inhabitants in the inner city has spurred the development of a "social problems industry"⁵⁴ in many inner cities. A complaint heard in the research was that services tend to pull people into the inner city, thereby creating and maintaining their own client base. One user of inner-city services said:

There are so many services that native people are completely dependent and follow the services around.

In many cases, inner-city agency personnel become the definers of both the problems and the solutions to the problems. Solutions often take the form of increasing resources to the agencies. While adequate resources are necessary for agencies to supply essential services, it should be recognized that it is important to disempower existing networks so people themselves, where possible, can take over some activities and begin to develop their own economies. It is important that voices, other than those projected by inner-city services and institutions, are heard.

Long-term dependency on welfare does not "help the individual to pursue happiness in the sense of creating a lasting and justified satisfaction with one's life as a whole" (Cook, 1993:13). Cook adds: "billions get spent on welfare in Canada. The result is not greater happiness but greater dependency." A director of one inner-city agency expressed genuine concern about the need to find something to build on in people's lives; at the need to respond to immediate concerns but also to move beyond those; and to keep people occupied with something they feel is valuable. The futility of some current approaches was expressed by one male who said: "How many different times do I have to take life-skills?"

While the situation of Canadian inner cities is vastly different from that in the United States, a recent article in a prominent newspaper may have some relevance for municipal planners and others debating the conditions of inner cities in this country. The author examined critically both community development initiatives and economic revitalization in United States ghettos over the past several decades (Lemann, 1994). He argues that the notion of community and economic revitalization is simply wrong-headed, and a waste of time and money, because it does not work. Poor neighbourhoods:

tend to be home to people who plan to move out as soon as they make a little money. The standard model of progress for poor people living in urban slums, repeated millions and millions of times over the decades, is to get a good job outside the neighbourhood and then decamp for a nicer part of town.

The author concludes that realistic programs to improve daily life (i.e., housing, day care, and safety), and to put inner-city residents on the track to something better (education and job training), are most useful. People everywhere aspire to leaving poor communities, to attaining the "good life" in better parts of cities. While this may be an unattainable goal for some inner-city people, such as those in the Inner I group,

improvements in daily life, in such areas as housing and safety, are possible. Where the goal of escaping the inner-city lifestyle is attainable, energetic efforts should be made to assist people to that end.

There is a need to spend time talking to inner-city people about what is available for them, how they can get it, and providing support to them. Attention is often focused on resources and not on individuals. It is not simply an issue of servicing people, but of enhancing their capacities and encouraging them to participate in those very services they depend upon. Otherwise, as an Inner 2 male said and was quoted earlier, "People get molded and shaped by street life and pretty soon they think they can't do anything." One approach to greater involvement of inner-city people in identifying and delivering services may be to initiate these with the most stable group in the inner city - the women.

VI.2 *Prevention*

Respondents spoke about the need for people coming to cities to have some preparation prior to leaving reserves. This preparation could involve knowledgeable people (or social workers) on reserve, counselling migrants about city life and about using available services. People on reserves are often told frightening stories about cities, which increases the fear, loneliness and alienation they feel on arrival. Opportunities on reserves should also be shared more evenly and fairly so people can remain in communities or leave with better skills - in other words, the creation of more "just communities" (La Prairie, 1993).

This also implies the need for long-term economic development in reserve communities (where both viable and possible) so there will be more opportunities to distribute and share.

This research identifies childhood experiences as an important factor in the plight of the most disadvantaged native people in the inner city. Like them, their parents demonstrated a serious lack of everyday knowledge and skill. Family life, when there was any, was highly unstable, marked by drunkenness and violence. The poor quality of many foster homes, where young children were routinely violated and abused, was also identified. Greene (1993) suggests that adolescents who are chronically exposed to violence and poverty are traumatized and that rage, hopelessness, and distrust ensue. Although this is not well documented, he believes that:

the most common characteristic of youth exposed to poverty and violence is the near-absence of any on-going supportive intimate relationships - not with parents, not with teachers, not with peers... not with adults in their neighbourhoods. Intimacy does not thrive in environments where violence abounds and where economic survival is a constant problem (Greene, 1993:109-110).

The message this and other research sends is that society can create crime control and social problems "industries" to deal with these issues after the fact, but it would be more humane, less costly and more efficient to prevent them from occurring in the first place.⁵⁵

The "social development" approach to crime prevention has, in recent years, garnered considerable interest among academics, private organizations, and governments (Homer, 1993). Head Start and other programs for disadvantaged children, the teaching of parenting skills to the parents of anti-social children, and other approaches such as neighbourhood improvement and education, are all aimed at "altering the conditions that breed crime" (Linden, 1993). Linden (1993:6) notes that social development programs are difficult to implement because the involvement of many different organizations is required. Targeting those most in need of programs, and identifying their specific needs, are important first steps in overcoming some of the difficulties.

VI.3 *The Criminal Justice System*

There are three possibilities for reducing the involvement of inner-city native people in the criminal justice system. The first is to respond differently to disorder problems in the inner city; the second is to process people differently; and the third is to prevent people from coming back into the system.

VI.3.a *Policing the inner city*

... if police are to solve crimes they must be on good terms with the community. If they are unpopular, or worse still hated and despised, people are not going to co-operate with them (Shearing, 1993 c:2).

A number of findings in this research suggest the need to rethink the response to crime and disorder in the inner city. These findings include the repetition of offences and the fact that many offences are of a minor, an administrative, or a public disorder nature,

often involving alcohol. Another important finding, which argues for re-examining social control in the inner city, is the perceptions people have of police, the reluctance of many to report even serious victimizations, and the sense that police are not there to serve and protect them.

Their alienation from police and from society does not result in inner-city people having options about who polices them. The poor, as Brogden and Shearing (1993:4) point out, are dependent upon state police for their protection while middle- and upper-class people are able to reduce their reliance on the state by securing private policing.⁵⁶ While lay participation has been a cornerstone of private policing, Brogden and Shearing contend that it should be so in state policing, and central to community-based policing. In a paper on participatory policing, where he sets out a number of proposals for police reform, Shearing (1993b:5) argues that:

Policing should be an inter-institutional enterprise where different knowledge and resources interact in the management of peace and security;

Shearing (1993c:4) also argues not simply for alternative policing but for alternative police. He believes policing should be focused on problem-solving but that most of this should be done privately, with state police providing only one piece of the solution. In promoting self-policing reform,⁵⁷ Shearing (1993c:5) identifies the following principles:

1. the placing of responsibility for policing in the first instance with both interest-based and territorial communities;
2. a recognition that this first line of policing should rely upon community resources and community controlled preventative problem-solving that employs a wide range of non-coercive resources;
3. the development of forums where the details of the order to be maintained and the policing this requires are negotiated;
4. national guidelines that will limit the use of force in policing to the state police.

In following Shearings's direction, Stenning (1994) suggests some steps in developing new strategies for policing the street community. These include identifying the geographic and social boundaries of the inner-city "community" and the various participants in those communities - street people; business people; merchants; those who regularly visit or pass through the community; service organizations; and tenants associations, etc. The strategy is to survey these members of the community to deter-

mine the nature of the problems; to identify possible resources for addressing the problems (community self-policing where the public police become one of last resort); to match policing resources to problems through discussion and negotiation; and, finally, to establish community-based institutions for monitoring policing, and for holding police accountable to the community as a whole.

VI.3.b *Diverting people from the criminal justice system*

The inability of the criminal justice system to respond to long-standing victimization and marginalization is obvious in the findings. The repetitiveness of offences, and the fact that going to court and to jail is simply another aspect of everyday life for many of the inner-city sample, suggest the need to find other responses to crime and disorder in the inner city. While a form of "community self-policing" is one answer to reducing the number of people who get into the formal system, measures other than incarceration should be cultivated for those offences that require a more conventional response. There has been a profusion of approaches in the past two decades. Evaluations of these approaches should be examined carefully to determine their relevance to an inner-city population. New ways of diverting people into activities that have longer-term benefits should also be explored.

VI.3.c *Reducing recidivism*

Researchers in correctional treatment programs have developed increasingly sophisticated ways of identifying the problems and needs of inmates and their rehabilitation potential. An important aspect of success in this area is the notion of targeting people for treatment. Research on risk assessment and other aspects of offenders, and evaluations of various treatment approaches (an example is male batterers in family violence cases) and community corrections and alternatives to incarceration, have some potential to reduce recidivism rates for both aboriginal and non-aboriginal offenders. Identifying the special needs of native inmates has been in process for some time, but only recently has research begun to distinguish groups of native inmates (Waldram, 1992). The importance of making this distinction is to more effectively tailor and target treatment approaches.

Many respondents said it was difficult to be released into cities, and that help was required *before* release. Assistance with welfare, housing, and other needs is essential to prevent people from returning to their original lifestyles and involvement in illegal activities. Ex-inmates need immediate support, counselling and direction. They need

support and acceptance beyond the boundaries of the inner city. Research in the United States reveals the likelihood that offenders with extensive past histories of criminal involvement will be re-arrested when released from prison into socially disorganized neighbourhoods (Bursik, 1988:540).

VI.4 *Summary*

One way to effect change is to target those most in need by documenting differences among groups. Such a strategy was adopted in this research, and produced findings that are useful in distinguishing the various inner-city groups. There are factors that separate the groups and can be used to identify certain characteristics and needs. There is differential access to opportunities and this is not always recognized by those who determine and distribute resources.

In times of economic scarcity, it is especially important that resources be targeted to the most effective outcomes. It is equally important that differentiation of need is established. The problem in not doing so is that those with the greatest need are least likely to garner resources. This research has demonstrated that there is not necessarily "equality of victimization," (as measured by background, life chances, and socio-economic level) even within the inner city. The logical extension of this finding is there is not equality of need. It is important to remember that while differences may exist within the inner-city native population, the entire group is, theoretically at least, the most needy of all aboriginal groups. Reducing the involvement of native people in the criminal justice and correctional systems means reducing the involvement of this group in them. Diffusing resources by maintaining a belief in the "equality of need" to the broader aboriginal population may accommodate political agendas, but it reduces the chances of effecting any real change in the involvement of aboriginal people in the criminal justice system.

ENDNOTES

PART I

- ¹ The term "native" will be used most often in this report as that is how the people who were interviewed referred to themselves. The term "aboriginal" was not one they normally used.
- ² In some respects, the persistence of aboriginal over-involvement in the criminal justice system is more important than the actual phenomenon of over-representation. Sally Merry (in conversation, January 1994) questions the reasons for this persistence, given that first generation immigrants may display a similar over-involvement but it disappears with subsequent generations. This does not appear to be the case for indigenous populations, regardless of whether or not they live in countries with reserve systems. Merry speculates that being colonized in one's own country may be the real problem.
- ³ It is easy to take a short-term perspective. Until quite recently, for example, native people in Canada were treated as if they were a homogenous cultural group. That, fortunately, has changed and there is now a widespread recognition of cultural differences among groups. Perhaps it is only a matter of time before other differences are recognized.
- ⁴ In that sense, "formalized" justice may work better for people who are strangers than those connected by kinship, culture and community. It is not only the familiarity of disputants that leads to this reluctance but also the fact that there is little distance between justice officials and the communities they serve.
- ⁵ The methodological "flaw" in earlier research was that inmates had been generally asked the question: "where are you from?" rather than: "where did you commit the crime for which you are presently incarcerated?"
- ⁶ Difficulty in eliciting accurate information about reserves from urban aboriginal people is two-fold: first, experiences on reserve are relative to life in the city so may be perceived after the fact as more positive than they really were. Second, there may be a general tendency to romanticize reserve life.
- ⁷ The lack of attention to family and reserve problems is a serious omission in the literature on migration to cities.
- ⁸ We make no claims to the sample being random as there were no population data on inner-city populations from which to draw samples. The fact that people were selected the same way in each city, from similar agencies that serve inner-city populations, and from street-level agencies over an extended period of time, would suggest they are probably "representative" of the larger populations. On that assumption we have used tests of significance in the analysis. The reader, however, should be aware of the sampling constraints.
- ⁹ Unlike Dosman (1972:11) who claimed that Indian people were unwilling to be interviewed, that was not the experience in this project. Considerable willingness was expressed by most of those approached. This was encouraged in part by the stipend but also because many inner city

people seemed relieved to share their experiences. People carry painful stories within themselves, reluctant to burden others in similar circumstances. By providing a forum, the researcher becomes a participant in what can only be termed a "pseudo-therapeutic" process.

- ¹⁰ When eliciting information about charges each interviewer was asked to record all the information about a charge so that the coder could determine if it was a *Criminal Code* charge, a public drinking offence, or a JDA. Respondents were often unable to classify the charges or offences.
- ¹¹ This seems to be explained by the fact that males are over-represented at the street level. Females are less visible on the street and, in this respect, males seem less "protected" than females.
- ¹² A particularly interesting finding is that only 56% of those interviewed in Edmonton were from Alberta (21% were from Saskatchewan and 8% from British Columbia), whereas 87% of those interviewed in Regina were from Saskatchewan, 79% in Toronto from Ontario, and 63% in Montreal from Quebec (12% in Montreal were from the Northwest Territories).
- ¹³ It is important to remember, however, that racial prejudice may, in part, influence whether people get housing or jobs. Because of this, it is important to put this finding into perspective. It is interesting, however, that racism was not identified by many as their own problem in the city but, when asked how other natives would be treated when first in the city, a larger proportion cited racism as the major problem. This may show how influenced people are by the media and other discourses on racism.
- ¹⁴ An example of "not fitting in" is being homosexual. A 26-year-old homosexual Cree said that he and all his gay friends were beaten up on reserve. Another said there is a belief on reserves that if a pregnant woman looks a "queer" in the eyes the baby will be gay. People either suppress their homosexuality or leave. Intolerance of drinking may also force drinkers to leave reserves for cities.
- ¹⁵ One ex-inmate said he supported having counselling but not the kind he received in prison, which, he said: "was always 'you did this, you did that' and after a while you believed you can't do anything". Another, however, felt that counselling would not help the sense of exclusion ex-inmates feel. He described this feeling as "going into a room full of people and there are lots of chairs in the room but no-one will let you sit down."
- ¹⁶ Federal figures may be low for one of two reasons. Either people were confused about federal and provincial institutions, or were reluctant to admit they had done federal time. To many, doing federal time seemed to provoke a much greater sense of shame and "big time" than doing provincial time, which was almost perceived as "run of the mill."
- ¹⁷ All tables referred to in the text are found in the appendices.
- ¹⁸ Where referred to in the tables, the name for the variable which refers to the three groups is "Location." Ten respondents were not identified by "location", therefore all analysis by "location," will use the total of 611 respondents, where data are available.
- ¹⁹ There are also differences in ages. Fewer females 34 years of age and under are in Inner 1, compared to the other groups. The mean age of Inner 1 is 34.4, Inner 2 is 30.5, and Outer is 31.7

- ²⁰ Differences between the various groups are those found to be significant. Chi-squares were used to test the probability of association between two or more variables, but do not measure the degree of association. Because there are different levels of significance (for example a p-level of .0000 is much more significant than one of .05) they will be indicated when possible. Some tables contain p-levels that have such high degrees of significance that they are displayed in scientific notation (for example, a p-value of 0.0000000000 is displayed as 1e-10).
- ²¹ Another Inuit woman told of her husband often taking the shirt off their small son - he was four or five years of age - and beating him with a belt. She said that when the son was older he wanted to "get back" at his father and consequently has been jailed twice for assaulting his father.
- ²² CHAID (Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detector) divides a population into two or more distinct groups based on categories of the "best" predictor of a dependent variable (i.e., gender, cities, groups, family violence, detention, alcohol problem, etc.). It then splits each of these groups into subgroups based on other predictor variables. This splitting process continues until no more statistically significant predictors can be found or there is insufficient data for further splitting. CHAID displays the final subgroups on a tree diagram. Some variables for the three groups from this process are displayed in Chart III.1 (Ten Variables with the Strongest Levels of Significance by Respondents Present Location).
- ²³ The lack of skills means that for many, especially Inner 1 males, self-sufficiency is a remote dream and dependency on others for all basic needs and for alcohol is a way of life. The lack of marketable skills in conjunction with chronic alcohol dependency, means that welfare cheque day is one time people have some control of their lives and can do something for others - even if it is only buying drinks.
- ²⁴ To put this into context, Bayley (1994:14) adds that police officers believe "... unless criminals are caught and punished, crime and disorder will escalate until communities become unlivable. Faced with an avalanche of crime and a frightened public, they think of themselves as a 'thin blue line' standing between order and chaos."
- ²⁵ People were encouraged to give as many responses as possible to describe their general treatment by police, and were not limited to a single response. The figures for each category were derived from the sum of responses, not people. The events of each contact with police were impossible to detect so the responses reflect only people's own descriptions of treatment.
- ²⁶ When controlling for time spent in cities, i.e., those who have been in the city eight years or less, to determine a more recent police response, physical abuse comprised 22% of the responses - a change of only 2%. Respectful matter-of-fact treatment went from 42% to 45% and the other categories stayed virtually the same.
- ²⁷ The events that people related did not always refer to cases when they were suspected of an offence. Sometimes circumstances in which they reported certain treatment by police involved them intervening on behalf of another, or simply coming in contact with police by being on the street, or in a particular place or situation.
- ²⁸ When not controlling for length of time in city, 29% of Inner 2, 23% of Inner 1, and 18% of Outer people reported physical abuse by police. When controlling for those who had been in the city eight

years or less (45% of the total sample), Inner 1 and 2 individuals reported the same amount (25% each) but those in the Outer group reported only 11% - down 7%.

- ²⁹ Even though the level of reporting violent victimizations may not be markedly different from the general Canadian population (where only about 33% report violent crime), it is important to put the inner-city findings into context. Most of those in the Inner 1 and 2 groups who had the most victimizations, usually considered only those incidents where they sustained real injury to be actual "victimizations." Because violence is so normalized in their lives, they may have a different notion than the ordinary Canadian of what constitutes a victimization or a "crime".
- ³⁰ Although the reason most Canadians give for not reporting victimizations is the same, i.e., not believing the offence to be serious enough, "not being a rat" and "settling own scores" are part of the ethos of inner-city and street life. Because many inner-city people do not feel the police are there to serve them when victims, they see taking care of their own business, or doing nothing about it, as their only real options.
- ³¹ People were generally negative about legal aid feeling that, because they were not able to pay they received poor quality representation. They did not seem to connect representation with receiving acquittals or lighter sentences when these occurred. Their resentment was directed to lawyers for not allowing them to speak directly to judges. One 25-year-old Inner 1 woman said: "you don't get enough chances to tell the story in court the way you want to." When asked about the role of the lawyer who represented them, few knew the function.
- ³² One third of the aboriginal population reports post-secondary education, compared to one half of other Canadians. The aboriginal unemployment rate is two and one half times the national rate, and aboriginal people have lower incomes than other Canadians (*Aboriginal Peoples Survey* 1991).
- ³³ For example, recent data from the *Aboriginal People's Survey* reveals that the most severe economic conditions are on reserve, more younger than older people are educated, education levels are higher for those living off- than on-reserve, and 5% of the aboriginal population more than \$40,000/year in 1992. Earlier data from Winnipeg reported significant education and income differentials between inner and outer city aboriginal people (Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre n.d.).
- ³⁴ Distinguishing groups on the basis of factors such as gender, age, home community (where the individual spent the majority of his or her life), reveals important and significant differences. If restricted to the total sample, these differences would be lost and the research less meaningful.
- ³⁵ The general aboriginal and Canadian figures are for census year 1991, but there is little reason to expect there would be much difference in 1993.
- ³⁶ When interviewing Inner 1 and 2 males, in particular, two aspects of their childhoods seem to have affected them the most. The first was seeing their mothers beaten by spouses or boyfriends and the helplessness and powerlessness they felt in being unable to defend them. The second was being rejected by parents when they had been placed in foster homes, with extended families or adopted, and the anger they felt at not being protected from abuse and violence. In younger males the anger was very obvious, in older males it was more hidden.

- ³⁷ This seemed to be manifested in people feeling they were inherently "bad," because they were abused in childhood and no-one stopped it, i.e., if no-one would protect a small child it must be because the child was bad. In adult life, both Inner 1 and 2 males are in a continuous search for acceptance and affection, whether with drinking friends (Inner 1) or in a relationship (Inner 2). Each failure is seen as a further rejection or betrayal, and reinforces the negative sense of self.
- ³⁸ It is important to keep the findings in perspective. Inner 2 and Outer people are not on the streets, but their over-involvement in the criminal justice system, and under-involvement in the labour market are still severe, particularly in relation to other Canadians.
- ³⁹ Those who want to live and/or work on reserves have also spent more time on reserves, less time in cities, and feel most unsettled in cities.
- ⁴⁰ One street person noted that "if you need some money don't ask for any from a rich person - they'll never give it to you. Ask for it from another street person."
- ⁴¹ A particularly important finding was that older groups have more detentions than younger groups, but there was no significant difference in the number of charges. This would suggest that the younger group is committing more offences now than in the past, especially in cities as more of this group are born and raised in cities. The findings also reveal that more in the 15 to 24 age group came from families on welfare, started drinking and were involved in the criminal justice system at an earlier age than the other age groups.
- ⁴² Not surprisingly, few people identified "legal" needs - only 4% of the sample. Priorities of inner city people do not necessarily reflect those of government. While aboriginal criminal justice may be an important issue for government and politicians, for inner city people money, housing, jobs and alcohol problems are paramount.
- ⁴³ Violence is often internalized and self-inflicted. This can take the form of self-mutilation (many of the people had scars from self-inflicted wounds), chronic drinking, and/or seemingly endless fighting.
- ⁴⁴ It is not simply a matter of a "war on parenting," as some of the findings seem to suggest. The reality is that the parents of those describing severely dysfunctional childhoods probably had similar childhoods themselves.
- ⁴⁵ An interesting aspect of racial differences is the attention that is directed toward exposing people, such as police and other criminal justice personnel, to sensitization about different cultures. A more realistic approach might be to expose them to the realities of life for the majority with whom they come into regular contact in the inner city - the poor, unskilled, uneducated and marginalized groups.
- ⁴⁶ The findings about the involvement of Inner 1 and 2 people in the criminal justice system suggest that cities where these groups are present in the greatest number should have the highest levels of aboriginal people incarcerated in correctional institutions. This finding may explain some of the east/west variation in Canada, and will be explored in Report 2: *City by City Differences*.
- ⁴⁷ In some sense, drop-ins and other street-level services are like "prisons without walls." People sit staring at a television or at nothing for hours on end. The lack of money for better resources means that these services can provide only the minimum.

- ⁴⁸ The lack of options in people's lives is glaring. For many, life is limited to "drinking, fighting, screwing, and going to jail," as one respondent put it.
- ⁴⁹ Within the inner city sample there are differences in the use of police. For example, Inner 2 people are generally more antagonistic about police but use them more than Inner 1 people when reporting victimizations. For this group, police are to be confronted. The Outer group is treated more respectfully by police and tend to use police more - they feel police are there to serve them. The Outer group is probably also the "easiest" of the three groups for police to deal with. They are less confrontational than Inner 2, and do not have the alcohol and other problems of the Inner 1 group.
- ⁵⁰ People talk about wanting "real" jobs and meaningful work, not day work. The notion of a "good life" is associated with a regular job and a regular income. Day work is associated with doing something for extra money, often involving unpleasant work such as plucking chickens.
- ⁵¹ Some of the street-level services, such as soup kitchens, close down completely when welfare cheques are distributed. The rationale is that people are out partying and do not need the services for a few days. As soon as their welfare money is gone they return to use the services again.
- ⁵² Weinfield (1985:10-12) argues that "native people should recognize that by linking their future to the reserve land-based system, with little regard to the constraints of reserve life and the continuing attraction of urban environments, they may well be foreclosing options for successful integration in ... urban life." He notes further that urban issues must be addressed in political discussions on autonomy and self-determination along with on-reserve issues.
- ⁵³ Phinney *et al* (1992), in a study of acculturation and self-esteem among high school and college students in the United States, found that all students supported integration over assimilation, and self-esteem correlated positively with endorsement of integration. The authors concluded that the results attest to the importance of identification with one's own culture *and* the mainstream society.
- ⁵⁴ This reference is an adaptation of the title of Nils Christie's recent book *Crime Control as Industry*, where he describes the criminal justice system as an "industry."
- ⁵⁵ Improving people's lives and teaching parenting skills seem good places to start. Many of the people in the inner city sample and their parents and families are the have-nots in their home communities. Like mainstream society, they are often the "clients" of systems of social welfare and social control. Emphasizing "healing justice," and reconciliation between offenders and victims on reserves and in other communities, seems futile if these groups are not reconciled with, and accepted and assisted by the broader community.
- ⁵⁶ These authors argue that, whereas private policing has facilitated the shift of control over policing from the state to communities, state police forces have appropriated the concept of community under the guise of "community-based policing" to permit them even greater control and surveillance. The positive aspect of this initiative is that it emphasises "problem-solving" and integrating community and state resources in the "fight against crime." The police, however, see themselves as giving direction and meaning to this "fight" (Brogden and Shearing, 1993:5-6).
- ⁵⁷ While Shearing's work is focused on police reform for a New South Africa, the principles he sets out could equally apply to any community, and are particularly applicable to inner city areas, where marginalization in relation to the broader society is more extreme.

REFERENCES

- Alberta Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its Impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta (Cawsey Report). (1991). *Justice on Trial*, Vol. 1, Edmonton.
- Ambrosio, E., Baker, C. Crowe, K. Hahill and Jordan B. (1993). *The Street Health Report: A Study of the Health Status and Barriers to Health Care of Homeless Women and Men in the City of Toronto*, Toronto: Street Health.
- Bayley, David. (forthcoming). (1994). "Getting Serious about Police Brutality," in P. Stenning, ed. *Accountability for Criminal Justice*, University of Toronto Press.
- Blau J. and Blau P. (1982). "The Cost of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 47:114-29.
- British Columbia Task Force on Family Violence. (1992). *Is Anyone Listening?* 92-03797.
- Brody, Hugh. (1971). *Indians on Skid Row*, Northern Science Research Group, Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- Brogden, Mike and Clifford Shearing. (1993). *Policing for a New South Africa*, London, U.S.A., Canada: Routledge.
- Byrne, James H. and Robert J. Sampson. (1986). "Key Issues in the Social Ecology of Crime," in Byrne and Sampson *The Social Ecology of Crime*, Springer-Verles, New York.
- Callan, V. and D. St. John. (1984). "Self and Other Perceptions of Urban and Rural Australia Aboriginal and White Youth," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 123:2 August, 179-187.
- Campbell, Gayle. (1993). *An Examination of Recidivism in Relation to Offence Histories and Offender Profiles*, Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (1993). *Police-Reported Aboriginal Crime in Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Canadian Council on Social Development. (1987). *Family Violence in Native Communities*, Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Carter, L. and L. Parker. (1991). "Intra-familial Sexual Abuse in American Families," *Family Sexual Abuse: Front Line Research and Evaluation*, Sage Publications Inc., Neuburg Park, California, pp. 106-117.

Christie, Nils. (1993). *Crime Control as Industry*, London, New York: Routledge.

Clark, Scott. (1992). "Crime and Community: Issues and directions in aboriginal justice," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 34:3-4, July-October.

Clatworthy, Stewart. (1983). *The Effects of Urban Residency on Native Labour Market Behaviour*, Research and Working Papers No. 1, Institute of Urban Studies, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Collman, Jeff. (1979). "Women, Children and the Significance of the Domestic Group to Urban Aborigines in Central Australia," *Ethnology*, 18, 4 October, pp. 379-397.

Comack, Elizabeth. (1993). *Women Offenders' Experiences with Physical and Sexual Abuse*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

Condon, Richard G. (1992). "Changing Patterns of Conflict Management and Aggression among Inuit Youth in the Canadian Arctic: Longitudinal Ethnographic Observations," *Native Studies Review*, 8, No.2.

Cook, Peter. (1993). "The real politics of inclusion," *The Globe and Mail*, May 24, 1993:13.

Correctional Services Canada. (1990). *Native Population Profile Report*, Population on Register, 12/31/90. Ottawa: Management Information Services.

Denton, T. (1972). "Migration from A Canadian Indian Reserve," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 7(2).

Depew, Robert C. (1993). *Aboriginal Policing: A Research Perspective* (Draft Paper), prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Doob, Anthony N., Michelle G., Grossman and Raymond P Auger. (1994). "Aboriginal Homicides in Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, January.

Dosman, Edgar J. (1972). *Indians: The Urban Dilemma*, McClelland and Stewart Publishing, Toronto.

Edmonton Inner-City Violent Crime Task Force and the Edmonton Aboriginal Representative Committee. (1992). Edmonton: *Inner-City Service Improvement for the Aboriginal Community in Edmonton*.

Ericson, Richard. (1982). *Reproducing Order: A Study of Police Patrol Work*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Falconer, P. (1983). "The Overlooked of the Neglected: Native Single Mothers in Major Cities on the Prairies," in J. Hull and S. Silver (eds.) *The Political Economy of Manitoba*, Canadian Prairie Research Centre, University of Regina.

(1985). "Urban Indian Needs: Federal Policy Responsibility and Options in the Context of the talks on Aboriginal Self-Government," Winnipeg, unpublished.

Fischler, Ronald S. (1985). "Child Abuse and Neglect in American Indian Communities," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, Vol. 9(1):95-106.

Frank, Sharlene. (1992). *Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities: A First Nations Report*. B.C. Ministry of Women's Equality.

Gerber, Linda. (1979). "Development of Canadian Indian Communities: A Two-Dimensional Typology Reflecting Strategies of Adaptation to the Modern World," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 16(4):404-424.

Graves, Theodore D. (1973). "The Navajo Urban Migrant and his Psychological Situation," *Ethos*, Fall Vol. 1(3):321-342.

(1974). "Urban Indian Personality and the Culture of Poverty," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 1(1):65-86.

Greene, J. and S. Mastrofski. (1988). *Community Policing - Rhetoric or Reality?* New York: Praeger.

Greene, Michael B. (1993). "Chronic Exposure to Violence and Poverty: Interventions That Work for Youth," *Crime and Delinquency*, January, Vol. 39(1):106-124.

Grossman, M. (1992). "Two perspectives on aboriginal females suicides in custody," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 34:3-4, July-October:

Guillemain, Jeannie. (1979). *Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians*, Columbia University Press, New York.

Gurstein, Michael. (1977). *Urbanization and Indian People: An Analytical Literature Review*, Ottawa: Development Planning Associates.

Hawthorne, H.B. (1966). *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada*. Vol. 1. Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch.

Hazelhurst, Kathleen. (1988). "Aboriginal Criminal Justice," *Trends and Issues*, Australian Institute of Criminology, No. 13.

(1987). *Ivory Scales*, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, Sydney: New South Wales University Press.

Hodgson, Maggie. (1990). "Shattering the Silence: Working with Violence in Native Communities," *Healing Voices: Feminist Approaches to Therapy with Women*, Toni Ann Leidlan and Cheryl Maimo (eds.), Jossey-Bass Inc., San Francisco, pp. 33-44.

Hull, Jeremy. (1983). *Natives in Class Society*, One Sky, Saskatoon.

Indian Justice Review Committee. (1992). Saskatoon: *Report of the Saskatchewan Indian Justice Review Committee*.

Jackson, Michael. (1988). *Locking up Natives in Canada*, Ottawa: A Report of the Canadian Bar Association Committee on Imprisonment and Release.

Johnston, Frank. (1979). *Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in Inner City Winnipeg*, Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.

Kastes, Wade G. (1993). *The Future of Aboriginal Urbanization in Prairie Cities*, Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies, June 1993.

Kennedy, L. Silverman, R. and Forde, D. (1991). "Homicide in Urban Canada: Testing the Impact of Economic Inequality and Social Disorganization," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 16(4):397-410.

Kerri, James N. (1976). "Indians in a Canadian City: Analysis of Social Adaptive Strategies," *Urban Anthropology*, Vol. 5(2):143-56.

La Prairie, Carol. (1993). "Community Justice or Just Communities: Aboriginal Communities in Search of Justice," unpublished.

(1992). *Dimensions of Aboriginal Over-representation in Correctional Institutions and Implications for Crime Prevention*, Aboriginal Peoples Collection, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

(1991). *Justice for the Cree: Communities, Crime and Order*. Cree Regional Authority, Nemaska, Quebec. (with Yves Lequerrier).

(1987). "Native Women and Crime in Canada," in Adelberg E. and C. Currie (eds.) *Too Few to Count: Canadian Women in Conflict with the Law*, Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers.

Lemann, Nicholas. (1994). "The Myth of Community Development," *The New York Times Magazine*, January 7, 1994:27-31, 50, 54&60.

Linden, R. (1993). "The Role of Strategic Planning, Policy and Evaluation in Crime Prevention," Director's Research Workshop on Crime Prevention, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Linn, P (1992). *Report of the Saskatchewan Metis Justice Review Committee*, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Lujan, C., L. Debruyne, P. Moy, and M. Bird. (1989). "Profile of Abused and Neglected American Indian Children in the Southeast," *Child Abuse and Neglect*, Vol. 13(4):449-461.

Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre. n.d. *Intensive Supervision and Interim Release Supervision Program*, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Mathiesen, Thomas. (1990). *Prison on Trial A Critical Assessment*, London.

McCaskill, D. (1985). "Patterns of Criminality and Corrections among Native Offenders in Manitoba: A Longitudinal Analysis." Ottawa: Correctional Services of Canada, Saskatoon: Department of the Solicitor General.

(1981). "The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis," *Culture*, I.I. pp. 82-89.

(1970). "A Study of Needs and Resources Related to Offenders of Native Origin in Manitoba," Ottawa: Correctional Planning Branch, Ministry of the Solicitor General.

McDonnell, Roger. (1993). "Prospects for Accountability among the Cree of James Bay," unpublished.

Miller, Jerome. (1992). "Hobbling a Generation: Young African American Males in the Criminal Justice System of America's Cities: Baltimore, Maryland," Alexandria, VA. National Centre on Institutions and Alternatives.

Monu, E. (1976). "Factors Associated With Migration Plans of Native Youth," *Canadian Studies in Population*, Vol. 3:41-55.

Morinis, Alan E. (1982). "Skid Row Indians and the Politics of Self," *Culture*, Vol. II(3).

Morse, Brad. (1989). *Aboriginal People and the Law: Indian, Metis and Inuit rights in Canada*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Moyer, Sharon. (1992). "Race, Gender and Homicide: Comparisons Between Aboriginals and Other Canadians", Vol. 34, *Canadian Journal of Criminology*.

Moyer, Sharon, Faigie Kopelman, Brenda Billingsley, and Carol La Prairie. (1985). *Native and Non-Native Admissions to Federal and Provincial Correctional Institutions*, User Report, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

Muirhead, G. (1983). An Analysis of Native Over-representation in Correctional Institutions in B.C. (unpublished), Corrections Branch, Ministry of the Attorney General.

Nagler, Mark. (1970). *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto*, St. Paul's College, University of Ottawa, Ottawa.

Norris, Clive, Nigel Fielding, Charles Kemp and Jane Fielding. (1993). "The Status of Demeanour: An analysis of the influence of social status on being stopped by the police," draft paper prepared for the British Criminology Conference, University of Wales, Cardiff, July 28-August 1, 1993.

Ottawa Citizen. (1993). "Urban natives being ignored leader says," November 5, 1993:6.

Peat Marwick Stevenson and Kellogg. (1990). *An Analysis of Costs of the Justice System Attributable to Aboriginal People*, prepared for the Public Inquiry into the Administration of Justice and Aboriginal People, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Peters, Evelyn. (1992). "Native Women's Adoptive Strategies in Urban Milieux," unpublished paper, Kingston: Queen's University.

(1987). *Indians in Regina and Saskatoon, 1982: Some Strategies of Household Organization*, PhD. thesis, Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

Phinney, Jean S., Victor Ghavira and Lise Williamson. (1992). "Acculturation Attitudes and Self-Esteem Among High School and College Students," *Youth and Society*, Vol. 23 (3):299-312.

Piasecki, Joan, Siperio M. Manson, Michael P Biernoff and Albert B. Hiat. (1989). "Abuse and Neglect of American Indian Children: Findings from A Survey of Federal Providers," *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, Fall Vol. 3 (2):43-62.

Planning Branch. (1975). "The Native Inmate within the Federal Penitentiary System," Ottawa: Treasury Board Secretariat.

Pratt, John. (1993). "Aboriginal Justice and the Good Citizen: An Essay on Population Management," unpublished.

Price, J. (1978). *Native Studies: American and Canadian Indians*, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto.

Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba. (1991). *The Justice System and Aboriginal People*, (Hamilton & Sinclair) Winnipeg: Public Inquiry into the Administration of Justice and Aboriginal People.

Report of the Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its Impact on Indian and Metis People of Alberta. (Cawsey) 1991. *Justice on Trial*, Edmonton, Alberta.

Reeves, W. and J. Frideres. (1981). "Government Policy and Urbanization: The Alberta Case," *Canadian Public Policy*, 7(4):584-595.

Sacco, Vincent F. and Holly Johnson. (1990). *Patterns of Criminal Victimization in Canada*, Statistics Canada, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Sampson, Robert J. (1993). "Toward a Theory of Race, Crime and Urban Inequality," forthcoming in *Crime and Inequality*, John Hagan and Ruth Peterson (eds.), Stanford University Press.

Schwendinger, Herman and Julie Schwendinger. (1993). "Giving Crime Prevention Top Priority," *Crime and Delinquency*, October, Vol. 39(4):425-447.

Shearing, Clifford. (1993a). "Participatory Policing: Modalities for Lay Participation," Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape.

(1993b). "Alternative Forms of Policing", Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape.

(1993c). "Networked Policing: Community Policing for a New South Africa," Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape.

Shaw, Margaret with Karen Rodgers, Joanne Blanchette, Tina Hattem, Lee Seto Thomas and Lada Tamarack. (1990). *Survey of Federally Sentenced Women*, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General, User Report No. 1991-4.

Siggnier, Andrew. (1992). "The Aboriginal Socio-Economic Situation: a rural-urban comparison," *Rural and Small Town Canada*, Roy D. Bollman, ed., Thompson Educational Publishers, 369-381.

- Singer, C. and S. Moyer. (1981). *The Dakota Ojibway Tribal Council Police Program: An Evaluation, 1979-1981*, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.
- Skogan, Wesley. (1990). *Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighbourhoods*, The Free Press.
- Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Winnipeg Census Data. (1989). *Insights and Trends: Aboriginals*, Information Kit. Winnipeg.
- Statistics Canada, Aboriginal People's Output Program. (1989). *Aboriginal Population by Census Subdivision from the 1986 Census of Canada*, Ottawa.
- Statistics Canada. (1993). *The Daily*, Catalogue 11-001E, Ottawa, Thursday, November 18, 1993.
- Statistics Canada. (1991). *Aboriginal People's Survey 1991*. Ottawa: Volumes 1-6.
- Stenning, Philip. (1993). Police Use of Force and Violence Against Members of Visible Minority Groups in Canada, a report prepared for the Solicitor General of Canada (unpublished).
- Sugar, F. and L. Fox. (1989/90). Nistum Peyako Seht'wawin Iskwewak: Breaking Chains. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, 3:465-482.
- Twelfth Report of the Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General* (The Horner Report). (1993). Ottawa.
- van Dijk, Jan J.M. and Pat Mayhew. (1992). *Criminal Victimization in the Industrialized World*, The Netherlands: Ministry of Justice.
- Wacquant L. and W. Wilson. (1989). "The Cost of Racial and Class Exclusion in the Inner City," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 501:8-25.
- Waddington, A. (1983). "Are the Police There?" Research Paper Number 2, London: Social Affairs Unit.
- Waldram, J. (1992). "Cultural Profiling and the Forensic Treatment of Aboriginal Offenders in Canada," presentation at the American Society of Criminology meetings, November, New Orleans.

Weatheritt, Molly. (1986). *Innovations in Policing*, London: Croom Helm.

Weinfeld, Morton. (1885). "An Urban Option for Native People," *Policy Options*, 6,2, pp.10-12.

Wilson, Paul and Lincoln, Robyn. (1991). "Black Death and White Commissions: The Politics of Investigating Aboriginal Death In and Outside Custody," Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Meetings, San Francisco, November 1991.

Wilson, W. (1991). "Studying Inner-City Social Dislocation: The Challenge of Public Agenda Research," *American Sociological Review*, 56:1-14.

Yewbury, J.C. (1980). "British Columbia Native Nations in Transition: The Urbanization Process," *Urban Anthropology*, Volume 9:319-339.

APPENDIX I

DIFFERENCES - SELECT VARIABLES

I. *Male and female differences*

It is important to examine the findings in relation to males and females. Describing similarities and differences between inner-city males and females is an essential element of understanding their respective roles in the inner city, and involvement in the criminal justice system. The literature provides a context for the findings that follow.

Literature on aboriginal women has often documented their traditional roles and responsibilities, or their status as victims, as acknowledged in the growing literature on family violence. Research on incarcerated aboriginal women has revealed this group to be among the most disadvantaged in relation to all other groups (La Prairie, 1987; Shaw *et al.*, 1990; Sugar and Fox, 1990, Clark, 1992; Grossman, 1992). Aboriginal women are also disproportionately incarcerated (in relation to non-aboriginal women) for offences against the person and for alcohol-related offences (La Prairie, 1987; Moyer, 1992). Most recently, Comack (1993) has documented the particularly marginalized positions of incarcerated native women by examining 1988-1993 data on women housed at the Portage Correctional Institution in Manitoba. She found aboriginal inmates to be lower than their non-aboriginal counterparts on a number of socio-economic indicators including education and employment, to be involved in the criminal justice system at a younger age, and to have had more abusive relationships. She concludes that:

... because of factors relating to the interconnection of gender, class and racial inequalities in society, native women face even greater barriers than do non-native women which would increase their likelihood of conflicts with the law (1993:40).

Comack also raises the issue of women's responses to violence and abuse in their lives. By drawing on learning theory and other literature (1993:44) she observes that:

...women who have been subject to physical abuse will be more inclined to use physical violence themselves, and ...women may be more likely to internalize their abuse experiences and, as a result, turn to alcohol and other drugs as a means of coping.

The socio-economic characteristics of incarcerated native males are similar to those of females. Studies of native inmates have found this group to be less educated, more dysfunctional, and from more aberrant family backgrounds than non-native inmates (McCaskill, 1970, 1985; Planning Branch, 1975). The native group also had more alcohol problems, were younger (particularly those in provincial institutions), had more prior contacts with the criminal justice system, and more prior victimizations .

Virtually no literature exists on social stratification of native males and females so the assumption of "equality of victimization" has held for both, but perhaps most strongly for females. There is an interesting dichotomy in the way in which aboriginal women and men in urban settings have often been portrayed. The literature on aboriginal women in urban areas frequently focuses on lack of training and employment (Hull, 1984; Falconer, 1990; Clatworthy, 1981), on women as victims (B.C. Task Force on Family Violence, 1992), and on women as single parents (Falconer, 1990). The portrayal of males, on the other hand, has often centred on rootlessness and transiency (Brody, 1971).

One perspective on male and female roles originating in central Australia, but relevant here and supported by the findings of this research, is that because women have privileged access to welfare services they have more secure domestic livelihoods than men, and men often depend upon women for their basic requirements (Collman, 1979). Collman argues further that the conditions under which women acquire welfare benefits encourage them to minimize their relationships with men, resulting in major changes in relations between spouses and between parents and children. He adds that new types of marriage, new kin-making patterns and new types of domestic organizations have emerged as people compete for access to means of support. This would seem to be similar to the situation in Canada.

Differential male and female custody of children was a major finding in this research. The difficulty in finding street-level women to interview, and the fact that the women respondents were more involved in relationships and less visible, suggest important differences between inner-city males and females. The differences in roles may also influence adaptation to the inner city (Peters, 1992).

The male/female differences described below refer to the total sample of males and of females. Characteristics of the three groups that comprise the inner-city social strata are discussed in Chapter III. Significant differences between the males in the male groups, and between females in the female groups are also discussed in that chapter. When no differences for males and females are identified, it is assumed that the general findings apply equally to both groups.

Background

The backgrounds of males and females in the sample are surprisingly similar given the difference in outcomes in later life. These outcomes are seen in the disproportionate involvement of males as offenders in the criminal justice system (both as juveniles and adults), in abusing alcohol, in being less connected to families and communities, and being more on the streets, as reflected in their presence in the Inner I group. Where there were background differences, these included males moving around more as children ($p=.02$), drinking at an earlier age ($p=.001$), having fewer positive parental influences ($p=.001$), having more negative parental influences, earlier involvement with the criminal justice system, and more charges on reserve. Females had significantly more exposure to sexual abuse, but a similar proportion of males and females reported exposure to spousal and child abuse.

Males appear to respond differently than females to childhood trauma. For example, family violence is significantly related to adult drinking for males and females. Generally, however, more males than females have alcohol problems. Family violence is significantly related to juvenile offences and the number of *Criminal Code* charges for males, but not for females.

During adult life more males than females had either no relationships or multiple relationships. More females than males had relationships with non-natives. More females had children and twice as many women as men had custody of their children. The "aleness" of males suggested by these findings is often striking. Generally, men in interviews talked more about being alone than did women. One 41-year-old man said:

I slashed myself all up my left arm - did that in a back alley when I was drinking. Did it because I was lonely and felt no-one wanted me.

Another that:

I was always on my own both in jail or out. Had no visitors in jail and when I came out had no place to go. Thought I shouldn't go to my mother's as I might be interfering.

Relationships are central to most people's lives whether it is membership in an inner-city "group" (whether a street 'family', or a group that parties or drinks together), or as an expression of male-female intimacy. Men often described relationships as "something to hang onto," women as "someone to look out for me." Male-female relationships are often short-lived and fraught with jealousy and abuse, but people do not stop their search for love and acceptance. The difficulties in relationships in adulthood are not unlike those in childhood.

Coming to and life in the city

Females tended to come to cities for family reasons and males for jobs. Females felt more confused/alienated at first than males and considered racism more of a problem (9% to 5%). Males were more concerned about involvement in alcohol and drugs. In terms of identifying present problems, males tended to identify employment and money; and females child and family-related problems, child care, and social services. Although only 5% of the total sample claimed "no permanent address," those without addresses were predominately males.

In cities, more females take upgrading courses and males life skills ($p=.001$). There were no differences in those presently on welfare or social assistance. More females identified childhood aspirations as nurse, teacher, counsellor; and more males as police officers. More males than females identified having no person as a positive influence in their lives and having no dreams as children. Where an individual was a positive influence and gender identified, both groups tended to identify their own gender as most influential, i.e., male-male and female-female. For negative influences the findings are different. Fifty-five percent (55%) of females reported "male" as most negative gender whereas more males reported "both". Slightly more males than females believed city services were adequate ($p=.04$). More males than females identified education as their primary short-term goal.

Crime and victimization

The variables that relate to crime (offence types, number of offences, detention, detention numbers, adult and juvenile offences, age of first involvement in the criminal justice system,¹ city and reserve charges, guilt, age at first detention) were all significant,

and many very significant (from .036 to .000), for males and for females. Females had proportionately fewer charges in cities and home communities, had committed fewer adult offences, and had committed offences in fewer places than males². Excluding administrative offences (breaches etc.), where the percentages were equal, females committed more single offences than males.

Interestingly, females had a higher percentage of JDA offences. Males were over-represented in all offence types, especially serious assaults, B&E's, impaired driving, thefts, drug and administrative offences, but under-represented in JDA. Males were also over-represented in all types of detention - and especially in provincial and federal. There were no significant differences between the two groups in the time spent in juvenile detention, but there were in the other three types of detention - pretrial, provincial and federal, with males serving significantly longer sentences. Compared to males, three times as many women had only one detention.

Female offences involved alcohol less often than male offences. More females than males believed they were treated fairly by the city "justice system" but there were no differences between the two groups in perceptions of treatment by police and courts, whether in cities or home communities. However, in home communities or reserves, reports of police treatment were generally more positive. In cities, males reported more physical and verbal abuse from police than females, but females reported more rude treatment.

Females had more multiple victimizations in cities than males ($p=.001$), and the offenders were disproportionately spouses or partners. Twelve times as many females as males were assaulted by spouses or partners, and more males by relatives, friends and strangers. Females identified their abusers more often as "native" and males as "non-native." More males did not report offences because they did not want to "rat" or wanted to "settle own scores," whereas females were more fearful of retribution if reporting ($p=.000$).

One woman said that when men beat their wives in the city or on reserve there was pressure from the native community not to report, "People say it's your husband - he beats you because he loves you."

On reserve, females were victimized more than males, and had more multiple (11 or more) victimizations. More than one half the male victimizations on reserve were committed by relatives or friends.

Females feel more comfortable in cities than males but are generally more fearful of crime, even though they have fewer experiences than males with the kind of crime they fear. Twice as many females as males feared crime all the time and only 41% of females never feared crime, compared to 69% of males. More men feared assaults, violence, robbery and muggings, while women (26%) feared rape and sexual assaults, although few had any experiences or knowledge of any in their area. Males tended to rank street people, drunks, old people and non-whites as most vulnerable to victimization in the inner city, whereas women ranked non-whites, old people, drunks and females as most vulnerable.

Summary

The area which best reveals male and female differences is their involvement in the criminal justice system. Males, despite having similar backgrounds to females, appear to respond quite differently to childhood experiences, with males acting out (as involvement in the criminal justice system reflects), and females internalizing their experiences.

Using a sophisticated procedure which performs segmentation modelling, the variables where either males or females dominate were identified. The most significant variable in the dataset for distinguishing males and females is the relationship between the offender and victim - for women victimizations, spouses were the main offender; for men it was strangers, friends or relatives.

Being assaulted by a spouse or partner, fear of victimization, having custody of children, not committing B&E's and impaired driving offences, being a child victim of sexual assault, having parents who attended residential school: these are some of the variables that applied more to females than males. On the other hand, serving provincial time, not being fearful of victimization, not having custody of children, having multiple juvenile offences, committing B&E's and impaired driving offences, and not having parents who attended residential school, are the variables that applied more to males.

2. Age group differences

Because respondents aged 16 and over were selected for interviewing there was a considerable range of ages represented in the sample. As stated earlier, almost two thirds were between the ages of 25 and 44, with 25% in the 15-24 range, and 12% who were 45 years or older. The following paragraphs describe some of the major differences between the age groups.

Background

Nearly 25% of those aged 15-24 were born in cities, compared to about 10% of the other age groups. More of the older than the younger groups (45 or more) were raised by both parents and spent their childhoods on reserve. More of the younger group were raised in foster homes and spent childhoods in cities. Those 35 and over were over-represented in the "Other" upbringing category, which referred to moving from one situation to another (clearly the most disruptive upbringing). Coming from families who lived mainly on welfare decreases as age increases. There were more children in the families of the 45 or over group, and the younger group had fewer siblings. Surprisingly, nearly one half of those 45 and older reported no family violence, compared to only about one quarter of the other groups, and this finding was significant, at the $p=.005$ level.

While the older group spent more of their childhoods on reserve, they moved around more than the other age groups as adults. The younger group tended to stay more in cities. A particularly interesting finding was that, despite the older group growing up on reserves with both parents, there were no differences among the groups in their perceptions of their childhood stability or mobility. Perhaps this is explained by the finding that there are no differences in parental drinking or severity of drinking. Thus, stability in childhood is not simply a matter of growing up with both parents, but a combination of factors that include parental behaviour. The 45 and over group remember less violence and less family violence on reserves than those younger. However, those aged 25-44 were less inclined to live or work on reserves than the younger or older groups ($p=.004$).

More of the older than younger groups attended residential school ($p=.000$) but there were no differences in experiences. Nor were there any significant differences in exposure to native culture when growing up. However, those aged 25-44 tended to have explored their culture as adults more than the other groups. The younger groups had more education than the older group ($p=.000$) but there were no differences in being on welfare. The 15-24 group had the least problem with alcohol but those aged 15-34 had more use of drugs. A very significant finding was that the younger groups started regular drinking at a much earlier age than the older groups ($p=.000$).

Crime and victimization

Being a victim or having a *Criminal Code* charge were not different across the age groups. There was a difference in the number of detentions (those older had more

because they had more time to accumulate them) but not in the number of charges. There were no differences in the number of charges for age groups. *This suggests that the younger groups are committing more offences than the older groups.* This is supported by the finding that the 15-24 group is involved with the criminal justice system at an earlier age than were the older groups ($p=.001$). The same age group (15-24) also had their first period of custody at an earlier age than the others ($p=.01$). There were also statistical differences in the number of victimizations across age groups.

The older groups were over-represented in public drinking and JDA offences (as would be expected because of their age). Those 35-44 were somewhat over-represented in the serious offence types 1 and 2. Those aged 15-24 were only somewhat over-represented in offences 4 (thefts, shoplift) and 5 (administrative). The older groups had more victimizations (as would be expected) but those 35-44 had the most serious victimizations. This would suggest disproportionate victimization of the younger groups but the fact that victim and offender are inter-related in the city raises the possibility of an increase in violence among young native groups.

Coming to and life in the city

In eliciting reasons for coming to the city, the findings were split between those who came with family and friends or for personal reasons (those aged 15-34), and those who came for employment (35-44). The older group was evenly distributed in both categories. More of the older and younger groups cited loneliness as the main problem on arrival. People 45 or older were more likely to have lived alone. As age increases so does single living. This suggests a downward spiral that increases with age - being male, alone, single, on welfare. This is supported by the finding that more of the older age groups belong to the Inner 1 category ($p=.002$). The older groups also move around more than the younger:

There is an interesting age difference in perceptions of the adequacy of city services. Those aged 25-44 think services are more inadequate than do the other groups. There were also age differences concerning the question of who should be responsible for native people - more young people thought they themselves should be responsible whereas more older people thought the government should be. Older people were less idealistic about the rich natives helping out the poor than were the young. Those less than 35 years of age used friendship centres more than those older. For example, 61% of those 45 or more said they did not use the centre in their city, compared to 39% of the 15-24 group.

Summary

Some of the main findings in relation to the age groups were that more of the older respondents are found in the street level group, and are more disadvantaged than the younger groups in measures such as education, alcohol problems and being alone. More tend to come from reserves and, on some measures such as being raised with both parents, present a more stable profile, although it does not necessarily pave their way into a better adulthood. More in the younger group are from cities, raised in single parent or other families, report more violence in their families as children, and seem to be committing more offences at younger age than did their older counterparts. An interesting finding was that despite having a better education, the younger groups are as likely to be on welfare as the older groups.

3. Home and childhood community differences

The childhood variable refers to where people spent the first 16 years of their lives, and the home community variable to where they spent the majority of their lives. These were cross-tabulated with a number of other variables to determine if there were significant differences.

Childhood

More of those who spent their first 16 years on reserves reported stable backgrounds, compared to those from cities, towns or a combination of places ($p=.001$). More people who spent their childhoods on reserves also reported having been raised by both parents, compared to those raised in cities or in a combination of places who reported being raised by a single parent ($p=.000$). More from rural areas (or small towns), cities and a combination of places reported being raised in foster and/or adopted homes, and fewer from reserves. The "Other" category was highest on reserves as it included extended family ($p=.005$).³ More from reserves also reported "a lot" of exposure to aboriginal culture as would be expected. Those from "combination" childhoods reported less cultural exposure and more families on welfare.

The age of beginning regular drinking was not significantly different for childhood locations but it was for drugs. Those from cities took drugs at an earlier age than those from other locations. It appears that people from reserves were more protected from the criminal justice system - at least in childhood and until other factors intervened. For example, more from reserves were first involved in the system at a later age and spent less time in pretrial or provincial detention than those from cities, towns,

rural areas or varied backgrounds. However, the finding that there is no difference in parental drinking or severity of parental drinking in any of the childhood locations, suggests that the positive influences of stability and upbringing may have been mediated for some who spent their childhoods on reserve.

Alcohol problems in adulthood correlate strongly to the severity of parental drinking; and the number of adult offences is related to family violence and the severity of violence. Reporting more positive experiences on reserve and in childhood may also explain part of the variation. This is supported by the finding that only a small proportion wanted to live or work on reserves, and that those who do appeared to have had more positive experiences.

Home community

People from "varied" backgrounds were the most mobile, the most likely to be raised in foster homes, were less fearful of victimization (those from reserves are the most fearful) and, along with those from reserves, were more likely to be in the Inner 1 group. The groups identifying "varied" and city home communities had more charges than those from reserves or small towns (familiarity, kinship and size of community may be more important variables than commission of an offence in influencing charging). Those from reserves had shorter pretrial and provincial detention than those from other places. People from reserves were over-represented in public drinking offences in cities, those from towns or rural areas were slightly over-represented in all types (especially thefts, shoplift) except JDA; those from cities were slightly under-represented in all types; and those from "varied" settings were very over-represented in type 6 (public drinking) and type 7 (JDA) offences. For offences in home communities, people from reserves were over-represented in assaults.

Summary

The major conclusion from an examination of childhoods and home communities is that people whose backgrounds were the most unstable - the "combination" childhoods and "varied" home communities - are the most disadvantaged in both childhood and adulthood. They were more likely to be raised in foster homes, and were involved at an earlier age in the criminal justice system. Spending the first 16 years on reserve provided a more stable environment than elsewhere for some but not for others. For the latter, who appear to fall into the "combination" childhood group and the "varied" home community group, life was often characterized by instability and violence.

4. *Other differences*

Residential schools and native culture

Attending residential school did not correlate with any of the important outcome variables in this sample, although there may be city-by-city differences. There was no statistical significance between those who attended and did not attend residential school in regard to having been charged with an offence, the number of charges, having an alcohol or drug problem as an adult, being on welfare, age at beginning drinking or drugs, parental drinking, victimization, educational achievement, stability in childhood, final adult offences, final juvenile offences, fear of victimization, child abuse, sexual abuse, reserve offences, or age of first detention. That does not mean, however, that people did not have both positive and negative opinions about residential school.

Those raised in families with both parents were more exposed to aboriginal culture than those in foster or single parent families. Exposure to aboriginal culture did not differentiate people who were on welfare or employed, charged with an offence, or those who had detention or numbers of detentions. However, age of regular drinking and first age of involvement with the system were significant. As mentioned above, however, these variables also correlate positively with spending one's childhood on the reserve. For example, alcohol problems in adulthood correlate strongly to the severity of birth parents drinking. Reporting more positive situations about their experiences on reserve than really exist may also explain some of the variation. This explanation is, in part, supported by the finding that nearly two thirds of the total sample wanted to live and work in cities rather than on reserves. Those who wanted to live and work on reserves seem to have had more positive experiences there.

Employment

A number of variables were significantly related to employment. Being on welfare generally correlated with poor education - only 6% of those with grade 9 or less were employed, compared to 15% of those with high school or more education. This, however, does not appear to hold for age groups, which might suggest a greater propensity for the younger groups to seek welfare or a greater competition for jobs. Metis and non-status people had somewhat higher employment levels than did status Indians or Inuit ($p=.02$).

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Ninety-two percent (92%) of males compared to 68% of females, were charged with a *Criminal Code* offence. Males were first charged with an offence at an earlier age than females - 39% of the males were first charged at 14 years or less compared to 31% of females. Nearly 33% of the females were first charged at 19 years and over, compared to 16% of males ($p=.001$).
- ² Seventy-one percent (71%) of juvenile offences were committed by males, compared to 29% for females ($p=6e-10$); 67% of adult offences were committed by males, compared to 33% by females ($p=1.1e-16$). Thirty-four percent (34%) of males had committed 11 or more adult offences, compared to 17% of females ($p=1e-18$). However, significantly more females than males had committed "person" offences, and males "property" offences as juveniles ($p=4e-14$).
- ³ When cross-tabulating the childhood variable with perpetrators of family violence, the findings reflect those of the upbringing variable. Biological parents were over-represented on reserves, foster parents and a "varied" upbringing in rural or small towns, and step-parents in cities ($p=.005$).

APPENDIX II

OFFENCE TYPES FROM
MOST TO LEAST SERIOUS

- Type 1* HOMICIDE, SERIOUS AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT (attempted murder, aggravated assault, sexual assault with a weapon, sexual assault, assault with a weapon)
- Type 2* ASSAULTS, TRAFFICKING OFFENCES (common assault, robbery, assault police officer, trafficking)
- Type 3* IMPAIRED DRIVING, BREAK AND ENTER (theft of motor vehicle, possession for the purpose of trafficking, pimping)
- Type 4* THEFT, SHOPLIFTING, POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA (fraud, forgery, mischief, soliciting, obstructing a police officer)
- Type 5* ADMINISTRATIVE OFFENCES (fail to comply - order, fail to appear, breach of probation)
- Type 6* NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES (public drinking)
- Type 7* JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ACT (JDA) OFFENCES

APPENDIX III

CHART AND TABLES

APPENDIX III: CHARTS AND TABLES

Table II.1 Percent Type of Offence by Total Offences

TYPE OF OFFENCE*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
NUMBER	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
1-2	132	163	125	176	96	56	23
3-5	16	75	87	120	63	22	13
6-10	5	29	71	55	23	14	8
11-15	2	8	22	23	11	7	0
16-25	1	8	22	20	8	11	0
26+	0	6	15	14	4	7	0
TOTAL	156	289	342	408	205	117	44
% TOTAL	10%	19%	22%	26%	13%	7%	3%
	N=1561						

TYPE 1: HOMICIDE, SERIOUS AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT

TYPE 2: ASSAULTS, TRAFFICKING OFFENCES

TYPE 3: IMPAIRED DRIVING, BREAK AND ENTER

TYPE 4: THEFT, SHOPLIFTING, POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA

TYPE 5: ADMINISTRATIVE OFFENCES

TYPE 6: NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES

TYPE 7: JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ACT (JDA) OFFENCES

Table II.2 Detention Type by Detention Time, Total Sample

TYPE	JUVENILE	PRE-TRIAL	PROVINCIAL	FEDERAL
TIME (MONTHS)	n	n	n	n
1 DAY - 3	55	164	68	0
3 - 6	16	44	29	1
6 - 12	22	51	38	3
12.1 - 18	14	7	26	1
18.1 - 36	31	22	51	21
36+	26	11	66	30
TOTAL n	164	299	278	56
% TOTAL SAMPLE	21%	38%	35%	7%
N=797				

Table III.1 Age by Location and Gender

	MALE								FEMALE							
	15 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45+		15 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45+	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	17	23	33	44	34	45	16	22	15	12	41	32	32	25	13	10
INNER 2	32	51	40	63	21	33	7	11	30	26	33	29	26	23	10	9
OUTER	31	22	32	23	24	17	14	10	27	22	40	32	22	18	11	9
TOTAL	27	96	35	130	26	95	12	43	24	60	38	93	27	66	11	28
	p=.005								n.s.							
	N=611															

Table III.2 Status by Location and Gender

STATUS>>	MALE								FEMALE							
	REGISTERED		NON-STATUS		METIS		INUIT		REGISTERED		NON-STATUS		METIS		INUIT	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	68	89	17	22	11	14	5	6	70	54	9	7	8	6	13	10
INNER 2	65	102	11	18	20	31	4	7	64	54	14	12	12	10	11	9
OUTER	68	49	20	14	10	7	3	2	63	50	19	15	5	4	14	11
TOTAL	67	240	15	54	14	52	4	15	66	158	14	34	8	20	13	30
	Cells too small								n.s.							
	N=603															

Table III.3 Home Community by Location and Gender

HOME COMMUNITY>>	MALE								FEMALE							
	RESERVE		TOWN		CITY		VARIED		RESERVE		TOWN		CITY		VARIED	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	16	21	13	17	46	61	26	35	24	19	15	12	48	38	13	10
INNER 2	22	35	18	29	50	79	9	15	16	14	15	13	55	48	14	12
OUTER	17	12	15	11	53	38	15	11	24	19	20	16	49	39	6	5
TOTAL	19	68	16	57	49	178	17	61	21	52	17	41	51	125	11	27
	p=.01								p=n.s.							
	N=609															

Table III.4 Upbringing by Location and Gender

UPBRINGING	MALE								FEMALE							
	SINGLE		BOTH PARENTS		OTHER		FOSTER		SINGLE		BOTH PARENTS		OTHER		FOSTER	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	17	23	37	49	20	26	26	34	19	15	37	29	14	11	30	24
INNER 2	34	54	35	56	12	19	18	29	21	18	44	38	17	15	17	15
OUTER	38	27	29	21	14	10	19	14	32	26	43	35	12	10	12	10
TOTAL	29	104	35	126	15	55	21	77	24	59	41	102	14	36	20	49
	p=.02								n.s.							
	N=608															

Table III.5 Family Violence by Location and Gender

FAMILY VIOLENCE	MALE								FEMALE							
	NONE		LESS		MODERATE		SEVERE		NONE		LESS		MODERATE		SEVERE	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	25	33	35	46	17	22	23	30	23	18	41	32	10	8	27	21
INNER 2	28	44	39	61	15	23	18	29	26	22	34	29	17	15	23	20
OUTER	46	33	25	18	18	13	11	8	25	20	51	41	10	8	15	12
TOTAL	31	110	35	165	17	58	17	67	24	60	41	102	13	31	22	53
	p=.03								p=n.s.							
	N=606															

CHART III.1 Ten Variables With the Strongest Levels of Significance By Respondents Present Location

VARIABLES BY PRESENT LOCATION		INNER 1 %	INNER 2 %	OUTER %	p.
Respondents Current Source of Income	Welfare	47	36	17	4.3e-17
	Employment/education/other	14	47	39	
What Respondent Likes About Neighbourhood	Good Services/Quite/Clean	23	44	33	3.6e-16
	Friendly People	64	25	11	
	Nothing Good/Other/Native Community	39	48	13	
Respondents Present Work Status	Fulltime/Part-time	19	38	43	1.3e-14
	Education	3	57	40	
	Not Applicable	43	38	19	
Respondents Problems with Alcohol	All the Time/Sometimes	53	32	15	2.6e-14
	In the Past	31	39	30	
	No Problem	16	51	33	
Respondents Total Custody Time	.1 day to 6 months	39	37	24	3.6e-13
	6.1 months to 36 months	35	52	13	
	36.1+ months	55	35	10	
Respondents Reason for not Reporting Victimization	Don't Want to Rat/Settle Own Score/Afraid of Retribution/Not Important Enough/Police Don't Act	58	30	12	7.0e-12
Total Adult Offences	No or 1 Offence	22	37	41	3.3e-11
	2 to 4 Offence	31	42	27	
	5+ Offences	46	41	12	
Total Criminal Code Offences	1 to 5 Offences	30	39	31	3.6e-11
	6+ Offences	45	42	13	
	No Offences	17	38	46	
Respondents Age at First Detention	Serving Detention	41	44	15	4.1e-11
	No Answer	25	34	41	
Number of Detention	1 to 10 detention	38	45	16	5.4e-11
	11+ detention	52	39	9	
	No Answer	25	35	40	

* 125 variables were used in this analyses.

Table III.6 Grades by Location and Gender

GRADES	MALE						FEMALE					
	LESS THAN GRADE 9		SOME HIGH SCHOOL		HIGH SCHOOL +		LESS THAN GRADE 9		SOME HIGH SCHOOL		HIGH SCHOOL +	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	51	69	34	46	14	19	65	51	23	18	12	9
INNER 2	51	80	29	46	20	32	58	50	27	23	15	13
OUTER	29	21	35	25	36	26	43	35	37	30	20	16
TOTAL	47	170	32	117	21	77	56	137	29	71	15	38
	p=.01						n.s.					
	N=610											

Table III.7 Age First in Criminal Justice System by Location

AGE	5 - 12		13 - 14		15 - 16		17 - 18		19 +	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	20	38	15	28	28	53	17	31	19	36
INNER 2	16	33	24	48	29	58	14	28	17	35
OUTER	13	13	18	18	18	18	13	13	37	36
TOTAL	17	84	19	94	27	129	15	72	22	107
	p=.005									
	N=486									

Table III.8 Juvenile Offences by Location

NUMBER OFFENCES	1		2 - 4		5+	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	19	23	30	36	51	61
INNER 2	26	37	35	49	39	55
OUTER	22	12	44	24	33	18
TOTAL	22	72	35	109	43	134
	p=.07					
	N=315					

Table III.9 Marital Status by Location and Gender

STATUS	MALE								FEMALE							
	MARRIED		SEPARATED		COMMON-LAW		SINGLE		MARRIED		SEPARATED		COMMON-LAW		SINGLE	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	3	4	9	12	19	25	69	93	4	3	8	16	32	25	56	44
INNER 2	8	12	10	16	25	40	57	89	7	6	14	12	31	27	48	42
OUTER	14	10	10	7	21	15	56	40	11	9	14	11	23	18	53	42
TOTAL	7	26	10	35	22	80	61	222	7	18	12	29	29	70	52	128
	p=.06								p=n.s.							
	N=608															

Table III.10 Child Custody by Location and Gender

CUSTODY	MALE				FEMALE			
	YES		NO		YES		NO	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	13	10	87	67	43	29	57	39
INNER 2	27	29	73	77	66	44	34	23
OUTER	43	18	57	24	70	45	30	19
TOTAL	25	57	75	168	59	118	41	81
	p=.001				p=.002			
	N=424							

Table III.11 Source of Money by Location and Gender

MONEY SOURCE	MALE								FEMALE							
	WELFARE		EMPLOYMENT		EDUCATION		OTHER		WELFARE		EMPLOYMENT		EDUCATION		OTHER	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	80	102	4	5	8	10	8	10	92	67	1	1	0	0	7	5
INNER 2	54	83	12	19	14	22	20	31	63	55	9	8	17	15	10	9
OUTER	38	27	25	18	19	14	18	13	48	38	15	12	20	16	18	14
TOTAL	60	212	12	42	13	46	15	54	67	160	8	21	12	31	12	28
	p=.000								cells too small							
	N=594															

Table III.12 Alcohol Problem by Location and Gender

ALCOHOL PROBLEM	MALE								FEMALE							
	ALWAYS		SOMETIMES		IN THE PAST		NONE		ALWAYS		SOMETIMES		IN THE PAST		NONE	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	40	53	27	35	21	28	12	16	28	22	23	18	28	22	21	16
INNER 2	17	27	22	35	28	45	32	51	10	9	9	8	22	19	59	51
OUTER	11	8	15	11	31	22	43	31	10	8	12	10	33	27	44	36
TOTAL	24	88	22	81	26	95	27	98	16	39	15	36	28	68	41	103
	p=.000								cells too small							
	N=608															

Table III.13 Live on Reserve by Location and Gender

LIVE	MALE								FEMALE							
	RESERVE		CITY		OTHER		NO PREFERENCE		RESERVE		CITY		OTHER		NO PREFERENCE	
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	15	18	67	83	12	15	6	7	13	10	68	52	14	11	5	4
INNER 2	34	47	57	80	7	10	2	3	23	17	68	51	9	7	0	0
OUTER	25	15	60	36	12	7	3	2	25	18	62	44	6	4	7	5
TOTAL	25	80	61	199	10	32	4	12	20	45	66	147	10	22	4	9
	cells too small								cells too small							
	N=546															

Table III.14 Home Community/Reserve Geography by Location and Gender

GEOGRAPHY	MALE						FEMALE						p
	REMOTE		NEAR TOWN		NEAR CITY		REMOTE		NEAR TOWN		NEAR CITY		
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	
INNER 1	23	22	55	52	21	20	31	18	47	27	22	13	n.s.
INNER 2	20	21	55	58	25	26	29	18	47	29	24	15	n.s.
OUTER	13	7	54	29	33	18	32	18	50	28	18	10	.03
TOTAL	20	50	55	139	25	64	31	54	48	84	21	38	N=429
n.s.													

Table III.15 Age of Arrival in City by Location and Gender

AGE	MALE						FEMALE										
	BORN IN CITY		0 - 14		15 - 24		25+		BORN IN CITY		0 - 14		15 - 24		25+		
LOCATION	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	
INNER 1	7	9	20	25	47	60	26	33	8	6	24	19	44	34	24	19	
INNER 2	13	21	28	44	39	61	20	31	16	13	31	26	30	25	23	19	
OUTER	24	17	24	17	32	23	21	15	11	9	22	17	43	34	24	19	
TOTAL	13	47	24	86	39	144	22	79	12	28	26	62	39	93	24	57	
p=.02									p=n.s.								
N=596																	

Table III.16(a) Charges by Location and Gender*

CHARGES - YES	MALE		FEMALE	
	%**	n	%	n
INNER 1	96	129	85	67
INNER 2	91	144	69	60
OUTER	83	60	56	45
TOTAL	91	333	70	172
N=505				

* includes Criminal Code, Public Drinking and juvenile offenders.

** Percentages are calculated from the total numbers of males and females in each group.

Table III.16(b) Criminal Code Charges by Location and Gender

CHARGES - YES	MALE		FEMALE	
	%	n	%	n
INNER 1	95	127	83	66
INNER 2	91	143	67	58
OUTER	82	59	52	42
TOTAL	90	329	67	166
p=0.00				
N=495				

Table III.17 Number of Criminal Code Charges by Location and Gender

GENDER BY LOCATION	NUMBER OF CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES								TOTAL	
	1-2		3-5		6-10		11+		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Males										
Inner 1	13	10	13	10	27	21	74	58	127	100
Inner 2	17	12	23	16	31	22	72	50	143	100
Outer	13	22	13	22	10	17	23	39	59	100
Total	43	13	49	15	68	21	169	51	329	100
Females										
Inner 1	17	26	16	24	10	15	23	24	66	100
Inner 2	20	34	16	28	10	17	12	21	58	100
Outer	26	62	10	24	6	14	0	0	42	100
Total	63	38	42	25	26	16	35	21	166	100

Table III.18 Type of Offence by Location and Gender

GENDER BY PRESENT LOCATION	TYPE OF OFFENCE														TOTAL	
	1		2		3		4		5		6		7			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
MALES																
Inner 1	55	12	77	17	105	23	102	23	65	14	40	9	8	2	452	100
Inner 2	53	1	90	20	117	25	114	25	64	14	19	4	4	1	461	100
Outer	14	8	36	20	44	24	46	25	25	14	15	8	2	1	182	100
Total	122	11	203	19	266	24	262	24	154	14	74	7	14	1	1095	100
Females																
Inner 1	22	10	27	13	31	15	60	29	29	14	22	11	18	9	209	100
Inner 2	9	6	35	24	24	17	47	33	13	9	8	6	7	5	143	100
Outer	5	6	17	2	16	18	30	34	4	5	12	13	3	3	87	100
Total	36	8	79	18	71	16	137	31	46	10	42	10	28	6	439	100

TYPE 1: HOMICIDE, SERIOUS AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT

TYPE 2: ASSAULTS, TRAFFICKING OFFENCES

TYPE 3: IMPAIRED DRIVING, BREAK AND ENTER

TYPE 4: THEFT, SHOPLIFTING, POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA

TYPE 5: ADMINISTRATIVE OFFENCES

TYPE 6: NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES

TYPE 7: JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ACT (JDA) OFFENCES

Table III.19 Type of Detention by Location

Type	Juvenile		Pre-Trial		Provincial		Federal	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	41	66	40	118	48	130	52	28
Inner 2	44	70	46	135	38	103	39	21
Outer	15	24	14	40	15	40	9	5
N=780								

Table III.20 Number of Detentions by Location

Number	1		2-5		6-10		11+	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	21	33	27	41	24	37	28	43
Inner 2	19	30	39	63	23	37	20	32
Outer	20	11	40	22	27	15	13	7
Total	20	74	35	126	25	89	20	82

Table III.21 Total Detention Time by Location

Location Time-Mos	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
.1 day - 3 mos	37	36	38	37	25	24
3.1 - 6	47	14	33	10	20	6
6.1 - 12	27	12	55	24	18	8
12.1 - 18	37	7	53	10	11	2
18.1 - 24	46	11	38	9	17	4
24.1 - 36	36	12	58	19	6	2
36.1 - 60	51	25	35	17	14	7
60+	57	52	34	31	9	8
Total	44	169	41	157	16	61
	p = .005					
	N = 387					

Table III.21A Charges by Detention by Location

CHARGES BY DETENTION	RESPONDENTS LOCATION						TOTAL
	INNER #1		INNER #2		OUTER		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Charged with No Detention Time (of % charged)	27	14	47	23	44	42	118
Charged and Served Detention Time (of % charged)	169	86	157	77	61	58	387
No Charge or Detention Time (% of Inner #1 N, Inner #2 N, and Outer N)	17	6	41	39	48	45	106

Table III.22 Total Person Victimizations by Location and Gender

	Male				Female				p
Victimization	Yes		No		Yes		No		
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	
Inner 1	63	84	37	50	80	63	20	16	
Inner 2	63	99	37	59	62	54	38	33	
Outer	51	37	49	35	65	53	35	28	
Total	60	220	40	144	70	170	31	77	
	n.s.				p=.03				.001
	N=611								

Table III.23 Total Number of Person Victimizations by Location and Gender (Total)

	Male						Female					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Number	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1	35	26	39	29	26	19	22	8	43	16	35	13
2-4	43	34	45	36	13	10	29	13	27	12	44	20
5-10	30	11	59	22	11	4	52	17	21	7	27	9
11+	45	13	41	12	14	4	45	25	35	19	20	11
Total	38	84	45	99	17	37	37	63	32	54	31	53
	cells too small						p=.05					
	N=390											

Table III.24 Injury in City Victimizations by Location and Gender

	Male				Female				p
Injury	Yes		No		Yes		No		
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	
Inner 1	61	40	39	26	70	39	30	17	
Inner 2	40	34	59	50	50	26	50	26	
Outer	48	16	52	17	44	18	56	23	
Total	49	90	51	93	56	83	44	66	
	p=.05				p=.03				.001
	N=332								

Table IV.1 Police Treatment by Gender - City and Home Community/Reserve

	City				Home			
Gender	M		F		M		F	
Treatment	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Respectful	15	72	29	59	31	52	31	22
Matter of fact	22	106	22	44	23	38	25	18
Rude	15	74	24	48	14	24	14	10
Verbally Abusive	18	86	13	27	13	22	11	8
Physically Abusive	29	140	13	26	18	30	19	14
	p=.000				n.s.			

Table IV.2 Police Treatment by Location - City and Home Community/Reserve

Location	City						Home					
	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Treatment	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Respectful	23	60	15	45	21	26	37	33	32	30	37	16
Matter of fact	27	57	16	48	36	45	30	27	18	20	21	9
Rude	20	53	18	52	14	17	11	10	15	17	16	7
Verbally Abusive	13	33	22	65	12	15	8	7	15	17	14	6
Physically Abusive	23	60	29	84	18	22	13	12	20	23	12	5
	p=.009						n.s.					

Table IV.3 Not Reporting Victimization by Location - City and Home Community Reserve (%)

Not Reporting	City	Home
Location	%	%
Inner 1	86	76
Inner 2	75	67
Outer	61	84
Total	74	75

Table IV.4 Police Treatment of All Natives by Location

Same Treatment	Yes		No	
	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	40	68	60	104
Inner 2	27	57	73	157
Outer	35	46	65	84
Total	33	171	65	345
	p = .02			
	N = 516			

Table IV.5 Police Treatment of Natives and Whites by Location

Treatment	Same		Whites better	
	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	42	69	58	95
Inner 2	17	35	83	173
Outer	17	19	83	95
Total	25	123	75	363
	p = .000			
	N = 486			

Table IV.6 Police Treatment Rude Natives/Whites by Location

Treatment	Same		Whites better	
Location	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	60	95	40	64
Inner 2	37	77	63	129
Outer	46	56	54	67
Total	47	228	53	260
	p = .000			
	N = 488			

Table IV.7 Are Police the Same by Location and Gender

Police	Male						Female									
	Same		Most Bad		Most Good		1/2 - 1/2		Same		Most Bad		Most Good		1/2 - 1/2	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	8	10	34	43	33	42	26	33	11	8	18	13	27	20	45	33
Inner 2	14	22	22	34	29	46	35	56	9	8	26	22	37	32	28	24
Outer	8	6	18	13	38	27	36	26	9	7	27	20	32	24	31	23
Total	11	38	25	90	32	115	32	115	10	23	24	55	32	76	34	80
	p = .05						n.s.									
	N = 592															

Table IV.8 Perception Treatment Home and City Police by Location and Gender

	Home								City							
	M				F				M				F			
Treatment	Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	73	32	27	12	59	13	41	9	61	66	39	43	71	44	29	18
Inner 2	67	35	33	17	60	9	40	6	49	60	51	62	56	23	44	17
Outer	79	11	21	3	78	7	22	2	75	36	25	12	65	31	35	17
Total	71	78	29	32	63	29	34	17	58	162	42	117	65	98	35	52
	cells too small				cells too small				p = .03				n.s.			

Table IV.9 Perception Treatment Home and City Justice System by Location and Gender

	Home								City							
	M				F				M				F			
Treatment	Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	64	29	36	16	46	11	54	13	60	73	40	48	75	49	25	16
Inner 2	73	44	27	16	80	12	20	3	55	70	45	58	57	27	43	20
Outer	67	12	33	6	91	10	9	1	66	39	34	20	78	42	22	12
Total	69	85	31	38	66	33	34	17	59	182	41	126	71	118	29	48
	n.s.				cells too small				n.s.				p = .05			

Table IV.10 Perception Treatment Home and City Courts by Location and Gender

	Home								City							
	M				F				M				F			
Treatment	Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair		Fair		Unfair	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	64	28	36	16	72	13	28	5	73	78	27	29	79	45	21	12
Inner 2	80	40	20	10	85	11	15	2	64	73	36	41	68	27	32	13
Outer	69	9	31	4	89	8	11	1	75	36	25	12	78	36	22	10
Total	72	77	28	30	80	32	20	8	70	187	30	82	76	108	24	35
	cells too small				cells too small				n.s.				n.s.			

Table IV.11 % Respondents with Legal Representation by City and Home Community/Reserve by Location and Gender

	Home				City			
Represent	Male/yes		Female/yes		Male/yes		Female/yes	
Location	%		%		%		%	
Inner 1	78		58		84		88	
Inner 2	69		67		83		67	
Outer	50		67		79		74	
Total	70		64		83		77	
	N=94				N=319			

Table IV.12 % Respondents with Courtworker Services by City and Home Community/Reserve by Location and Gender

	Home		City	
	Male/yes	Female/yes	Male/yes	Female/yes
Location	%	%	%	%
Inner 1	29	18	26	32
Inner 2	26	14	29	28
Outer	21	0	22	13
Total	27	13	26	26

Table IV.13 Guilt by Location and Gender

Guilt	Male						Female					
	All/Most		Some		None		All/Most		Some		None	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	78	94	18	21	4	5	77	48	15	9	8	5
Inner 2	58	75	25	33	17	22	59	29	22	11	18	9
Outer	73	38	13	7	13	7	68	27	8	3	25	10
Total	69	207	20	61	11	34	69	104	15	23	16	24
	p=.002						cells too small					
	N=453											

II



SEEN BUT NOT HEARD
NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE INNER CITY

PART II

CITY-BY-CITY DIFFERENCES—
THE INNER CITY AND
THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

BY
CAROL LA PRAIRIE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part II

CITY-BY-CITY DIFFERENCES—
THE INNER CITY AND
THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

<i>The Research Approach and the Inner Cities</i>	165
<i>Introduction</i>	165
I.1 <i>The Research</i>	165
I.2 <i>Methodological Issues</i>	166
I.2.a <i>Selection of cities</i>	166
I.2.b <i>Defining the inner and outer city boundaries</i>	167
I.2.c <i>Identifying agencies and sampling</i>	168
I.3 <i>The Literature</i>	169
I.3.a <i>Crime and race</i>	172

CHAPTER II

<i>The Inner Cities and Across City Variation</i>	177
II.1 <i>The Inner Cities</i>	177
II.1.a <i>Edmonton</i>	177
II.1.b <i>Regina</i>	178
II.1.c <i>Toronto</i>	179
II.1.d <i>Montreal</i>	179
II.2 <i>Variation by City</i>	180
II.2.a <i>The Sample</i>	180
II.2.b <i>General</i>	181
II.2.c <i>Background</i>	183
II.2.d <i>Coming to and life in the city</i>	185
II.2.e <i>Fear of crime and victimization</i>	188
II.2.f <i>Aspirations</i>	189

CHAPTER III

<i>The Criminal Justice System: Charges, Detention, and Perceptions</i>	195
III.1 <i>Charges, Offences and Related Circumstances</i>	195
III.1.a <i>Total charges and total Criminal Code charges</i>	196
III.1.b <i>Type of charge</i>	197
III.1.c <i>Juvenile charges</i>	198
III.1.d <i>Places and ages</i>	198
III.1.e <i>Race of victim</i>	198
III.1.f <i>Alcohol and drugs in offences</i>	199
III.1.g <i>Legal representation and courtworker services</i>	199
III.1.h <i>Guilt</i>	199
III.2 <i>Detention</i>	200
III.2.a <i>Total detention</i>	200
III.2.b <i>Total juvenile detention</i>	201
III.2.c <i>Total Pre-trial detention</i>	201
III.2.d <i>Total provincial detention</i>	201
III.2.e <i>Total federal detention</i>	202
III.3 <i>Perceptions of Treatment</i>	202
III.3.a <i>Treatment by police</i>	202
III.3.b <i>Fairness of treatment</i>	203
III.3.c <i>Perceptions of treatment of other native people</i>	204
III.3.d <i>What released native offenders need</i>	206

CHAPTER IV

<i>Predictors and Outcomes</i>	211
IV.1 <i>Family Violence</i>	211
IV.1.a <i>Total sample</i>	211
IV.1.b <i>City-by-city differences</i>	212
IV.2 <i>Total Juvenile Charges</i>	212
IV.3 <i>Total Charges</i>	213
IV.3.a <i>Total sample</i>	213
IV.3.b <i>City-by-city differences</i>	214
IV.4 <i>Total Criminal Code Charges</i>	214
IV.4.a <i>Total sample</i>	214
IV.4.b <i>City-by-city differences</i>	215
IV.5 <i>Total Detention</i>	215
IV.5.a <i>Total sample</i>	215
IV.5.b <i>City-by-city differences</i>	216

IV.6	<i>Alcohol Problem</i>	216
IV.6.a	<i>Total sample</i>	217
IV.6.b	<i>City-by-city differences</i>	217

CHAPTER V

	<i>Discussion and Conclusions</i>	219
VI	<i>Discussion</i>	219
VI.a	<i>Overview of cities</i>	219
VI.b	<i>Background</i>	221
VI.c	<i>Coming to and life in the city</i>	221
VI.d	<i>Aspirations</i>	222
VI.e	<i>Crime and the criminal justice system</i>	222
VI.f	<i>East - West Differences</i>	223
V.2	<i>Conclusions</i>	224
V.2.a	<i>Social disorganization and characteristics of native inner-city populations</i>	225
V.2.b	<i>Migration and inner-city conflict</i>	227
V.2.c	<i>Policing inner-city areas</i>	228

CHAPTER VI

	<i>Implications of the Findings</i>	229
VI.1	<i>Elements of Program Intervention (Greene, 1993)</i>	229
VI.2	<i>Community Development</i>	232
VI.2.a	<i>Segregation and isolation</i>	232
VI.2.b	<i>Subsidized housing</i>	233
VI.3	<i>The Criminal Justice System</i>	234
VI.3.a	<i>Police, Police Charging and Diversion</i>	234
VI.3.b	<i>Recidivism</i>	237
	<i>Endnotes</i>	245
	<i>References</i>	255
	<i>Appendix I: Methodology</i>	263
	<i>Appendix II: Offence types from most to least serious</i>	269
	<i>Appendix III: Chart and tables</i>	271
	<i>Appendix IV: Aboriginal people's survey</i>	363
	<i>Appendix V: CHAID</i>	369

CHART AND TABLES

Chart I	Significant Differences among Cities	273
Table II.1	Age Groups by City	282
Table II.2	Gender by City	282
Table II.3	Location by City	283
Table II.4	Location by Gender and City	283
Table II.5	Home Community by City	284
Table II.6	Time In City by City	284
Table II.7	Settled By City	285
Table II.8	Live/Work on Reserves by City	285
Table II.9	Preference for Living in Another Area of City by City and Location	286
Table II.10	Marital Status by City	286
Table II.11	Educational Attainment by City	287
Table II.12	Source of Money by City and Location	287
Table II.13	Lifetime Employment by City	288
Table II.14	Alcohol Problem by City and Location	288
Table II.15	Alcohol Problem by City and Gender	289
Table II.16	Upbringing by City and Location	289
Table II.17	Parental Drinking Problems by City	290
Table II.18	Ethnicity of Victimizer by City	290
Table III.1	Respondent Charged by City	291
Table III.2	Number of Total Charges by City	291
Table III.3	Total Criminal Code Charges by City	292
Table III.4	Total Charges by City and Location	293
Table III.5	Criminal Code Charge by City and Location	294
Table III.6	Total Charges by City and Gender	295
Table III.7	Total Criminal Code Charges by City and Gender	296
Table III.8	Criminal Code Charges by Gender and City	297
Table III.9	Charge by Type of Offence by City	298
Table III.10	Number of Charges by Type of Offence by City	299
Table III.11	Charge by Type of Offence by Location and City	301
Table III.12	Charge by Type of Offence by City and Gender	305
Table III.13	Ethnicity of Victim of Offence by City	310
Table III.14	Courtworker City Charges by City	310
Table III.15	Guilt City Charges by City	311
Table III.16	Charged by Detention by City and Location	312

Table III.17	Charged by Detention by Location and City	313
Table III.18	Total Detention Time by City	314
Table III.19	Total Detention Time by City and Location	315
Table III.20	Detention Time By City and Gender	316
Table III.21	Number of Detentions by City and Location.....	318
Table III.22	Charged by Juvenile Detention by City and Location	319
Table III.23	Total Juvenile Detention Time by City	320
Table III.24	Charged by Pre-trial Detention by City and Location	321
Table III.25	Total Pre-Trial Detention Time By City	322
Table III.26	Charged by Provincial Detention by City and Location	323
Table III.27	Total Provincial Detention Time by City.....	324
Table III.28	Police Treatment City Charges by City (Accused Respondents)	324
Table III.29	Police Treatment City Charges by City (0-8 years in City)	325
Table III.30	Police Treatment Home Charges by City	325
Table III.31	Fairness of Treatment - City Justice System by City and Location .	326
Table III.32	Fairness of Treatment - City Justice System by City and Gender ...	326
Table III.33	Fairness of Treatment - City Police by City and Location.....	327
Table III.34	Fairness of Treatment - City Police by City and Gender	327
Table III.35	Fairness of Treatment - City Courts by City and Location.....	328
Table III.36	Fairness of Treatment - City Court by City and Gender	328
Table III.37	City Police Treat Natives The Same by City.....	329
Table III.38	Reason For Differential Treatment of Natives by City	329
Table III.39	Reason for Differential Treatment of Natives by City and Location	330
Table III.40	City Police Treat Natives and Whites the Same by City and Location	330
Table III.41	City Police Treat Rude Natives and Rude Whites the Same by City.....	331
Table III.42	Police Treat Rude Natives and Rude Whites the Same by City and Location	331
Table III.43	City Police The Same by City.....	332
Table III.44	Needs of Native Released from Correctional Institutions by City ..	332
Table IV.1	Family Violence by Predictor Variables by Total Sample	333
Table IV.2a	Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)	335
Table IV.2b	Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)	335
Table IV.2c	Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City (Toronto)	336
Table IV.3	Total Juvenile Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample	336
Table IV.4	Total Juvenile Charges by Predictor Variables by Males.....	337

Table IV.5	Total Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample	338
Table IV.6a	Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)	340
Table IV.6b	Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)	341
Table IV.6c	Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Toronto)	342
Table IV.6d	Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Montreal)	343
Table IV.7	Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample	344
Table IV.8a	Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Edmonton) .	346
Table IV.8b	Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Regina)	347
Table IV.8c	Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Toronto)	348
Table IV.8d	Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Montreal)	349
Table IV.9	Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by Total Sample	350
Table IV.10a	Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)	353
Table IV.10b	Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)	354
Table IV.10c	Total Detention Time by Predictors Variables by City (Toronto) ...	355
Table IV.10d	Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City (Montreal) ..	356
Table IV.11	Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by Total Sample	357
Table IV.12a	Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)	359
Table IV.12b	Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)	359
Table IV.12c	Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Toronto)	360
Table IV.12d	Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Montreal)	361

* Only those tables referred to in the text have been included here. Supporting tables that reflect other findings will be compiled in a separate volume.

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH APPROACH
AND THE INNER CITIES*Introduction*

Part II of the inner-city research describes differences in two eastern and two western Canadian cities. It adopts the theoretical model of Part I, *The Inner-city Sample, Social Strata and the Criminal Justice System*, where the sample was grouped according to how respondents were selected and where they lived in cities, and group differences analyzed within a social structural framework. This Part expands this concept by examining these same groups in Edmonton, Regina, Toronto and Montreal. The research did not focus specifically on the nature of the inner city, nor inner-city life and social relations. It provides a brief description of the inner cores of the four cities because variation in these areas provides a context for understanding some of the findings. It is based on self-report data from 621 native¹ people drawn from inner-city agencies, services and the street.

I.1 *The Research*

This research was prompted by the need for better information about east/west disparities in the incarceration of aboriginal people in correctional institutions. For the past two decades, the disproportionate incarceration of aboriginal people in correctional institutions has been identified as a critical criminal justice issue in Canada (Jackson, 1989; Cawsey, 1991; Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991; Bienvenue and Latif, 1974; Birkenmeyer and Jolly, 1981), but only recently has east/west variation been identified specifically (La Prairie, 1992). The incarceration of aboriginal people is more disproportionate in western than in eastern correctional institutions (Moyer *et al*, 1985). This research explores the issue through a series of questions, some of which were the subject of Part I, others of which are examined here.

Part I explored the issue of social stratification in aboriginal society by examining the inner-city population. It revealed social stratification even within the boundaries of the inner city. All inner-city respondents were more vulnerable to victimization and the commission of crime and criminal justice processing than were other Canadians,

aboriginal and non-aboriginal alike, but there were significant differences among the three inner-city groups² as measured by background, life chances, and socio-economic levels³. Part I explored differences among the groups and addressed the questions of "equality of victimization" and "equality of need." It concluded that it is possible to differentiate degree and type of need among the groups and that, to reduce levels of aboriginal incarceration, it is necessary to target those most in need. It also found that people migrate to cities for different reasons and come with different capacities for coping with city life. The most marginalized inner-city groups appear least equipped to deal successfully with city life, and often migrate to cities because of a lack of opportunities and acceptance in their home communities.

This Part also showed the extensive involvement of the inner-city group in the criminal justice system - especially as offenders, as inner-city people often avoid the system when victims. Although people were charged in a number of places, the majority of charges occurred in urban settings. People reported fewer charges on-reserve or in home communities, which lends support to the hypothesis that people are more "protected" from the system in communities with networks of kinship and familiarity. This is especially true on reserves, where strong kinship and networks of familiarity are at play.

This Part raises three questions regarding the variation in east/west aboriginal incarceration levels. Do differences in the nature of the inner cities in the four cities, in the treatment and response of the criminal justice system (i.e., are charging and detention higher in the western cities), and/or in offending patterns (are aboriginal people in the west committing more offences), explain the variation?⁴

1.2 *Methodological Issues*

The general research methodology was described in Part I. In this Part, the selection of cities, definitions of the inner and outer city boundaries in each of the cities, the selection of agencies, and sampling, are discussed.⁵

1.2.a *Selection of cities*

Selection was based on existing activities in inner-city areas, support for the project, and "representativeness." Edmonton was selected because of previous work on aboriginal inner-city issues (Edmonton Inner-city Task Force, 1992), the interest on the part of municipal and provincial government in such a project,⁶ and the fact that it was a mid-size urban centre. Edmonton has also been the site of innovations in community-based policing (*The Globe and Mail*, 1994). The aboriginal population in Edmonton

comprises approximately 5% of the total city, but 28% of the total aboriginal population of Alberta.⁷ Edmonton has the fourth largest aboriginal community among Canada's major urban centres after Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Statistics Canada, 1990). The aboriginal population in provincial institutions in Alberta is about four times the proportion of aboriginal people in the provincial population. In federal institutions, it is three times what would be expected.

The incarceration of aboriginal people in Saskatchewan provincial and federal correctional institutions is highest of all provinces so it was critical to locate the research in Regina or Saskatoon. Regina was selected because of the interest of both provincial and municipal governments and because of previous data, which suggested disproportionate levels of aboriginal crime in the city (CCJS, 1993; La Prairie, 1992) even though it has one of the smaller aboriginal communities in actual numbers. Regina is a small urban centre where the aboriginal population comprises approximately 7% of the total population, and 13% of the total Saskatchewan population who identify themselves as aboriginal. The aboriginal inmate population in correctional institutions is approximately four to five times, and in federal institutions four times, the number suggested by the aboriginal provincial population.

The logical eastern cities were Toronto and Montreal. Both have large numbers of aboriginal people and are major urban centres. Aboriginal people comprise approximately 1% of the Toronto, and less than 1% of the Montreal city populations. Approximately 13% of each of the total Ontario and Quebec aboriginal populations reside in Toronto and Montreal. Toronto also has an extensive network of aboriginal-specific services. The aboriginal inmate population in Ontario provincial institutions is approximately twice what one would expect from the aboriginal population in the province. This is not the case, however, for the aboriginal levels in federal institutions, where the proportions are comparable. In Quebec, there does not appear to be an over-representation problem in provincial or federal institutions.⁸

1.2.b *Defining the inner and outer city boundaries*

There was considerable difficulty defining the inner and outer city boundaries, especially in Toronto and Montreal,⁹ as there are not clearly defined aboriginal areas and aboriginal people are only one of many minority populations in these cities. In Edmonton and Regina, the aboriginal populations are the dominant minority population, but designating the inner- and outer-city areas was not without difficulty. In Edmonton and Regina, as elsewhere, efforts of municipal planners to "gentrify" traditional inner-city areas has created "satellite" and often scattered inner-city areas, where displaced inner-city people move for affordable housing.

Police in each city were contacted for two reasons: first, to assist in defining the boundaries of the inner city according to their own experience and knowledge of the city; secondly, to help identify the aboriginal population within the inner-city areas. They did this in terms of where people lived, which agencies served inner-city people, and where the highest degree of policing activity occurred that involved aboriginal people as offenders and victims. There was no such single inner-city area in any of the four cities. Police in each city identified both the traditional, or central, inner cities as well as the new "satellite" areas.¹⁰

Interviewers in each city were given information about the inner-city areas, and at the time of the interview, determined where people lived in relation to the inner/outer categorization.¹¹ City maps were also used to chart the inner-city areas. Any respondent with an address outside the designated inner-city area was identified as living in the outer city. At the time of analysis, the inner/outer concept was refined further and the inner category subdivided into two groups. Street-level respondents, drawn from soup kitchens, shelters, the street and drop-ins, were separated from those drawn from social agencies in the inner city, or serving the inner-city population. In order to be designated Inner 1 or Inner 2, respondents had to have an address *within* the boundaries of the inner city. The Outer group consisted of any respondent living *outside* the boundaries of the inner city.

The Outer concept is more easily defined in Edmonton and Regina where the inner-city native populations reside in geographically circumscribed areas. In Toronto and Montreal, there are not clearly defined "native" areas and the inner cities are spread out and are more socially and economically heterogenous.¹² The inner/outer concept is most difficult to distinguish in Montreal, which may explain some anomalies in the findings. Most native people in Montreal used the friendship centre because there was a lack of other native services. The majority of the sample was drawn from there, even though the actual location of the centre was not the inner city as normally perceived. Native people in Montreal had more housing options because of the low cost of apartments and could live within or outside central areas. As a result, there may be more "blurring" of the three groups in the east than in the west.

1.2.c *Identifying agencies and sampling*

This research did not gather information from a representative sample of *all* aboriginal people living in Edmonton, Regina, Toronto and Montreal. It focused on the group most vulnerable to the commission of crime, victimization and criminal justice processing, people at the lowest end of the socio-economic scale. To select a sample from this

group it was necessary to define the geographic boundaries of the inner city in the four sites, and to develop a methodology for selecting (as randomly as possible, given sampling constraints), an inner-city sample that could be considered "representative" of the group using inner-city agencies and services and of those on the street.

The sizes of the inner-city native populations were unknown. Common sampling procedures, such as using voters lists, telephone directories and street addresses for a random selection, are not available for transient populations. Two strategies were used. The first was to interview people who were the clients of "street" agencies such as shelters, drop-ins, food banks etc., including those on the street and occupying street locations such as shopping centres and parks. The second was to identify another low-income group who live in rooming houses, apartments etc. "Second-level" agencies, offering upgrading, life skills, counselling, family services, legal services etc. to this group were identified. As much as possible, similar agencies were selected in each city. The agencies are not identical across the cities.

Because it is necessary to select as random a sample as possible, a decision was made *not* to elicit the majority of interviews from organizations with correctional mandates such as provincial probation, John Howard and Elizabeth Fry agencies. Many of their aboriginal clients are not inner-city residents, but are in the city because they have been released to city agencies. However, some respondents were interviewed to ensure their representation in the sample (for further methodological details see Appendix I).

1.3 *The Literature*

There is not a body of Canadian criminological literature on inner cities although there have been some ethnographic examinations of Indians in select cities (Kerri, 1976; Brody, 1971). Specific issues of urban Indians have been the subject of other explorations (Peters, 1992; McCaskill, 1970, 1981; Hull, 1983; Clatworthy, 1983; Stanbury, 1975; Reeves and Frideres, 1981).¹³ However, the U.S. literature dominates the field because crime and delinquency in the inner cores of many large cities is a problem long identified in American criminology. For example, Hsieh and Pugh (1991) in a recent analysis of several decades of research on violent crime in American cities found that both poverty and income inequality were without exception related to violent crimes such as assaults, homicide, rape and robbery.¹⁴ Initiatives to change and counter inner-city problems have been an important part of the American landscape for several decades (Lemann, 1994).

In seeking explanations for the inner-city phenomenon of crime and delinquency in early American criminology, tensions developed between proponents of individual (social learning) and of group (social ecology) theories. The two positions were put concisely by Kornhauser (1978) when he asked:

How do we know that area differences in delinquency rates result from the aggregate characteristics of communities rather than the characteristics of individuals selectively aggregated into communities?

Social ecological theories of crime were formulated in the early 1940's with the work of Shaw and McKay, and were based on the notion that economically deprived areas had high rates of population turnover and heterogeneity. These factors increased the likelihood of social disorganization because these areas were unable to establish institutions to enhance internal controls, or to identify common values. At the heart of social disorganization theory is the belief that community-level dynamics are related to crime, and not "simple reifications of individual motivational processes" (Bursik 1988:21). Later theorists (Merton, 1938; Cloward and Ohlin (1960); Sutherland and Cressey, 1955) adopted the group nature of illegal behaviour and the social disorganization approach of Shaw and McKay was central to their work (Bursik, 1988).

Critics of social disorganization theories asserted that findings could not lead to predictions concerning individual behaviour. As a result, interest in group dynamics gave way to interest in individual motivation (Bursik, 1988). Hirshi's control theory, psychologically oriented theories of relative deprivation (strain theory), and social learning approaches dominated the literature (see for example Akers, 1985).¹⁵ However, the issues of social disorganization in communities with certain characteristics could not be avoided. Contemporary theorists are increasingly adopting models that incorporate both individual and community characteristics in explaining crime and deviance.

In integrating the two perspectives, Bursik (1988:523) redefines the conceptual status of social disorganization as hinging on, "the capacity of a neighbourhood to regulate itself through formal and informal processes of social control." At the same time, he notes that current models of social disorganization emphasize institutions of socialization in local community networks, as against subcultural variability. Families and schools are primary institutions of socialization, and "communities with broad networks of acquaintanceship and organizational activity have lower rates of delinquency." (Bursik, 1988:532)

Adopting this approach, LeBlanc (1991) argues that adverse structural conditions such as low socio-economic status and family disorganization, and parental environmental hazards such as conflictual marital relations and the presence of deviant parental models, weaken the bond or prevent a bond from developing between parent and child, and are at the heart of adolescent delinquency. Attachment to parents is a pivotal element:

It is in between, on one side, structural factors such as socio-economic status, and family status, and parental factors, such as marital relations and parental deviance, and on the other side, internal and external family constraints, such as regulations, discipline, belief in the legitimation of rules, and supervision, and rebellion against the family (LeBlanc, 1991:11).

In LeBlanc's view, school performance and attachment to parents are the best predictors of adult offending, but social controls during adolescence are more important for explaining adolescent offending.

Bursik (1988) describes the neighbourhood as a context for individual behaviour, and for possible police bias resulting in over-policing of certain areas - the latter having the potential to reduce the impact of social disorganization factors. In commenting on his own work and the work of others on the likelihood of recidivism within particular neighbourhoods, Bursik (1988:539-540) writes:

Gottfredson and Taylor (1983, 1986) have examined the effects of more general aspects of the community on the likelihood of arrest after release from prison. They present evidence that the neighbourhood context not only has a significant effect on the likelihood of recidivism, but it also has an additional effect through an interaction with individual characteristics. Those offenders with an extensive past history of criminal involvement, for example, were more likely to be rearrested if released from prison into socially disorganized neighbourhoods (Bursik, 1988:540)

Skogan (1986)¹⁶ argues that fear of crime in declining areas does not always accurately reflect actual crime levels, but that fear of crime may stimulate and accelerate neighbourhood decline. In his own work he found that:

Increasing fear of crime may cause individuals to withdraw physically and psychologically from community life. This weakens informal processes of social control that inhibit crime and disorder, and it produces a decline in the organizational life and the mobilization capacity of a neighbourhood (Skogan, 1986:203).

Skogan identifies four factors which affect neighbourhood stability but whose source is outside the community. These are disinvestment, demolition and construction, demagoguery (real estate panic peddlers and politicians) and deindustrialization. These may adversely affect crime rates by inducing high-risk populations to move into certain areas, decelerate levels of residential stability, and increase the level of internal organization through the establishment of gangs to protect neighbourhoods. Massey *et al* (1991) found that residential segregation is a major structural cause of the concentration of poverty in urban areas, leading to personal behaviours that are usually associated with the underclass.

1.3.a *Crime and race*

In the United States, but less in Canada, race is an integral component of criminology. This has come about in response to the disproportionate incarceration of blacks in the United States and aboriginal people in Canada, and their economic marginality in relation to the broader societies. In 1982, Blau and Blau found that variations in rates of urban crime in the United States were rooted in pronounced economic inequalities between races. Further work by Byrne and Sampson (1986:4) into the key issues of the social ecology of crime model, revealed that while economic status, percent non-white, proportion of youthful males, crowded housing, mobility and structural density were related to crime and delinquency in communities, poverty and racial composition were the strongest predictors. They concluded that disentangling the effects of poverty and racial composition are the major focus of research on the social ecology of crime.

In attempting to disentangle these effects, the work of Sampson and others is instructive. Sampson (1987:348-82) examined the relationship among unemployment, crime and family disruption in the black "underclass". He concluded that there is nothing inherent in black culture that is conducive to crime. Rather, it stems from the structural linkages among unemployment, economic deprivation and family disruption in urban black communities. He found that the effects of black family disruption substantially increases the rates of black murder and robbery, especially by juveniles. Sampson further noted that the effects are independent of race, income, region, age composition, density, city size and welfare benefits, and are similar to the effects of white family disruption on white violence.

There has been limited theoretical development in Canada on inner-city aboriginal crime and delinquency because aboriginal justice has been drawn into a fast-moving aboriginal political agenda. It has long been recognized that certain core areas of cities,

western cities in particular, are havens for aboriginal people. But this has resulted in little exploration into the nature of aboriginal crime, disorder and victimization in those areas. Perhaps, as Sampson and Wilson (1993:1-2) note, this situation has come about because:

...the discussion of race is mired in an unproductive mix of controversy and silence. At the same time that articles on age and gender abound, criminologists are loathe to speak openly on race and crime for fear of being misunderstood or labeled a racist. This situation is not unique, for until recently scholars of urban poverty also consciously avoided discussion of race and social dislocations in the inner city lest they be accused of blaming the victim. And when it is broached, criminologists have reduced the race-crime debate to simplistic culture versus social structure arguments criminologists have, with few exceptions, abdicated serious scholarly debate on race and crime.

In a recent work, Sampson and Wilson (1993) argue the importance of communities and urban inequality in understanding the issue of race and crime. They claim that social isolation and ecological concentration of the truly disadvantaged lead to structural barriers and cultural adaptations that undermine social organization and the control of crime (1993:2). Like LeBlanc in Canada, Sampson and Wilson found family disruption strongly related to juvenile violence, and joblessness and poverty exerting much of their influence on violence, indirectly through family disruption. Crime and violence occur disproportionately in communities with high rates of family disruption, residential instability and urban poverty concentrated by race. In the United States, as Sampson and Wilson (1993:7) observe:

racial differences in poverty and family disruption are so strong that the "worst" urban contexts in which whites reside are considerably better off than the average context of black communities.

These authors suggest the most important determinant of the relationship between race and crime is the differential distribution of blacks in communities characterized by structural social disorganization, and cultural isolation resulting from concentration of poverty, family disruption and residential instability. They further believe that "structural criminologists have too quickly dismissed the role of values, norms and learning¹⁷ as they interact with concentrated poverty and social isolation" (Sampson and Wilson 1993:23), where social isolation is defined as a lack of contact with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society.

Summary

Existing literature on inner cities suggests that there are a number of inter-related factors that lead to disproportionate levels of crime and victimization. Following Sampson and Wilson (1993), the theoretical framework adopted here incorporates both structural and cultural factors to understand differences in the four cities. Some of the factors that may be involved in generating urban aboriginal crime and delinquency, and disproportionate incarceration in the west and in western cities (CCJS 1993), are described as follows.

Social disorganization, leading to family dysfunction and [subsequently] crime and delinquency, occurs in areas with concentrations of native people, poverty, joblessness, poor and/or segregated housing, and isolation from the social and economic mainstream. An issue to be explored in this research is whether inner-city conditions in areas of high native concentrations reduce the potential for residential stability and the adoption and exercise of values of social control,¹⁸ despite the existence of friendship and acquaintanceship networks.¹⁹

Another issue is whether the *proportion* of Inner 1 and Inner 2 native people (the groups with the most involvement with systems of social control) who live in the inner cores of certain cities is related to higher levels of crime and delinquency in those cities. If this is so, the number of aboriginal people in urban areas is not the relevant issue. It is a combination of factors - including social and economic marginality, alcohol problems, and severe family disruption - that are most critical in the commission of crime and criminal justice processing. Higher detention levels are explained by the frequency of involvement of the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups with the criminal justice system.²⁰

A third issue is whether long-standing tensions among people resulting, in part, in their original migration from reserves, are played out in cities where people from the same, or from nearby reserves, live together in close physical proximity in sedentary, inner-city communities. The inter-connectedness of people (through culture, kinship and familiarity), in conditions in which crime and delinquency flourish, suggest that offences do not end with victim and offender but often "ripple-out" to involve others. In cities where this is the case, offender/victim relationships will be more native on native, and involve friends and relatives more often than strangers.

A final issue is whether elevated crime levels in certain areas of cities, as reflected in official data, result in part from over-policing. Some literature suggests that neighbourhood rates of crime are affected by over-policing of low socio-economic areas, and that

factors other than social disorganization are responsible for differences in crime and delinquency rates (Bursik, 1988). Racially segregated areas with low incomes, poor housing, and high unemployment may be defined as "problems," requiring greater surveillance. Where there is wider dispersal of races and poverty within inner-city areas, policing is less focused.

These issues will be explored in relation to the four cities in the chapters which follow. It is assumed that the majority of offences for which aboriginal people are incarcerated occur in urban areas and in the inner cores of cities, as an emerging body of literature suggests (LaPrairie, 1992; McCaskill, 1970, 1985; Edmonton Inner-city Task Force, 1992).

CHAPTER II

THE INNER CITIES AND
ACROSS CITY VARIATION

This chapter provides information about the inner cities and the distribution of the sample across cities.²¹ To contextualize the findings, city-by-city variation must be understood. This research is not an assessment of services (aboriginal or non-aboriginal) in the inner cities. It is an exploration into the lives of native people where the inner city provides the context. Information about the nature of the inner cities was elicited in responses to questions, and from interviewer observations of inner cities.

The first part of the chapter provides a brief description of each of the inner cities, and the locations in respective provinces from which people (not born in the city) were drawn.²² The second part describes city-by-city variation.²³ This variation relates to background and personal characteristics, adult and childhood victimization, fear of victimization, coming to and life in the city, and what people feel they want and need in their own lives.²⁴ Findings about charges, detention and perceptions of guilt and treatment by the criminal justice system are the subject of Chapter III.

II.1 *The Inner Cities*II.1.a *Edmonton*

The inner-city aboriginal population in Edmonton was historically situated in an area from Jasper Ave. north to 107th Ave., and from 92nd St. west to 97th St. Recently, however, through inner-city re-generation and the movement of other ethnic groups into the area, some of the native population has been displaced. The new "satellite" inner cities are located in the north-east (Abbotsfield Mall-Beverly) and Jasper Place areas of the city, as well as in the east end around 107th. Ave. Some native people from the traditional inner city (also known as "the drag") have moved to those areas in search of low-cost housing. One of the difficulties is that most services are still centered in the original inner city and not in these new areas. Housing in the "drag" areas is often very run-down. In the outlying areas, housing is predominately low-cost apartments. Bars, some more notorious than others, frequented by many, are scattered throughout the "drag".

The inner-city group in Edmonton is the most diverse. More than one third are from outside the province (mainly Saskatchewan), and those from Alberta come from a diverse mix of reserves or Metis communities, but predominately from non-native communities. These communities of origin are geographically spread out, and while some people are from reserves or communities close to the city, these are not physically close to one another, nor do more than a few people come from each. Thus, there is not a concentration of people in the inner city from any particular community, group of communities or geographic areas. This suggests that native people migrating to the city come more as strangers, and strike up friendships and relationships with new people in the city. In this respect, there is not much difference between those who come from within and those who come from outside the province. Most people do not carry community "baggage" into the city with them.

II.1.b *Regina*

There are two main inner-city native areas in Regina - North Central, commonly referred to as "the rez" (because of the concentration of native people who live there), and the inner Core area where a minority native population resides. Two other areas in close proximity, Cathedral and Eastview, with clusters of low-income native people, are also included as "inner city." The inner-city areas of Regina are deceptive, compared to the "drag" in Edmonton. The streets are tree-lined and there is not the same number of rooming houses or run-down housing. There was heavy migration to the city in the 1960's because of government programs and other housing.²⁵ The run-down quality inside many houses attests to the charge that landlords are collecting rents but not maintaining houses adequately.

Unlike native populations in inner areas of other cities, people in Regina came primarily from communities in the southern part of the province, close to the city. More people in the Regina inner city also came from the same reserves, in close physical proximity to one another, and to Regina. For many in inner-city areas, family and other networks were in place *before* they came to the city. Tensions between people on-reserve may be brought into and perpetuated in the city. Community power relations may also be re-created and played out in the city. The concentrated inner-city area in a small city means that differences and tensions are visible. It also suggests, however, a sense of community, where kinship and familiarity networks are in place. As well as being mechanisms for social control, these networks may act as buffers against formal criminal justice processing.

II.1.c *Toronto*

The west-central area bounded by Bloor/Lansdowne/Spadina/King (police station 14) and the east-central area bounded by Parliament/Queen/Church/Bloor (police stations 51 and 52) were identified by Toronto police as containing the largest native populations in the inner city. Part of station 42 in Scarborough (especially around Kingston Road, site of the Gabriel Dumont residences) is an emerging native area. The physical area is large. The Canadian Native Centre is in the western sector, and Council Fire, another friendship centre, is in the eastern sector. There is movement of people between the two centres, and generally around the wider inner-city area. Street-level organizations providing food and other services, such as drop-ins, are distributed over a wide area, so native people in Toronto move around a much larger area of the city than is the case in western cities.

Two characteristics of the native group in Toronto stand out. More Toronto respondents than those in other cities were born in the city, and those not born in the city came from communities in the northern part of the province. These communities were not all remote as more than half were near towns. While several people came from the same reserves (especially people from the Georgian Bay and Lake Superior areas, and southern Ontario), the reserves were not close to one another or to the city. This, and the fact that inner-city areas of Toronto are not native-concentrated or physically circumscribed, suggests family and community relationships are not played out in the city to the same degree as elsewhere.

II.1.d *Montreal*

There are three distinct aboriginal populations in Montreal, which makes it unique among the four cities. These are Inuit (primarily from Northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories), English-speaking Cree and Mohawk (from James Bay and southern Quebec, respectively) and French-speaking Montagnais, Huron, Naskapi, Algonquin etc., (from various parts of the province).²⁶ The three inner-city areas of Montreal housing the native populations are the forum area bounded by Atwater/Atwood/Sherbrooke/Dorchester in the western part of the city (police station 25); the Little Burgundy area, bounded by Guy/Notre Dame/St.Jacques/Atwater in the south (police station 24); and the St. Laurent area (police station 33) in the east, bounded by St.Jacques/St.Laurent/Clark/Rene Levesque. The forum and Little Burgundy areas are inhabited primarily by English-speaking, and the St. Laurent area by French-speaking, aboriginal people. Most people live in inexpensive apartments or rooms. There are certain bars in all three areas that are frequented by native and Inuit people.

The inner-city population (both Indian and Inuit) not born in Quebec (37%) tend to come from other provinces, territories or the United States. Those not born in Montreal come from reserves either close to, or very far away from, the city. More people in Montreal than in other cities classified their home communities as remote. While people would often report coming from the same reserves or home communities, these people were not necessarily in close physical proximity to one another, or to the city. More people in Montreal came to the city because of friends, which is the bond between people from the same communities. Inuit people in Montreal associate primarily with other Inuit, as do native people with other natives. Coming from the same community, province or territory may influence these affiliations. Fewer people come to Montreal as strangers than in Edmonton or Toronto, because, while they may not be familiar with the city, many have friends there who influenced their decision to come. Unlike the prairie cities, more people not born in Montreal perceive themselves to be visitors, rather than permanent residents in the city.

II.2 *Variation by City*

Although considerable effort was made to standardize sampling, differences in cities and in services affected the samples drawn. Differences in respondents in the four cities are identified below. Some of these differences are attributable to the sampling process, others to actual differences among native people in cities.

II.2.a *The Sample*

There were no significant²⁷ differences in age groups. Those 45 or over comprised the smallest, and those 25 to 34 the highest, proportions in each city (Table II.1 *Age Groups by City*). There was no significant difference in the distribution of males and females (Table II.2 *Gender by City*). There is, however, a significant difference in the distribution of the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups in the cities. Toronto, and to a lesser degree Montreal, have more Outer people, and Edmonton and Regina more Inner 2 people. The proportion of Inner 1 and 2 groups combined is higher in Edmonton and Regina (Table II.3 *Location by City*).²⁸ There were significantly more females than males in the Outer groups in Montreal and Toronto, more Inner 2 males in Edmonton, and more Inner 1 males in Regina (Table II.4 *Location by Gender and City*).

In comparing home province to present city, Regina had the highest number whose home province was the same as their present city - 87%, compared with 79% in Toronto, 63% in Montreal, and 56% in Edmonton. More out-of-province people came to

Edmonton from Saskatchewan, to Regina from Manitoba, to Toronto from almost all other provinces but mainly B.C. and Saskatchewan, and to Montreal from the Northwest Territories, Ontario and Saskatchewan.

II.2.b *General*

There are significant differences in the status of natives in the four cities. Registered Indians comprised the majority in all cities but there were more Metis in the prairie cities and more Inuit in Montreal. No Inuit were in the Toronto sample, and only two each were in the Edmonton and Regina samples. More people in Edmonton (more than double the number in other cities), and fewer in Regina, claimed an aboriginal first language. More respondents in Toronto claimed band membership, although the majority (73%) of the total sample belonged to a band.

More people in Toronto and Montreal were from remote or northern areas, more in Edmonton from central, and in Regina from southern areas (Regina had the fewest from remote communities). Home communities of prairie respondents showed less geographic extremes than did those in the east. More people came to Toronto for employment and education, to Regina for family, and to Montreal and Edmonton because of personal/community problems, or with foster families. People in Regina and Edmonton (probably because of their closer proximity to urban and semi-urban areas) made significantly more moves in their lifetimes than those in eastern cities.

There were differences in the kinds of communities in which people spent the majority of their lives. Considerably more respondents from Montreal cited reserves, in Regina (followed by Edmonton and Toronto) cities, and in Edmonton small towns or rural areas (Table II.5 *Home Community by City*). The difference in time spent in cities is also very significant. Whereas Toronto had the highest proportion born in the city (and the highest proportion of those in the Outer group - factors that may be related), Montreal and Regina had the highest born on reserve, Edmonton had the fewest born on reserve. More respondents in Regina and Montreal spent their childhoods (the first 16 years) on reserve, and more in Toronto and Edmonton, off reserve.

Toronto and Montreal had the highest proportion of people who had been in the cities a *short* time. Nearly two thirds of the respondents from Regina were in the city eight years or more, compared with one half of those from Toronto, and one third from Montreal (Table II.6 *Time in City by City*). More respondents in the western than eastern cities intended to stay in the city upon arrival. Not surprisingly, significantly more people in Edmonton and Regina felt settled in cities and regarded the city as home than in Toronto and Montreal (Table II.7 *Settled by City*).

People in the four cities visit the reserves in similar proportions but fewer people in Edmonton and Regina than in Toronto and Montreal want to live or work on their reserves (Table II.8 *Live/Work on Reserves by City*). There are no male/female differences in wanting to live or work on reserves but there are by location. Inner 1 people, especially in Regina and Edmonton, were the least inclined of all groups to live or work on reserve. Outer and Inner 2 people in Toronto and Montreal were more inclined to live and work on- reserve than the same groups in other cities. More respondents in Edmonton and Regina would prefer to live in another part of the city. This is particularly true for Inner 1 and Inner 2 people (Table II.9 *Preference for Living in Another Area of City by City and Location*).

Edmonton had the fewest married people and the most divorced and common-law in the total sample, while Regina had the most married, and Toronto and Montreal the most single (Table II.10 *Marital Status by City*). There were differences in ethnicity of partners. Respondents in Edmonton and Regina had the most native, and Toronto and Montreal the most non-native, or half native and half non-native partners. Consistent with marital status but inconsistent with the younger age of the sample, respondents in Regina (followed by Edmonton) had the most children, and the most custody of children. People in Montreal had the least children, and the least custody of children. In all cities, but especially in Toronto and Montreal, the Outer groups had the most, and Inner 1 groups the least, custody of children.

Edmonton respondents had the lowest educational achievement (especially Inner 1 and 2 people, where 72% and 64%, respectively, had less than grade nine, and the Edmonton Outer group, which was the lowest of all Outer groups), and Toronto, followed by Montreal, the highest (Table II.11 *Educational Attainment by City*).²⁹ Regina followed Edmonton in educational attainment where 61% of the Inner 1 group and 56% of the Inner 2 group had less than grade nine, compared with only one third of those in the Outer group. The Inner/Outer group extremes were less in the eastern cities, particularly in Toronto where only 42% of the Inner 1 and 31% of the Outer group had less than grade nine. Regina respondents had the most and Montreal respondents the least involvement in adult education.

More Toronto respondents had been educated in the city, and more Montreal respondents on-reserve. More Edmonton and Regina respondents had been educated in towns. Significantly more people from Edmonton and Regina attended residential school - 27% and 34%, respectively, compared with 16% from Montreal and 14% from Toronto (although the majority of all respondents had not). There were no differences in time spent at the schools, nor in age of first attendance. Nor were there any significant

differences in experiences in residential schools - the majority found the schools either "alright" (45%) or half good/half bad (19%). More western than eastern respondents also reported their parents attended residential schools - 63% compared with 38%.

A similar proportion of respondents was on welfare, with the Inner 1 group highest in all cities. There were more females on welfare in Edmonton and Toronto, and more Inner 2 people in Edmonton than in the other cities. Fewer of the Outer group in the western than the eastern cities were on welfare. Regina had the highest proportion of people on education funding but all were from the Inner 2 and Outer groups, and none from the Inner 1 group (Table II.12 *Source of Money by City and Location*). More Inner 1 in all cities were mainly unemployed over their lifetimes, but the Outer group in western cities had more employment than the Outer group in the east, and more Inner 2 than Outer people in Toronto had been mainly employed (the Inner 2 and Outer groups were equally employed in Montreal).³⁰ Overall, Toronto had the most people "mainly employed," Montreal and Regina had the most unemployed, and Edmonton the most half and half employment/unemployment over lifetime (Table II.13 *Lifetime Employment by City*).

There was variation in alcohol problems across cities. Respondents in Regina had the least and Montreal the most problem, but there was variation by gender and location. The Inner 1 group consistently had the most "always" problem, and the Outer group the least. However, the Inner 2 and Outer groups in the eastern cities had more of a problem than in the west (Table II.14 *Alcohol Problem by City and Location*). Females generally had less of an alcohol problem than males, but in Edmonton and Montreal, females with an "always" problem were in the same proportion as males (Table II.15 *Alcohol Problem by City and Gender*).

II.2.c Background

More Montreal respondents (75%), followed by Regina (52%), Toronto (48%) and Edmonton (45%) were born on reserve. Significantly more Toronto people (43%), followed by Edmonton (38%), were born in the city. More western respondents were born in small towns or rural areas. Movement in childhood is revealed in examining where people spent their first sixteen years. Many had moved to cities and small towns, and one tenth of all respondents reported having lived in a combination of places. City living, and living in a variety of places, increased as people approached adulthood.

People in Regina (followed by Edmonton), came from the largest families - 25% reported ten or more siblings, and eastern respondents from smaller families. While nearly 75% of parents among Edmonton, Toronto, and Montreal respondents were

both native, this was true for only two thirds of Regina respondents. In Regina, the number of part native and non-native parents was higher. More Regina and Montreal respondents were raised by both parents. More in Toronto were raised by single parents, and in Edmonton by foster parents and "others" (Regina had the fewest raised in foster care). The Edmonton Inner 1 group was raised less by both parents, and more by foster parents (along with the Inner 1 group in Toronto), than all other groups. While the Inner 1 group was generally higher than the Inner 2 or Outer groups for foster care, in Montreal the groups were similar.³¹ More Toronto Outer people were raised by single parents (and probably in the city as half this group is from the city) (Table II.16 *Upbringing by City and Location*).

More respondents in Regina and Edmonton reported their family income as "welfare," and more in the eastern cities as employment. There was no difference in childhood stability or movement. Inner 1 people generally reported the most instability, and Outer individuals the most stability, but western Inner 1 groups reported a higher combination of instability and half instability/half stability, than comparable groups in the east.

There were significant differences in parental drinking problems. The incidence of both parents having a problem was more frequent in the western cities, and "no problem" was most frequent in Montreal (Table II.17 *Parental Drinking Problems by City*). Where mothers had a problem, it was more severe in Montreal (83%), although it ranged from 60% in Regina to 65% in Toronto and 70% in Edmonton. Where fathers had a problem, the severity of drinking did not vary significantly across cities. It ranged from 62% in Regina, to 72% in Toronto, to 76% in Montreal and 78% in Edmonton. Where parental drinking was identified as a problem by the respondent, it was usually severe. There were no significant differences among respondents for age at first drinking.

More parents of respondents in Regina and Edmonton had been in jail. Overall, there were no significant differences among cities in the degree or severity of family violence but the Inner 1 group in the west reported higher levels of severe violence and generally more violence. In the east, the Inner 1 and 2 groups in Toronto, and the Inner 1 and Outer groups in Montreal, reported equal amounts of severe violence. Outer people reported the least violence. In Edmonton, females reported somewhat more family violence than males.

More people in Montreal (33%) and Edmonton (25%) than in Regina (17%) and Toronto (14%) received "a lot" of cultural teaching as children. Toronto at 62% was highest for "none," followed closely by Edmonton and Regina, each at 56%. Regina scored higher than Edmonton and Toronto in respondents who said there was "a lot"

of cultural activity in their home community. Montreal, where more people were from, and had spent a longer time on reserves, was highest. Elders and parents were the main source of guidance in Montreal, parents in Edmonton, grandparents in Regina, and parents and grandparents in Toronto. In exploring their native culture as adults there were no significant differences. Those who gave a positive response to this question ranged from 65% in Regina to 73% in Montreal.

More people with reserve experience in Edmonton and Regina than in Toronto and Montreal believed jobs on reserve were given out unevenly. More Montreal respondents than those in other cities, especially Edmonton and Regina, thought their families had high social standing on-reserve. Significantly more people from Regina (81%), followed by Toronto (72%), Montreal (65%) and Edmonton (60%), felt that certain individuals and families were looked down upon on reserve. Alcohol and poverty were the main reasons for disapproval. Chiefs came into power in the same way - virtually all were elected. Slightly more people in Edmonton and Regina than in eastern cities believed Chiefs stayed in power "a long time." Edmonton was highest (95%), followed by Toronto (88%), Regina (81%) and Montreal (75%), in believing power was centralized in certain individuals or families on-reserve. In all cities, "chiefs" were perceived to have the most power on reserves. This ranged from 86% in Edmonton to 45% in Montreal. More in Montreal emphasized the power of families and elders, and in Regina, families. More respondents in Edmonton and Toronto felt they and/or their families were looked down upon on-reserve, but the reasons were the same in all cities - because of being different and/or parental behaviour.

When asked about positive and negative influences in their lives, fewer respondents in Edmonton and Montreal identified parents as positive influences. In fact, respondents in Edmonton and Montreal generally identified fewer positive influences than did those in Regina (more of whom identified parents and relatives than in the other cities), or Toronto (more of whom identified relatives). Interestingly, more respondents in Edmonton and Regina identified relatives as the most *negative* influences, while more respondents in Toronto and Montreal identified parents. Although differences were not statistically significant, more people in Toronto identified males, and in the other cities females, as the most positive. More Edmonton and Regina respondents considered both males and females as most negative, and more Toronto and Montreal respondents only males.

II.2.d *Coming to and life in the city*

Employment and education were the main reasons respondents in Toronto came to the city. More in Regina came for families, in Montreal for a change and for personal/community problems, and in Edmonton people alternated between family/friends, and

personal or community problems. Regina stands out as the city people came to for family reasons, where 52% cited family reasons, compared with about 30% in the other cities. More Edmonton and Toronto females came for education, employment, friends and family than did males. There were no male/females differences in other cities. There were, however, differences by location. Inner 1 people in the west and in Montreal came less for jobs than for personal/community problems, but more Inner 1 people in Toronto came for jobs. Inner 2 and Outer people tended to emphasize jobs and education more, especially Inner 2 people in Toronto and Outer in Regina.

More people in Regina and Montreal had contacts when coming to the city - in Regina these were family, in Montreal friends. More in Edmonton and Regina had little knowledge of the city prior to arrival - a surprising finding given that more were from central or southern parts of the provinces and close to towns or urban centres. Montreal and Toronto people reported the most knowledge about the city prior to arrival. People in Montreal were most positive about the city on arrival, where 84% claimed the city was "as expected" or "better." Comparable figures in Regina were 77%, Toronto 72% and Edmonton 60%. More people in Edmonton and Toronto (25% each) found the city worse than expected.

Loneliness and alienation were the most serious problems on arrival in the city, followed by employment and housing. Loneliness was reported less in Regina (probably because of family contacts), housing was higher in Toronto, employment in Edmonton, and a "variety" (including language) in Montreal. More people in Regina had "no" problem, but more identified "racism" - 13%, compared with 6% in Toronto and 4% each in Edmonton and Montreal. More Inner 1 people reported alcohol and drugs as the main problem, especially in Regina and Toronto. More Inner 2 people in all cities reported racism. There were no significant differences in the level of comfort people felt on arrival in the city, or in the reasons for discomfort -- primarily alienation, loneliness and confusion of being in a strange place.

Friends most influenced people about where they live in the city, and this was particularly true in Montreal. Personal choice was higher in Regina and Toronto. Proximity to aboriginal social services was higher in Toronto, and affordable housing was more of an issue in the western than eastern cities. More western respondents lived with friends, and more Edmonton respondents moved because of evictions (especially Inner 1 people). Edmonton, followed by Montreal, had the highest proportion of respondents with no permanent address. People like "good services" most about their areas, and alcohol, drugs, crime and violence the least. More respondents in Toronto and Montreal complained about police harassment but the numbers were small. Significantly

more people in Edmonton wanted to move to another city area or away from the city altogether. People in Toronto and Regina, and especially Outer people, were most content with their areas. Inner 1 and 2 respondents in Edmonton were the least content. More females than males in Montreal wanted to move to another area of the city.

More western than eastern respondents said they had "no current problem." More in Edmonton identified alcohol, drugs, and crime as their most serious problem. In Regina "other social" and personal, and in Toronto and Montreal employment problems were cited more frequently. Having "no problem" is higher for Inner 2 and Outer people in the west. In the east, employment is a present concern. Inner 2 and Outer respondents had fewer problems than those in the Inner 1 groups, except in Montreal.

When asked about experiences of other natives when first in the city, loneliness, which corresponds to people's own experiences, was cited most often. However, more in Toronto considered housing the main problem and in Montreal, alcohol and drugs (even though they did not identify it for themselves). Fewer in Regina thought alcohol and drugs a problem for others, although many identified it for themselves. More in Regina identified employment even though they had not identified it for themselves.³² Montreal respondents were least likely, and Regina respondents were most likely, to say newcomers would experience racism. No-one identified "no problem" for others, although 12% identified it for themselves.

Getting into the inner-city "lifestyle" was more likely to be attributed to the influence of friends in Regina, Montreal and Edmonton. More respondents in Toronto felt people brought their problems with them from home communities, but the same proportion (approximately 20%) agreed "having nothing to do" drove people into the lifestyle. More western than eastern respondents felt that having a "will to change" was the most important factor in getting people out of the lifestyle (although this was the majority opinion in all cities). More Toronto respondents emphasized jobs, and in Montreal, "just quitting alcohol and drugs."

More in Toronto said there were enough opportunities in the city for native people (the response for all four cities was 56%). Regina and Montreal respondents emphasized employment. Edmonton responses were evenly divided among jobs, education and "community development". More Toronto respondents wanted employment and community development. Western cities emphasized education more than the eastern ones, perhaps because of lower education levels.

Nearly two thirds of respondents thought native people made good use of opportunities (education, training etc.,) but only 56% felt there were enough services. Better shelter, drop-ins and social and other services, were most commonly identified. Housing was identified by more Edmonton and Toronto respondents; drop-ins in Regina and Montreal, and culturally relevant services, in addition, in Toronto. Half the respondents in each city felt people were aware of services, and there was general agreement that the best way to inform people was to advertise. More Montreal respondents felt services were difficult to get to, but only 47% in all cities believed people made good use of services (this is lower than the comparable finding for use of opportunities).

There were significant differences among cities in the use of friendship centres. Centres were used least in the west (especially in Regina) and most in the east. The centre in Montreal was used the most.³³ More people in Regina did not use the centre because they had no need for it, in Montreal because they felt unwelcome, and in Toronto because it was too far away.³⁴ Edmonton respondents were evenly distributed as the reasons for not using friendship centres. More Edmonton and Regina respondents felt friendships centres were run by certain groups or families.

II.2.e *Fear of crime and victimization*

There were significant differences in perceptions of crime levels. Perceptions of "a lot" of crime were higher in eastern than western cities, "some" was higher in Regina, and "none" in Edmonton. There were also significant differences by location. More Inner 1 people in Edmonton thought there was "a lot" of crime in their area. In all other cities, Inner 2 and Outer respondents shared this perception. More Inner 2 and Outer people in the west, and Inner 1 people in the east, thought there was no crime in their areas. Fear of assaults was higher in the east, and break-and-enters in the west. Eastern respondents had more knowledge of drug and shooting offences, and western of B&E's. More people in Montreal and Edmonton had knowledge of assaults, but more in the west identified prostitution as a "crime." More eastern respondents thought crime in their area was serious and victims liable to be injured.

Non-whites and drunks were identified most often as potential victims. Non-whites were identified more frequently in the east, women in Montreal and Regina, and "everyone" in Edmonton, Regina and Toronto. Slightly more people in Regina and Montreal feared victimization "all the time" - 17% each, compared with 12% in Toronto and 15% in Edmonton. However, more people in Regina and Toronto had no fear (61% and 63%, respectively, as compared with 54% in Edmonton and 52% in

Montreal). Inner 1 people generally feared crime less than the other groups. Outer in Montreal and Inner 2 in the west were most fearful. Females in all cities were more fearful of victimization, except in Regina where there was no significant difference between males and females.

Victimization in western cities was slightly higher, and lowest in Toronto, despite the fact that more Toronto respondents were fearful of crime. In all cities, victimization was highest for Inner 1 people. The number of victimizations was highest in Edmonton, and lowest in Toronto. Inner 1 people in the west had the most victimizations. Females in the west had significantly more victimizations than males in the west, or males and females in the east. Victimization by spouses/partners was higher in the west, by relatives in Regina, by friends in Montreal and by strangers in Toronto. Other natives were most often the victimizer in the west, and non-natives in the east (Table II.18 *Ethnicity of Victimizer by City*). There were no differences across cities in injury, but more Inner 1 than Inner 2 people or Outer people in Edmonton and Montreal, had injury. Of the total sample, Edmonton Inner 1 respondents had the most injury, and this was equally true for males and females.

II.2.f *Aspirations*

People wanted the same changes in their lives in the short-term. Jobs (28%), quitting alcohol and drugs (15%), education (13%), stable lives (11%), and getting away from the city (11%) were most commonly identified. In the long-term, employment was most important, especially in Edmonton, Regina, and Toronto, but more in Regina also emphasized education. A "decent life" was rated higher in the longer term. There were differences in who people thought should be responsible for making their lives better. The majority thought they themselves should be responsible (58%), but more people in Montreal emphasized government, and in Regina, native organizations.

There were differences in perceptions of whether natives with money help those who are poor and in need. While 26% said "yes" and 24% said "some do," one-half said "no." The "yes" response was highest in the east, especially in Toronto, and lowest in Edmonton. The "no" response ranged from 40% in Toronto to 55% in Regina. The question: "If given a million dollars to do something for native people what would you do?" evoked different responses. More Toronto respondents would provide housing while more Edmonton, Regina and Montreal respondents said they would create jobs and build a large centre for people. More in Edmonton and Regina would implement better programs, and in Edmonton and Montreal, improve cultural services/programs.

More people in Edmonton said they could not, or would not, identify an aboriginal organization or entity that gave them a political "voice," represented their interests, or spoke on their behalf. In Edmonton this response was 69%, compared to 55% in Regina, 57% in Toronto, and 45% in Montreal. More people in Toronto (12%) identified an aboriginal, non-political organization, such as a social service agency. More in Montreal gave a variety of aboriginal and non-aboriginal, non-political responses - CBC, newspapers, relatives etc. More respondents in Regina (32%) identified an actual aboriginal political entity (chief and/or council, national, provincial, territorial, or local organization), compared to 21% in Montreal, 16% in Edmonton, and 14% in Toronto.

Summary

Little research in inner cities has been conducted but available literature on native people in urban areas often implies homogeneity. The findings presented in Part II challenge this view. Part I revealed differences in social strata within the inner city; this Part reveals city-by-city, and east/west differences. An examination of respondents from the four cities uncovers some fundamental differences among the native populations using inner-city agencies and services.

There were more Metis in the west and Inuit in Montreal, and more Inner 1 and Inner 2 people in Edmonton and Regina than in Toronto and Montreal. The differences among the cities in proportions of the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups are important in understanding why people come to the city and their involvement in the criminal justice system. Previous findings (see Part I) showed Inner 1 and 2 males most vulnerable to the commission of crime and criminal justice processing, and females, especially those in the Outer group, least vulnerable. It also revealed that the longer one stays on-reserve the less there is a likelihood of formal involvement with the criminal justice system. The fact that there were more females in the Montreal sample, and more Outer respondents in both Toronto and Montreal, suggests possible differences in the offence data in those cities. These matters will be explored in the next chapter.

More people in Regina than other cities, especially Edmonton, were from their home province, but Saskatchewan people were also over-represented in the other cities. This suggests that inner-city native people migrate from, rather than to, Saskatchewan. Those who leave may do so for the same reasons they leave reserves -- a lack of opportunities. The most marginalized people leave. There were less geographic extremes in the west than in the east in where people were from. More eastern respondents were from northern or southern areas (close to Toronto or Montreal), and western from

central or southerly areas, and from communities clustered closely together. Surprisingly, however, people in western cities claimed less knowledge of cities prior to arrival. They may have moved around more but not to cities.

The majority of Montreal respondents spent their lives on reserves, compared to the majority of other respondents who spent their lives in cities. People in the west also moved around more. Montreal respondents had been in the city the shortest time, and Edmonton the longest. More Regina respondents had been in the city 9 to 15 years. Toronto respondents had been born in, or lived in the city a short time. Western respondents generally had been in cities longer. This, and the fact that more eastern respondents were from northern or remote locations, and prairie respondents from central or southern areas, suggest quite different connections to, and entrenchment in, cities. Because of geographic and length-of-time in city differences, there may be more homogeneity in prairie than in eastern inner-city native populations. However, geographic differences are not reflected in connections to reserves, although time in the city would appear to be. Inner-city prairie respondents were less inclined to visit, live or work on the reserves. There is, however, variation by class. More western than eastern Inner 2 people want to live or work on reserves. This may reflect different experiences and access to opportunities on-reserve.³⁵

Reasons for coming to the city differ: Regina is the "family" city, where people come as part of a family (or to be with family) and they move into family networks. More Regina people than those in other cities were from the same reserves, or closely situated reserves. People bring family and other relationships with them, and these are continued in the city. In Edmonton, more people come alone but concentrations of native people in the inner city create alliances and groups (sometimes called "street" families). Montreal respondents came with, or to join, friends and more Inuit in Montreal came from the same communities than did non-Inuit. Montreal people stay within friendships but move widely around the city as there is no native concentration in any inner-city area. In Toronto, more people come alone and stay within small groups, moving around a large urban area with no defined and concentrated inner-city native area. The marital status of people in the four cities support these findings. More in Regina were married, more in Edmonton were common-law or separated, and more in Toronto and Montreal were single. More respondents in the west than the east had native partners.

A variety of factors influence relationships in the city. These include the communities from which people migrate and their geographic proximity to one another and to city; familiarity and kinship that people bring with them; the size of the city; and the

concentration of native people in the inner-city areas into which they move. In the large urban centres of Toronto and Montreal, people come from further away. While several may be from the same community, the communities are widely dispersed throughout the provinces. The integration of city areas, and the lack of a concentration of native people in defined inner-city areas, suggests fewer long-standing family and community conflicts.

More inner-city people in Regina migrated from nearby reserves that are in close geographic proximity to one another. Those not born in the city came from nearby reserves, many from the same reserve. People bring community and other relationships with them into the city. In small, concentrated urban areas, these relationships are obvious, and tension and conflict may ensue. The Edmonton inner-city areas are relatively small and concentrated, but more native people migrate into them from diverse communities and they do not necessarily bring community or family relationships with them. People create new alliances, which have the capacity for generating both support and conflict because of the conditions in which people live.

Loneliness was the single most serious problem when first in the city, but Regina respondents were less lonely (because of family connections). Housing in Toronto, employment in Edmonton, and a "variety," including language in Montreal, were also cited. Racism was identified by 7% of the total sample, and was highest in Regina at 13%. The small size of the "racism" finding may be misleading insofar as racism is a possible barrier to securing employment and housing.

More western than eastern respondents came from large families whose source of income was welfare, had parents who spent time in jail, and both of whom had a drinking problem. Furthermore, more western respondents attended residential school, had more children and more custody of children, and less lifetime employment. Western respondents also had lower education and employment levels. The western Outer group was the exception - it had the most employment of all. One explanation is that the socio-economic distance between groups of native people may be greater in the west. Edmonton has the most disadvantaged Inner 1 group as reflected in upbringing, employment and education levels. More people with reserve experience in Edmonton and Regina believed jobs on the reserve were given out unevenly.

More Edmonton and Montreal and fewer Regina respondents had problems with alcohol. Females had as many problems as males. There were no differences in family violence. Montreal respondents with reserve experience (followed by Edmonton, Regina and Toronto), reported the most reserve violence and had spent the most time

on reserve. More Inner I people in the west than in all other groups reported family violence and severe violence. More respondents in Montreal and Edmonton had "a lot" of cultural training as children. Elders and parents were the main source of guidance in Montreal, parents in Edmonton, grandparents in Regina, and parents and elders in Montreal.

On arrival, more western respondents intended to stay in the city. Westerners had less knowledge of the city prior to arrival, despite coming from less remote areas. However, western respondents also had fewer problems on arrival. One explanation may be the concentrations of native people in western inner cities and the size of the cities. Toronto and Montreal respondents perceived crime levels to be higher and are more fearful of victimization, even though they had less experience with victimization. Smaller urban areas may be seen to have fewer problems and less crime, which influences how people perceive themselves in relation to the city.

Fear of crime and seriousness of crime may be "big city" phenomena rather than a real difference in crime. Western inner cities may adhere more to the traditional concept of "inner city," but western respondents generally perceived less crime and were less fearful of crime. Victimization in the west was higher but fear of victimization in the east, particularly in Toronto, was higher. More eastern respondents feared assault, and more western respondents identified prostitution in their areas as a crime.

Inner I people in the west had the most victimizations. Similarly, western females had more victimizations than males, or eastern males and females. Inner I respondents in Edmonton had the most injuries. Other natives were the victimizer most often in the west, and non-natives in the east. Victimization by spouses/partners was higher in the west, by relatives in Regina, friends in Montreal, and by strangers in Toronto.

In the short-term, people wanted the same changes in their lives. In the long-term, more Regina people emphasized education but employment was generally the most frequently sought after change. Most people thought they themselves should be responsible for making their lives better, but more Montreal people emphasized government, and Regina people native organizations. The "will to change" was the way out of the inner-city lifestyle for more western respondents, but help from others was emphasized in Toronto, and quitting alcohol and drugs in Montreal. Differences in inner cities may explain these findings. In west, there is a tangible "lifestyle" from which to escape; in the east, getting out of the lifestyle may be more of an individual challenge.

There were significant differences in the use of friendship centres. Centres were used less in the west (especially in Regina), and more in the east. More Regina respondents did not use the centre because they had no need for it, in Montreal, because of feeling unwelcome, and in Toronto, because it was too far away.

More easterners thought natives with money would help out those in need. More Toronto and fewer Regina respondents thought there were enough opportunities for native people in their cities. There were some differences about what opportunities were needed. There were no differences among cities in perceptions of the need for more services but more people felt services were adequate, than was the case for opportunities. The majority of people did not feel they had a political voice. This was most evident in Edmonton and least so in Regina, where more respondents were able to identify an aboriginal political entity which they felt represented their interests.

In conclusion, a number of findings in this chapter have particular relevance for explaining disproportionate east/west levels of native incarceration. There are proportionately more Inner 1 and Inner 2 people in western cities, they are longer in the cities, they are living in cities with little education, no employment and few skills, and come from families who exhibit the most dysfunction. All these factors suggest a greater vulnerability to the commission of crime and criminal justice processing. Length of time in the city alone is not the issue, as findings from Toronto reveal. It is time in the city, in combination with degree of marginalization, that appears to create the problem.

CHAPTER III

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM
CHARGES, DETENTION, AND PERCEPTIONS

A major objective of this research was to examine charges and other factors that may account for differential east/west incarceration levels. The data were self-report and verification was not possible.³⁶ The findings reflect only what people could remember, or were willing to relate. They provide preliminary information and raise issues for exploration in future research.

This chapter is in three parts. The first examines number and type of charges, age of first charge, involvement of alcohol or drugs in offences, guilt, and use of legal and/or courtworker services. This part also describes respondent experiences with police. The second part describes juvenile, pre-trial, provincial, and federal detention. People were asked about time in each type of detention, and first age of detention. In the last part, perceptions of fairness are examined: i.e., perceptions of fairness of treatment by police, courts and the criminal justice system; perceptions of how police treat other natives and non-natives; perceptions of how the system should respond to serious and not so serious offenders; perceptions concerning what native people need on release from prison. Findings are presented by gender and location (Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer), where possible.

III.1 *Charges, Offences and Related Circumstances*

The Inner 1 group, particularly Inner 1 males, had the most total and *Criminal Code* (C.C.) charges, as described in Report I. Inner 1 females had the most charges. Outer people, and especially Outer females, had the fewest charges. One objective of the research was to determine if differences exist between the four cities in the type and number of charges, and in detention and time of detention. To what extent does differential offending, or treatment by the criminal justice system, explain differences in east/west levels of incarceration?

III.1.a *Total charges and total Criminal Code charges*

This part examines total charges and total *Criminal Code* charges by city. There are no significant differences in respondents charged, but 85% of the total in Edmonton, 85% in Toronto, 78% in Regina and 77% in Montreal reported a charge (Table III.1 *Respondent Charged by City*). There were, however, significant differences in number of total charges by city - fewer respondents in Edmonton and Toronto had only one charge, and more (especially in Toronto), had 21 or more (Table III.2 *Number of Total Charges by City*). There was also a significant difference in total *Criminal Code* charges - more Regina respondents, followed by Toronto, reported 26 or more charges. More Regina and Montreal people also reported only one or two C.C. charges (Table III.3 *Total Criminal Code Charges by City*). The majority of charges occurred in cities and there were no differences across cities (although more Inner 1 and fewer Outer charges occurred in cities). Fewer Inner 2 in Montreal were charged than Inner 2 in other cities.

In each city, there were significant differences for charges by location. More Inner 1 in Regina and Montreal had 11 or more charges, compared to the Inner 2 and Outer groups in those same cities. In Edmonton, more Inner 2 had 11 or more charges, and in Toronto Inner 1 and 2 were similar. In all cities, except Montreal where Inner 2 and Outer were similar, *Outer reported the fewest charges* (Table III.4 *Total Charges by City and Location*). Inner 1 in Regina and Montreal have significantly more charges than the other two groups in both cities. In Toronto and Edmonton, Inner 1 and 2 are similar to each other but different from Outer.

There were significant differences by city and location for *Criminal Code* charges. Inner 1 people in Edmonton, Regina and Montreal, and Inner 2 people in Toronto, were most likely to have a charge. The group least likely was the Outer group in Edmonton and Regina (Table III.5 *Criminal Code Charge by City and Location*). There are no significant differences for number of *Criminal Code* charges. In all cities, the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups were similarly charged. In other words, Inner 1 people in Edmonton were not disproportionately charged in comparison to Inner 1 people in Regina, Toronto or Montreal.

Males had significantly more charges, and more charges in all cities, than females. Montreal females had the fewest, and Edmonton females the most charges (Table III.6 *Total Charges by City and Gender*). For *Criminal Code* charges, males had significantly more charges than females, but more western than eastern females had 11 or more charges. Fully 34% of Edmonton, and 22% of Regina females had 11 or

more charges, as compared to 13% in Toronto, and 14% in Montreal. (Table III.7 *Total Criminal Code Charges by City and Gender*). Fewer males in Montreal had 11 or more charges (Table III.8 *Criminal Code Charges by Gender and City*). Males in Toronto had more total charges than total *Criminal Code* charges. The levels were 71% and 57%. This is accounted for by the higher number of public drinking charges in Toronto.

For adult charges, there were significant differences by location. Inner 1 people generally had the most charges, and Inner 1 respondents in Regina the most of any group. Inner 2 respondents in Edmonton and Toronto had the most Inner 2 charges. Outer respondents in Regina had the fewest adult charges.

III.1.b *Type of charge*

Charges are grouped by seriousness. Type 1 is the most, and Type 5 the least serious *Criminal Code* charge. Type 6 is public drinking, and Type 7 *Juvenile Delinquents Act* (JDA) (see Appendix II for type of offences).

There was no significant differences for Type 1 offences. More Toronto respondents, followed by those Edmonton, reported committing Type 2. The order was reversed for Type 3. There were no significant differences for Types 4 and 5 (Table III.9 *Charge by Type of Offence by City*). There was a significant difference in non-*Criminal Code* public drinking charges - respondents in Toronto had 42%, Edmonton 28%, Regina 17%, and Montreal 14% of the total public drinking charges.³⁷

For Type 7 (JDA) offences, Edmonton respondents, followed by those in Toronto, had the most charges. However, the Edmonton group was slightly older, which partly explains this finding. Regina had the fewest JDA charges. There were no differences for number by type of *Criminal Code* charges (Table III.10 *Number of Charges by Type of Offence by City*).

For offence type by location, more Inner 1 people reported Type 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 charges. In Regina, more Inner 1 respondents than in other cities reported Types 3, 4 and 5 offences.³⁸ More Inner 2 people in Toronto reported Types 1 and 2 (Table III.11 *Charge by Type of Offence by Location and City*). More respondents in groups Inner 1 and 2 than those in the Outer group reported charges in each category. Inner 1 people, especially in Edmonton and Toronto, had the most public drinking charges. Inner 1 respondents in Edmonton also had the most JDA charges. Outer people reported the fewest charges but there were exceptions - Outer and Inner 1 people in Edmonton had the same amount of public drinking charges.

There are some differences for type of charge by gender.³⁹ More males than females reported all types of charges. The exceptions are Type 1 and Type 4 in Edmonton and Toronto, where there were no significant differences. More females in Toronto and Edmonton had serious charges, but there were no differences for males. More males in Edmonton and Toronto, and females in Edmonton and Regina, had Type 3 charges. There were no differences for Type 2, 4 and 5 charges. Males and females were charged similarly for public drinking offences (Table III.12 *Charge by Type of Offence by City and Gender*).

III.1.c *Juvenile charges*

More Edmonton and Toronto respondents had juvenile charges. Fully 63% of Edmonton and 59% of Toronto respondents were involved in the juvenile justice system, compared with 48% in Regina and 36% in Montreal. Property offences, at 48%, comprised the single largest category of juvenile charges. Regina respondents reported the most (54%), and Montreal respondents the fewest (40%), property charges. More people in Toronto reported person charges, and in Edmonton "other" and *Juvenile Delinquent Act* (JDA). Regina and Toronto respondents reported the highest number of juvenile charges, especially Inner 1 people in Regina, and Inner 2 respondents in Toronto. The Outer group in Regina and Montreal reported the fewest juvenile charges.

III.1.d *Places and ages*

There were significant differences in the number of places where charges occurred. More Montreal and Regina respondents were charged in one place, and in Edmonton and Toronto, in multiple places. There were significant differences in age at first charge. Edmonton and Toronto respondents were younger, and Montreal older at first charge. Regina respondents were in between. Males were younger than females in the east but there were no differences in the west. The mean age of first charge and first detention was youngest in Edmonton.

III.1.e *Race of victim*

Respondents who had a person charge were asked to identify the race of the victim. Possible responses were "mainly native," "mainly non-native" or "half native/half non-native." More Regina respondents reported "mainly native," more Toronto and Montreal respondents reported "mainly non-native," and more Edmonton respondents reported "half native and half non-native." (Table III.13 *Ethnicity of Victim of Offence by City*)

III.1.f *Alcohol and drugs in offences*

There were differences in the use of alcohol and drugs in city offences. Involvement of alcohol "all or most of the time" was highest in Edmonton and Montreal, and lowest in Regina. Drug use in offences was also highest in Edmonton and lowest in Toronto, followed by Regina. Alcohol use in home community offences was the same as alcohol use in the city for Edmonton and Montreal, but higher for Regina. Drug use in city and home offences was the same for Toronto but lower in all other cities for home community offences. The incidence of alcohol use was generally lower in the west. Inner 1 and 2 respondents, particularly in Edmonton and Montreal, used alcohol most often in offences committed in the city. Drug use in city offences was highest for Inner 1 and Inner 2 people in Edmonton, and Inner 2 respondents in Montreal.

III.1.g *Legal representation and courtworker services*

There were no differences for legal representation for city offences - approximately 81% had legal representation. There were marginally significant differences in home community/reserves where legal representation was generally higher in the east - 81% of those in Montreal, 73% of those in Toronto, 61% of those in Edmonton, and 47% of those in Regina had legal representation all or most of the time.

There were significant differences in the use of courtworker services for city and home charges. Only 27% of those charged in cities had courtworker services, ranging from 36% in Toronto, to 31% in Edmonton, 22% in Montreal, and 17% in Regina (Table III.14 *Courtworker City Charges by City*). In home communities, 21% of those charged said they had courtworkers - from 45% in Montreal, 17% in Regina,⁴⁰ 8% in Toronto, to none in Edmonton.

III.1.h *Guilt*

Only 13% of the total sample believed they were not guilty of any of the city charges but there were differences by city. More people in the west felt they were guilty of all or most of the offences for which they were charged (74%, compared with 63% in the east), while more in Toronto believed they were guilty of only some, and in Montreal of none. (Table III.15 *Guilt City Charges by City*). In home communities/reserves, perceptions of guilt were generally much higher - only 5% of respondents believed they were not guilty. Again, guilt was higher in the west.

III.2 Detention

We turn now to total, juvenile, pre-trial, provincial and federal detention. Charges and detention by location and gender will be described where sample size allows. It should be kept in mind that these data are self-report and there are limitations to this methodology. The findings are intended to provide only an overview of the detention issue.⁴¹

III.2.a Total detention

Fully 75% of the total Edmonton sample spent time in detention, compared with 53% in Regina, 66% in Toronto, and 59% in Montreal. Of those charged, 86% of Edmonton, 77% in each of Toronto and Montreal, and 66% of Regina respondents served time. All Edmonton (100%), 83% of Montreal, 82% of Toronto, and 81% of Regina Inner 1 people who were charged served time. For the Inner 2 group, 87% of those in Edmonton, and 85% of those in Montreal who were charged served time, compared to 79% in Toronto, and only 58% in Regina.⁴² Charged respondents in the Outer group were least likely to serve time, especially in Regina (Table III.16 *Charged by Detention by City and Location*). For charged males, 93% served time compared to 71% of females. There were no city differences.

Significantly more charged Inner 1 people in all cities, except Toronto, served detention (Table III.17 *Charged by Detention by Location and City*). Overall, 86% of charged Inner 1 people served detention, compared with 77% of Inner 2 respondents, and 42% of the Outer group.

The total time in detention was significantly longer for Edmonton respondents than for those in other cities. More charged people in Regina had no detention time. Edmonton and Montreal had a higher number of those who served 3 to 24 months, Montreal for those who served 18 to 24 months, and Edmonton and Toronto for those who served 24 to 60 months. Edmonton respondents served the most, and Regina the least, detention time.⁴³ (Table III.18 *Total Detention Time by City*). Inner 1 people had the most detention time - more Inner 1 people in Edmonton and Regina had five years or more detention (40% and 26%), compared with 22% in Toronto, and 19% in Montreal. By comparison, 8% of Outer respondents in Edmonton, 5% in Regina, 11% in Toronto, and 4% in Montreal served five years or more (Table III.19 *Total Detention Time by City and Location*). Males in Edmonton and Toronto served longer time in detention than males in other cities. Females in Edmonton and Regina served longer detention than females in the east (Table III.20 *Detention Time by City and Gender*).

Males had gone into detention more often than females - 26% of males had 11 or more detentions compared to 14% of females. Only 13% of males had only one detention, compared to 38% of females. In Edmonton and Toronto, Inner 2 respondents had slightly more detention numbers as the Inner 1 group. In Regina and Montreal, Inner 1 people had considerably more 11 or more detentions Inner 2 and Outer respondents (Table III.21 *Number of Detentions by City and Location*).

III.2.b *Total juvenile detention*

More charged respondents in Edmonton (38%) than those in other cities, served time in juvenile detention. For Toronto, Montreal, and Regina, the comparable figures are 34%, 30%, and 22%. Fewer total Regina respondents than elsewhere served juvenile detention.⁴⁴ Inner 1 and 2 people were most likely, and Outer people least likely, to serve juvenile detention (Table III.22 *Charged by Juvenile Detention by City and Location*). More charged females in Edmonton spent time in juvenile detention, but there was no difference for males. There were differences in time in juvenile custody. More Edmonton and Toronto, and fewer Montreal, respondents spent 18 months or more in juvenile detention (Table III.23 *Total Juvenile Detention Time by City*).

III.2.c *Total Pre-trial detention*

More charged Edmonton respondents had spent time in pre-trial detention - 64%, compared to 58% in Toronto, 57% in Montreal, and 52% in Regina.⁴⁵ More western Inner 1 people had been in pre-trial detention. However, more Inner 2 than Inner 1 people in the east, and fewer Inner 2 respondents in Regina (than Inner 2 people in other cities), were in pre-trial detention. The Outer group, especially in the west, were least in pre-trial detention. There were location differences, except in Montreal (Table III.24 *Charged by Pre-trial Detention by City and Location*). Charged males in all cities were more likely than charged females to have been in pre-trial detention (males in Edmonton were most likely, and females in Regina least likely). Edmonton and Toronto respondents served the longest pre-trial detention (Table III.25 *Total Pre-trial Detention Time by City*).

III.2.d *Total provincial detention*

Fully 68% of Edmonton, 53% of Toronto, 51% of Montreal, and 43% of Regina charged respondents had been in provincial detention.⁴⁶ In Regina, a much higher proportion of charged Inner 1 people, compared with Inner 2 and Outer people, served provincial detention. Charged Outer respondents in Regina were least likely of

all groups in all cities to serve provincial detention. Inner 1 people in Edmonton were most likely. Charged Outer people in Edmonton and Montreal were less likely than charged Inner 1 and 2 people to have served provincial detention (Table III.26 *Charged by Provincial Detention by City and Location*).⁴⁷ Charged males were more likely than charged females to serve provincial time. Edmonton respondents spent the longest and Montreal respondents the shortest time in provincial detention (Table III.27 *Total Provincial Detention Time by City*).

III.2.e *Total federal detention*

There are no significant differences in terms of time in federal custody but a small proportion (9%) acknowledged serving federal time.⁴⁸ Fourteen percent (14%) of Edmonton respondents reported serving federal detention time, as did 11% of Toronto, 10% of Montreal and 9% of Regina respondents. More Inner 1 than Inner 2 people or Outer respondents in Montreal (17%), Edmonton (14%), and Regina (13%), served federal time. More Inner 2 people in Toronto (15%) reported spending federal time.

III.3 *Perceptions of Treatment*

This section examines perceptions about a variety of criminal justice issues. These range from actual treatment by police and fairness of treatment by courts, police and the criminal justice system to how other natives are treated by the criminal justice system. Included are perceptions of the needs of native offenders when released from detention.

III.3.a *Treatment by police*

Respondents were asked to characterize their *general* treatment by police when charged in cities and home communities. Five responses were possible: respectful/polite, matter-of-fact, rude, verbally abusive (racial slurs, swearing) and physically abusive. People were asked to identify as many responses as necessary to describe treatment.⁴⁹

City Charges

There were differences in treatment by city police. Respectful/matter of fact treatment was the highest single response (41%), but there was variation by city. The respectful/matter-of-fact response comprised 40% of the total response in Edmonton, 45% in Regina, 34% in Toronto, and 48% in Montreal. Rude responses were highest in Regina

(24%), verbally abusive in Toronto (21%), and physically abusive in Toronto (31%) and Edmonton (26%) (Table III.28 *Police Treatment City Charges by City (Accused Respondents)*).

Because of concerns about events occurring long ago, a second analysis of police treatment was conducted, including only those respondents who had been in the city for eight years or less. The findings are only marginally different. Edmonton, Regina and Toronto increased for respectful/matter-of-fact treatment to 45%, 57% and 44%, respectively. Regina remained highest in rude treatment (22%), but Montreal (not Toronto) was highest in verbally abusive treatment at 20%. Toronto and Edmonton continued to be highest in the physically abusive category (27% and 28%, respectively), although Toronto had decreased somewhat (Table III.29 *Police Treatment City Charges by City (0-8 years in City)*).

Reserve/Home Community Charges

Responses to police treatment in home communities/reserves were generally more positive than in cities. Respondents reported more respectful/matter-of-fact treatment and less physical abuse. Respectful/matter-of-fact treatment ranged from 58% for Edmonton to 53% for Regina respondents. Physical abuse ranged from 19% for Edmonton to 14% for Montreal respondents. In all categories there were few city-by-city differences (Table III.30 *Police Treatment Home Charges by City*).

III.3.b *Fairness of treatment*

Respondents were asked for perceptions of their treatment by the criminal justice system, police, and courts in cities, and home communities or reserves where applicable. Three responses were possible - fair, unfair and half fair/half unfair.

Criminal Justice System

For city charges, there were no differences in perceptions of fairness. Overall, 64% of respondents felt they had been treated fairly and 36% unfairly by the criminal justice system. There were no differences among Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer people in Edmonton and Toronto, but Inner 2 respondents in Regina and Montreal felt less fairly treated than the other groups in those cities (Table III.31 *Fairness of Treatment - City Justice System by City and Location*). There were no male/female differences in Edmonton and Regina but there were in Toronto and Montreal, where more females than males felt their treatment was fair (Table III.32 *Fairness of Treatment - City Justice System by City and Gender*).

In home communities/reserves, the numbers were too small for a location (Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer) analysis, but there were no significant differences among the total respondents. Sixty-eight percent believed they were treated fairly by the local justice system and 32% unfairly. There were no gender differences.⁵⁰

Police

For city charges, 57% of respondents considered their treatment by city police fair, 37% unfair, and 6% half and half. There are differences by location (although numbers were too small for tests of statistical significance). In Edmonton there were no differences, but more Inner 2 people in Regina and Toronto felt they were treated unfairly, and more Outer than Inner 1 and 2 people in Montreal felt they were treated fairly (Table III.33 *Fairness of Treatment - City Police by City and Location*). More females than males in Regina and Toronto felt fairly treated, but there were few differences in Edmonton and Montreal (Table III.34 *Fairness of Treatment - City Police by City and Gender*).

Perceptions of fairness were higher in home communities/reserves than in cities. Sixty-nine percent (69%) believed their treatment fair, and 31% unfair. There were no gender differences.⁵¹

Courts

Sixty-eight percent (68%) considered their treatment by city courts fair, 27% unfair, and 5% half and half. Fewer Inner 2 than Inner 1 or Outer people considered their treatment fair (Table III.35 *Fairness of Treatment - City Courts by City and Location*). More females than males in Edmonton, Regina and Toronto felt their treatment was fair (Table III.36 *Fairness of Treatment - City Courts by City and Gender*). There were no differences for local courts. Overall, 74% felt they were treated fairly, and 26% unfairly. There were no gender differences.⁵²

III.3.c *Perceptions of treatment of other native people*

Another issue explored was respondent perceptions of treatment accorded other native people by city police. People related their own experiences but their perceptions of how other native people were treated were important to determine if the two sets of perceptions were consistent. Four questions were asked: Do police treat all native people the same? Do police treat natives and whites the same? Would police treat a rude, belligerent native the same as a rude, belligerent white? and, Are all police the same?

City police treat all natives the same?

There were differences in perceptions about the way police treat native people.⁵³ Only one third thought all native people were treated the same, but more respondents in Edmonton (74%) thought police treated some natives differently from other natives. This compared with 70% in Regina, 64% in Toronto, and 59% in Montreal (Table III.37 *City Police Treat Natives the Same by City*). There were no significant gender differences across cities but there were differences by location. More Inner 1 (41%), than Inner 2 (22%), and Outer respondents (17%) in Edmonton thought police treated all natives the same.

Why police treat natives differently?

For those who perceived differential treatment, nearly half thought it was because of the behaviour or actions of the native. This ranged from 53% in Edmonton to 45% in Regina. Nearly one-third attributed differential treatment to the class or status of natives (i.e., some natives are better dressed, look better off). This was highest in Montreal at 46%, Toronto at 31%, Regina at 27%, and Edmonton at 24%. More eastern respondents held this opinion.

Twenty percent (20%) explained differential treatment in terms of individual police officers (this was highest in Regina at 29% and lowest in Montreal at 5%) (Table III.38 *Reason for Differential Treatment of Natives by City*). There were no gender differences in Edmonton and Regina, but in Toronto more males thought class or status, and more females thought individual police officers, explained differential treatment of natives. In Montreal, more females believed it was class or status but more males attributed it to the action or behaviour of the native. More Inner 2 respondents in the east believed differential treatment was due to class, more Inner 1 and Outer people generally believed it was the action or behaviour of the native. There was little difference by location in Regina (Table III.39 *Reason for Differential Treatment of Natives by City and Location*).

City police treat natives and whites the same?

The majority (approximately three quarters of all respondents) believed police treated whites better than natives. More Inner 1 respondents (especially in Toronto and Montreal) believed natives and whites received the same treatment. Outer people in Regina were least likely to perceive similar treatment, even though this group had less involvement with police than any, other group (Table III.40 *City Police Treat Natives and Whites the Same by City and Location*).

City police treat rude natives and rude whites the same?

More Toronto (56%) and Edmonton (52%) respondents, than Montreal (49%) and Regina (30%) respondents believed police treated rude natives and rude whites the same. Fully 70% in Regina still believed whites were treated better (Table III.41 *City Police Treat Rude Natives and Rude Whites the Same by City*).⁵⁴ There were no gender differences but there were by location. More Inner 2 and Outer than Inner 1 respondents in all cities still felt rude whites were treated better than rude natives (Table III.42 *City Police Treat Rude Natives and Rude Whites the Same by City and Location*).

City police the same?

One third of respondents thought most police were good, one third thought they were half good/half bad, 25% thought most were bad, and 10% thought all police were the same. There were differences by city. More respondents in Montreal thought all police were the same, more in Regina thought they were mostly good, and more in Edmonton thought they were half and half. Similar proportions in all cities thought police were mostly bad - from 22% in Edmonton to 27% in Regina (Table III.43 *City Police the Same by City*). Only Toronto varied by gender, where more females than males thought police were half good and half bad, and more males thought they were mostly bad. By location, more Inner 1 and Outer than Inner 2 people in Montreal thought police were mostly bad. Generally, however, in other cities more Outer people thought police mostly good.

III.3.d *What released native offenders need*

There were differences in perceptions of needs of native people upon release from correctional institutions. Although "support" (guidance and counselling) was the most frequent response, it was slightly higher in the west. More respondents in Toronto identified the need for housing, and in Regina and Montreal for families and family support (Table III.44 *Needs of Natives Released from Correctional Institutions by City*). There were no differences about what people thought the criminal justice system should do to people who commit serious and not-so-serious offences.

Summary

Charging was similar in all four cities. However, Inner 1 respondents had the most and those in the Outer group the fewest charges. More Edmonton and Toronto respondents reported 21 or more charges; more Regina respondents reported 26 or more

Criminal Code charges. More people in Edmonton and Toronto had public drinking charges, which may account for the difference.⁵⁵ However, alcohol was involved in the offences of more Edmonton and Montreal, than Toronto and Regina respondents.

There was consistency for the Inner 1 and Outer groups in terms of the number of charges. The anomaly was among Inner 2 people in Toronto, who had more charges than Inner 1 people. The Inner 1 group in Edmonton was most likely, and the Outer group in Regina least likely, to have a charge. Inner 1 in Regina reported the most adult charges, and Outer in Regina the fewest.

More males than females, and more Edmonton females than females in other cities, reported charges. More western than eastern females reported 11 or more charges, a finding reflected in longer detention times. Females in the western cities also reported more victimizations, as described in Chapter II. Females in the west were involved in the criminal justice system at a younger age than females in the east. In all cities, more males than females reported charges in all categories. The exceptions were serious in Edmonton and minor in Toronto, where similar proportions of males and females had charges. Charging of males and females for public drinking was similar. However, more females in Edmonton and Regina than in the eastern cities reported public drinking charges.

In Regina, the distribution of charges was more among Inner 1 and less among Inner 2 and Outer people. In other cities charges were more evenly distributed across the three groups. This suggests a greater distance between Inner 1 and Outer in Regina. This distance is reflected in charges and detention, as well as in education and employment, as discussed in the previous chapter.

More Edmonton and Toronto respondents had a juvenile charge but those in Regina and Toronto had the most juvenile charges. More respondents in Edmonton had been involved under the old *Juvenile Delinquents Act*. Edmonton and Toronto respondents also reported charges in more places, while those in Regina and Montreal reported charges in only one place. More Regina respondents offended mainly against other natives, Toronto and Montreal respondents against non-natives, and Edmonton respondents against natives and non-natives equally.

Toronto and Edmonton respondents show some similarities. Both had an earlier involvement in the criminal justice system, earlier involvement in the juvenile justice system and had spent longer in juvenile, and in some types of adult detention. Being from the city and more vulnerable to formal criminal justice processing (in conjunction with other factors such as childhood instability, etc.) may relate, for Toronto respond-

ents in particular, to earlier involvement in the juvenile justice and juvenile correctional systems.⁵⁶ For Edmonton respondents, especially those in the Inner 1 group, general turmoil, instability and disadvantage in childhood, as discussed in Chapter II, along with movement into cities, helps to explain the intensity along with duration of their involvement in the criminal justice system.

Legal representation for city charges was similar but higher in the east for home charges. Regina respondents reported the least use of courtworker services for city charges, and Edmonton for home charges. More western respondents believed they were guilty of all or some of their offences.

Overall, Edmonton respondents had the most detention and detention time and Regina respondents had the least. Inner 1 people had the most time in detention, especially those in Edmonton and Regina. More males than females reported detention and longer detention, but females in the west spent longer in detention than females in the east. Males went into detention more often than females, and Inner 1 people in Regina and Montreal more often than those in the Inner 2 or Outer groups. Inner 2 people in Edmonton and Toronto had been in detention more often than those in the Inner 1 and Outer groups.

Respondents in Edmonton with charges were most likely, and in Regina least likely, to have served juvenile detention. Edmonton respondents also spent longer in juvenile detention. Only Edmonton males and females had similar juvenile detention. More charged Edmonton respondents, Inner 1 people in the west, and males spent time in pre-trial detention. Outer people in the west were least likely to have served pre-trial detention. Edmonton and Toronto respondents served the longest pre-trial detention.

More Edmonton and fewer Regina respondents had been in provincial detention. Inner 1 people in Edmonton were the most likely (of all groups in all cities) to have served provincial detention. Outer people in Regina were least likely. For those charged, the most significant within city differences were between the Inner 1, and Inner 2 and Outer groups in Regina, where a much higher proportion of Inner 1 people received provincial detention. Charged males were more likely than charged females to serve provincial time, probably because they had more prior offences. Respondents in Edmonton had spent the longest time, and in Montreal the shortest, in provincial detention. There were no significant differences for federal time but more Inner 1 people from Montreal, Edmonton, and Regina, and more Inner 2 people from Toronto, had served federal time.

Regina is a study in contrast in charges and detention. At first glance, it appears to have fewer of both but the reality is that Inner 1 people (in Regina) have more charges and detention than those in the Inner 1 group in other cities, especially Edmonton and Montreal. In the latter cities, charges and detentions were more evenly distributed with Inner 2 and Outer people. The situation in Montreal was similar to that in Regina, with one important difference - Inner 1 people were not as numerous or entrenched in the city.

Edmonton and Toronto respondents reported the most physical abuse by city police, and Montreal was highest in respectful/matter-of-fact treatment. Although respectful/matter-of-fact was the highest single category, Regina reported the most rude, and Toronto the most verbally abusive treatment. There were marginal changes when controlling for length of time in cities, with Edmonton, Regina and Toronto increasing in respectful/matter-of-fact treatment, but Edmonton and Toronto remained highest in physical abuse. The majority thought their treatment by city police fair, but Outer individuals in Regina and Montreal were most positive. In Regina and Toronto fewer people in the Inner 2 group than the other groups felt fairly treated. Perceptions of treatment by police in home communities or reserves were generally more positive than by city police.

There were no differences in perceptions of general treatment by the criminal justice system, but Inner 2 people in Regina and Montreal felt least fairly treated, although the majority felt fairly treated. More females than males in Toronto and Montreal considered their treatment fair, but there were no significant gender differences in the west. Further, there were no differences in perceptions of treatment by city courts. However, more Inner 2 than Inner 1 or Outer people considered treatment by city courts unfair. Females in Regina and Toronto felt more fairly treated than did males.

More Edmonton respondents believed city police treat some natives differently from other natives, but more Inner 1 people in Edmonton also believed police treated all native people the same. More respondents in the east (and especially females in Montreal) attributed differential treatment to the class or status of certain natives. More females than males in Toronto believed it depended on the individual officer. More Montreal males thought it was the behaviour or actions of natives.

The majority believed whites were treated better than natives by city police, but more Inner 1 people (and fewer Outer), especially in the east, believed natives and whites were treated the same. The proportion of those who felt rude natives and rude whites were treated the same was higher in all cities save in Regina, where fewer believed this.

More Montreal respondents thought all police were the same, more in Regina that they were mostly good, and more in Edmonton that they were half good and half bad. Overall, approximately one-quarter of respondents thought police were mostly bad.

The majority said native people newly released from detention most need "support," but more in Toronto stressed housing, and in Regina, families. There were no differences in how people believed the criminal justice system should respond to people who commit serious and not-so-serious offences.

CHAPTER IV

PREDICTORS AND OUTCOMES

This chapter provides information about predictor⁵⁷ and outcome variables⁵⁸ for the total sample, and for respondents, city-by-city. The outcomes examined here are family violence, total juvenile charges, total charges, total *Criminal Code* charges, total detention time, and alcohol problems. There are two reasons for presenting predictor and outcome variables for this sample. The first is to identify the variables related to certain outcomes; the second is to show the repetition of certain predictor variables.

IV.1 *Family Violence*

Family violence to which respondents were exposed as children was initially coded according to a five-point scale and later collapsed into three categories - less, moderate and severe violence. There was also a general category of family violence calculated from the sum of three types of violence - child abuse, child sexual abuse, and spousal abuse (where children witnessed the abuse of a parent). The outcome variable described below refers to the general family violence category.

IV.1.a *Total sample*

For the sample, ten variables were most significantly⁵⁹ related to family violence (Table IV.1 *Family Violence by Predictor Variables by Total Sample*). The three most significant were parental drinking problems and severity of father's and mother's drinking. Other significant variables were parental detention, movement in childhood, type of upbringing, spousal and family violence on-reserve/home community, paternal employment, and family income.

The first level of analysis⁶⁰ reveals that respondents with the following childhood characteristics were more likely to report family violence: where both parents drank and were heavy drinkers, both or one parent had spent time in jail, father and mother were unemployed, family was on welfare, child was not raised by both parents, child moved around a lot, and there was spousal and/or family violence in reserve/home community.

IV.1.b *City-by-city differences*

It was possible to examine predictor variables for respondents only in Edmonton, Regina, and Toronto as the numbers were too small in Montreal. Variables are displayed in Tables IV.2.a.b.c. *Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City*.

Four variables were significantly related to family violence and severity of violence for Edmonton respondents. Movement in childhood was the most significant, followed by parents on welfare and violence and spousal violence on reserve/home community. For Regina respondents, upbringing was most significant, followed by paternal drinking. In Toronto, only severity of birth father's drinking was significant.

IV.2 *Total Juvenile Charges*

Because the age at which juveniles were charged was different under the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* and *The Young Offenders Act*, "total juvenile charges" refers to charges for which respondents were charged under one of the Acts and/or went to juvenile/youth court. Because the numbers were not large enough for a city-by-city analysis, predictor variables for the number of juvenile charges are presented for the total sample, and for males only.

Four variables are significantly related to number of juvenile charges (Table IV.3 *Total Juvenile Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample*). The most significant was being male, followed by child abuse, violence on reserve/home community and child sexual abuse. Two variables were significant for males - child abuse, and family violence (Table IV.4 *Total Juvenile Charges by Predictor Variables by Males*). This suggests that male respondents who had more juvenile charges were more likely to be victims of moderate or severe child abuse or child sexual abuse, or severe family violence. None of the variables were significant for females (probably because the numbers were small).

The second level of analysis is as follows: each person interviewed was coded as having one of five categories of *Total Juvenile Charges*.⁶¹ These categories and the percent of persons in the total sample that fell within each category were as follows:

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----|
| 1. | 1 charge, | 23% |
| 2. | 2-4 charges, | 35% |
| 3. | 5-10 charges, | 24% |
| 4. | 11 or more charges | 18% |

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into eight distinct segments. Five of these segments (i.e., compared to other segments) had a relatively high proportion of persons with an "11 or more" total juvenile charges.

Persons within each of these five "11 or more" segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 5 risk = 69% ⁶²	Segment 4 risk = 30%	Segment 1 risk = 29%	Segment 7 risk = 20%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males, • Had moderate to most severe family violence, • Perpetrator of family violence was biological parent / varied, • Was brought up by step or foster parent, and • Fathers unemployed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males, • Had moderate to most severe family violence, • Perpetrator of family violence was biological parent / varied, • Was brought up by step of foster parent, and • Fathers income was wages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males, • Had less severe child family violence, and • Came from a reserve where the violence was non-spousal family violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Males, • Had moderate to most severe family violence, • Perpetrator of family violence was foster / extended family / step family

IV.3 Total Charges

The "total charges" refers to all types of *Criminal Code*, public drinking and juvenile (including *Juvenile Delinquent Act*) charges, accumulated by the time of the interview.

IV.3.a Total sample

For the total sample, the six most significant variables were number of juvenile charges, age at first detention, age at first charge, gender, alcohol problem as adult, and type of juvenile offences. Other significant variables were child abuse, present location, child sexual abuse, stability in childhood, family violence, parental drinking, age of first drinking, number of victimizations, perpetrator of family violence, movement in childhood, and upbringing (Table IV.5 *Total Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample*).

The first level of analysis suggests that those with the most charges were most likely to be males, raised in unstable families (and especially in foster families), who moved around and whose parents (particularly mothers) had a drinking problem. Further, they were more likely to be victims of severe family violence, or moderate or severe child and/or child sexual abuse, abused by foster parents, began drinking at less than 10 years of age, were first charged with an offence at 16 or less, and were first in detention at 20 years of age or less. Finally, they were more likely to have a drinking problem, be in the Inner 1 group, and have had two or more adult victimizations.

IV.3.b *City-by-city differences*

There are differences in predictor variables and their order of significance by city (Tables IV.6 a.b.c.d. *Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City*). For Edmonton respondents, age at first charge, age at first detention, and number of juvenile charges were the most significant variables, followed by gender, length of time in city, and perpetrator of family violence. For Regina respondents, detention, total juvenile charges and alcohol problem were most significant, followed by age at first offence, type of juvenile offence, family violence, usual place of residence, source of money, movement in childhood, attendance at residential school (for males only) and present location.

For Toronto respondents, gender and age at first detention were the most significant variables, followed by number of juvenile charges, alcohol problem, age at first charge, child abuse, and age of first drinking. For Montreal respondents, the most significant variables were detention and number of juvenile charges, followed by age at first charge, type of juvenile offences, present location, reserve/home community level of violence, alcohol problem and gender.

IV.4 *Total Criminal Code Charges*

Total *Criminal Code* (C.C.) charges exclude public drinking and *Juvenile Delinquent Act/Young Offenders Act* offences, and refer to the number of charges accumulated at the time of interview.

IV.4.a *Total sample*

For the total sample, the five variables most significantly related to total *Criminal Code* charges were number of juvenile offences, age at first detention, age at first charge, type of juvenile charges and gender. Other significant variables were alcohol problem, age at first drinking, present location, family violence, child abuse, parental drinking, stability

in childhood, child sexual abuse, time in city, and severity of father's drinking (Table IV.7 *Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample*). There are some differences in predictor variables for total charges and for total *Criminal Code* charges.⁶³

The first level of analysis suggests that respondents with the following characteristics were most likely to have the most *Criminal Code* charges: being males, from unstable families, parents had a drinking problem and father's drinking was severe. Respondents were also more likely to be victims of child and/or child sexual abuse, had their first charge and detention at less than 16, committed multiple juvenile offences both (person and property), and started drinking at a young age. At the time of the interview, they were more likely to have had an alcohol problem, belong to the Inner 1 or Inner 2 group, and had been in the city nine years or more.

IV.4.b *City-by-city differences*

There are city differences (Table IV.8.a.b.c.d. *Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables by City*). There were, however, no differences between Edmonton and Toronto respondents. Number of juvenile offences, age of first detention, age at first charge and type of juvenile offence were the most significant variables for respondents in both cities, followed by alcohol problem, child sexual abuse, gender and present location. For Regina and Montreal respondents, age at first detention and number of juvenile offences were the most significant variables. In Regina, these were followed by alcohol problem, age at first charge, type of juvenile charge, family violence, usual place of residence, gender, present income, and place of childhood. In Montreal, they were followed by age of first charge, type of juvenile offences, gender, age of first drinking, and level of violence on-reserve.

IV.5 *Total Detention*

The "total detention" variable refers to the total amount of detention time served, including juvenile, pre-trial, provincial and federal custody.

IV.5.a *Total sample*

For the total sample, 17 variables are significantly related to total detention time (Table IV.9 *Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by Total Sample*). The six most significant are age of first detention, number of juvenile charges, age at first charge, gender, type of juvenile charges and present location. Other significant variables

are alcohol problem, age, child abuse, age of first drinking, time in city, usual place of residence, residential school attendance (for Regina males only), city, upbringing, parental detention, family violence and child sexual abuse.

This first level of analysis reveals that respondents with the following characteristics were most likely to have the most detention time: males raised in a city or a variety of places by foster parents or different people, where mother spent time in detention, and respondents were victims of severe family violence (including severe child or child sexual abuse) and attended residential school (if a male from Regina). Respondents were more likely to have started drinking and first charged with an offence at a young age, were less than 15 years of age at first detention, and committed 11 or more juvenile offences (both person and property). Finally, they are more likely to have lived in the city eight or more years, have an alcohol problem, are 25 years of age or older, and belong to the Inner 1 group.

IV.5.b *City-by-city differences*

There were city differences (Tables IV.10.a,b,c,d. *Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City*), but age of first detention was the most significant variable in all cities except Toronto, where gender was most significant. For Edmonton respondents, this was followed by number of juvenile charges, age at first charge, present location, age, type of juvenile charge, gender, and child abuse. For Regina respondents, number of juvenile charges and age at first charge were also very significant, followed by present location, type of juvenile charges, alcohol problem, residential school (for males only), child abuse, family violence and gender.

For Toronto respondents, gender was the most significant variable. This was followed by age of first detention, number of juvenile charges, age at first charge, alcohol problem, child abuse, and stability in childhood. In Montreal, age of first detention was followed by age at first charge, number of juvenile charges, gender, age of drinking, present location, cultural guidance, parental drinking, settled in city, usual place of residence, and type of juvenile offences.

IV.6 *Alcohol Problem*

This outcome refers to having an alcohol problem as an adult. Alcohol problem categories are "all the time," "sometimes," "in the past," and "no problem."

IV.6.a *Total sample*

For the sample, fourteen variables are significantly related to having an alcohol problem (Table IV.11 *Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by Total Sample*). The two most significant variables are age of first detention and age of first drinking, but type of juvenile charges, juvenile detention time, stability in childhood and age at first charge are also very significant. Other significant variables are parental detention, number of juvenile charges, family violence, severity of birth father's drinking, spousal assault, educational attainment, and violence on reserve.

The first level of analysis suggests that respondents with the most serious alcohol problems were most likely to come from unstable families where the father had a severe drinking problem, and there was family violence and spouse assault. The father was more likely to have served detention time, the respondent to have begun drinking at an early age, charged at 16 years or less, committed 11 or more juvenile offences of various kinds, spent time in juvenile detention, and first in detention before 20 years of age.

IV.6.b *City-by-city differences*

There are city differences (Tables IV.12a,b,c,d. *Alcohol Problems by Predictor Variables by City*). For Edmonton respondents, only one variable, main type of juvenile offences, had sufficient numbers to be reported.⁶⁴ In Regina, detention was the most significant variable followed by family violence, residential school (for males only), upbringing, and parental detention.

For Toronto respondents, severity of father's drinking problem was the most significant variable followed by child abuse, stability in childhood, and spousal abuse. For Montreal respondents, age of first detention was most significant, followed by age of first charge, and educational attainment.

Summary

This chapter identified the variables that most strongly relate to certain outcomes for this sample of people. Predictors of family violence, involvement in the juvenile justice system, and adult alcohol problems hold few surprises. They are probably applicable to a much larger group of people, native and non-native alike. Differences in emphasis, however, suggests that the relationships among the factors that contribute negative or

positive experiences for children are complex. Consequently, families should be treated as individualistic. At the same time, children are at greater risk in certain situations, for example, when apart from parents, or when with them when drinking is a serious problem or when subjected to moving around, instability, and/or violence.

Social scientists and others have long recognized that children respond to both positive and negative childhood experiences. Relatively unknown is the "mix" and intensity of factors and their relationship to certain outcomes, such as involvement in the justice system. An interesting finding in this research is that all family violence and/or all parental drinking problems do not have the same impact. As would be expected, severity and duration of family problems appear to have the most harmful effects.

Findings about charges and time in detention reveal consistent patterns with respect to age at first charge, number and type of juvenile offences, and age at first detention. These are often predictors of the intensity and duration of involvement in the criminal justice system. The repetition of other factors such as being male, moderate, and severe child and sexual abuse, are also associated with charge and detention outcomes, as are instability and mobility in childhood, particular upbringing situations, parental drinking, parental incarceration, length of time in city, alcohol problem, being on welfare, and membership in the Inner I group.⁶⁵

Despite sampling and other limitations, consistency in some predictors and outcomes, and variation in others, suggests the importance of designing policies that incorporate basic elements but leave room for individual and/or group differences. Problems and needs are not the same. Where consistency exists (in childhood and juvenile justice factors and adult outcomes) it should be recognized in policy initiatives. There is a tendency to assume "equality of victimization" and to believe that victims are uniformly affected by exposure to certain activities such as family violence or even residential school. The findings in this Part, as in Part I, strongly suggest that policy and program attention must be directed to those whose needs are greatest. When "broad brush" solutions are applied, those with the most and the least need are treated as equals.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This component of the inner-city research focuses on city-by-city and east/west differences. It uses the same self-report dataset as Part I and the same unit of analysis, that is, separating the sample according to their membership in groups identified by location. This report, however, analyses the data across the four cities as well as by location. Because the sample sizes in each city were not large enough to analyze gender by location differences, the total male and females samples from each city are compared, where differences exist.

VI *Discussion*VI.a *Overview of cities*

Chapter II established that geography and concentrations of native people are the factors that most distinguish the inner cities. Native people are the primary minority populations concentrated in the inner core of Regina, and in various parts of Edmonton. In Toronto and Montreal, the inner cities are more widely distributed and integrated with non-inner-city areas. Geographic boundaries are different in the large urban centres and native populations only one of several minority groups.

Edmonton

Inner-city native people in Edmonton were the most transient. Well more than one third were from another province and respondents had moved frequently as children and adults. People from Alberta came mainly from the central or north-central part of the province and from scattered communities and reserves, but fewer than those in other cities were born on reserves. People came to the city as individuals but they formed street and other non-kinship alliances once there. Community or personal reasons, or foster care placements that involve moving from place to place and ending up in the city, were the main reasons for coming to the city. Most respondents felt settled in cities and had been in Edmonton a long time.

Inner-city people in Edmonton were less connected to the city, or to the province, because of a lack of family and connections to reserves or small towns, and because many were from another province or territory. More of this group appeared to be

“emotionally transient” than respondents in other cities. More were divorced and/or in common-law relationships and grew up in varied circumstances. People had low educational achievement in compared to those in the other three cities. More respondents were in the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups than in the eastern samples, a factor that suggests greater involvement with the criminal justice system.

Regina

More people in Regina came from reserves close to the city (and many from the same or nearby reserves), and came for or with families. Most were from Saskatchewan. People in the city live in close proximity in concentrated inner-city areas characterized by high unemployment, low income, large families and racial exclusion from the social and economic mainstream. People were more entrenched in Regina than in the eastern cities, and felt most settled in the city. This was a result of the length of time in the city and family networks. Regina inner-city people had less connection to reserves, as reflected in visiting, or wanting to live or work, on them. More people grew up with both parents and more were married than in the other cities. More respondents in Regina than in eastern cities were in the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups. AS in the case of Edmonton, this finding is important in understanding the greater involvement of native people in Regina with the criminal justice system.

Toronto

Native people in the inner-city areas of Toronto were born in the city, or came from communities either very close or very far from the city. Most were from Ontario and there were not a large number of people from other parts of Canada. Those not born in the city had been in the city for relatively short periods of time. People come more as individuals, staying in small groups and moving widely around the downtown areas. There is no clear concentration of inner-city native people although there may be concentrations of native people in other parts of the city. People are relatively content with where they live, probably because their areas are not typically segregated by race or income. Toronto has more individuals in the Outer group, which suggests people have options about where to live. This also suggests more integration with mainstream society. More people came to Toronto for education and employment, which implies that they had more “tools” at their disposal when leaving home communities. People in Toronto also had more education and more employment in their lifetimes than those in the west. Inner-city people were not as entrenched in the inner city nor in the inner-city lifestyle, as in western cities. People are more connected to reserves, or would like to be and, while not visiting more than the west, there appears to be more “romanticizing” about reserve life.

Montreal

The Montreal sample is different in two respects. First, Inuit people comprised 42% of the Montreal sample, of whom three quarters were females. Second, the majority of the people spent their lives in home communities or reserves. More people in Montreal were unattached (more were single), had no children or did not have custody of children. More also came to the city for friends, and "partying" is an important part of life for this group. However, coming to the city for a "change," and/or because of personal and/or community problems, was also identified. People from outside the city had been in Montreal a short period of time, felt less settled, and had ties to reserve/home communities. Many wanted to return home - not immediately but eventually. They were less lonely when first in the city because of friends. Language, however, was more of a problem than in the other cities. People in Montreal had the most problem with alcohol which kept them in the city - alcohol is much more available in the city than in home communities. Because the majority of their lives were spent on reserves or in small northern communities, they were more fearful of crime in the city.

VI.b Background

More respondents in Montreal than in the other cities were born on reserve (or home communities if Inuit) and more in Toronto were born in the city. In Edmonton and Regina, more people were born in small towns or rural areas as more Metis people reside in those cities. In the west, people were from larger families than in the east. More Inner I in Edmonton than groups in all cities were raised by foster parents and fewer by real parents. More in the west were from families who lived on welfare, who had drinking problems and/or had spent time in jail. More respondents in the west than the east believed that reserve jobs were given out unevenly.

VI.c Coming to and life in the city

The main difference between Regina and the other cities in this study is that more people came to Regina for family reasons, and for a variety of reasons to other cities. People coming to Regina also had the most contacts in the city on arrival. Loneliness was the single most serious problem for all respondents upon arrival in the city, but less so for people in Regina. More people in the west moved to the city for affordable housing. As well, more people in the west than the east said they had no current problems. Western respondents believed having the will to change got people out of the inner-city lifestyle. In the east, jobs and quitting alcohol and drugs were emphasized.

More people in Toronto than in the other cities, especially Regina, thought there were enough opportunities in the city for native people. There were no differences in perceptions about the adequacy of services.

VI.d *Aspirations*

There were no differences in short-term aspirations but there were in long-term goals. More people in Regina emphasized "education" in the long-term and "a decent life" was generally rated more highly in the long than in the short term. In identifying who should be responsible for improving the lives of native people, more in Montreal emphasized government, and in Regina native organizations. Significantly more people in Edmonton than in the other cities could not, or would not, identify an aboriginal organization or entity that gave them a political "voice," represented their interests, or spoke on their behalf. More respondents in Regina than in the other cities were able to identify such an entity.

VI.e *Crime and the criminal justice system*

Charging was similar in all four cities but Inner I people had the most charges. People in Edmonton and Toronto had the most total charges, but Regina had the most *Criminal Code* charges. The difference is the number of public drinking charges, especially in Toronto. More males than females, and more western than eastern females, had charges. More Edmonton and Toronto respondents had juvenile charges and reported time in juvenile detention.

More respondents in the west thought they were guilty of their offences. Legal representation was similar across cities, but was more frequent in the east for charges in home communities. Respondents in Regina reported the lowest use of courtworkers for city charges, and respondents in Edmonton for charges in home communities. More Edmonton respondents who had been charged had served detention and served the longest time in detention. Inner I people in Edmonton and Regina reported the most time in detention. Of all groups, the Outer group in Regina reported the least detention and the least time in detention.

There were similarities between respondents in Edmonton and Toronto in background factors and involvement in the criminal justice system. More respondents in Edmonton and Toronto were involved in the juvenile justice system, were younger when first in the criminal justice system, committed offences in multiple places, were using alcohol at the time of offence, had more alcohol (drunk) charges and committed "medium" type offences (impaired driving, B&E). More Edmonton and Toronto respondents

were born in cities, had fathers with severe drinking problems, and had single-parent upbringings than did respondents in Regina and Montreal. There was variation by group, an important aspect of differential east/west incarceration levels.

In eliciting responses to treatment by city police when they were offenders, only one quarter of the respondents cited physical abuse but this response was cited most often by respondents in Edmonton and Toronto. There were no differences in perceptions of fairness of treatment by the criminal justice system, but Outer people in all cities were the most positive. However, their own treatment was not consistent with their perceptions of the treatment of *other* native people, which they perceived much more negatively.

There were no differences across the cities in the respondents' perceptions of the treatment of natives and whites by city police (nearly three quarters believed whites were treated better). However, there were differences by location. Significantly more Inner 1 people (the group with the most exposure to police) believed natives and whites were treated the same. More people in Toronto and Edmonton believed rude natives and whites were treated the same. More people in Montreal thought all police were the same, more in Regina mostly good, and more in Edmonton half and half. Similar proportions in each city (one-quarter) thought all police bad.

VI.f *East - West Differences*⁶⁶

Concentrations of native people, and the geographic boundaries of the cities' inner cores are different in the west.⁶⁷ More Inner 1 and Inner 2 are in the west. Inner-city people in the west are more connected to cities because of families, whether biological or newly-formed. In the east, more people born outside cities have stronger ties to reserves or other communities than to cities. Further, more eastern people would like to live and work on reserves. People born ioutside cities in the west came to them at an earlier age and stayed longer than those in eastern cities. Inner-city people in the west felt more settled in the city, considered it home, were more entrenched in city life, and had lived longer in the city than those in the east. More western respondents had native spouses or partners and had gone to residential schools, as did their parents. More people in the west than in the east were married, separated or in common-law situations and had custody of children.

Despite similarities in sample selection in each city, Inner 1 and Inner 2 people were over-represented in western cities. Inner 1 and Inner 2 people in the east had more education and employment than comparable groups in the west. Outer respondents in the west, however, had more lifetime employment than all groups in the four cities.

There was more social and economic distance between Inner and Outer in the west, a finding supported by recent data from the *1991 Aboriginal People's Survey*. More western than eastern respondents came from large families and families on welfare. More had parents who had been in jail and/or had drinking problems. More Inner 1 people in the west reported family violence and severe violence. There were no differences among Inner 2 and Outer respondents. More western respondents believed jobs were given out unevenly on reserve and that their families were at the low end of the social scale. This reflects the parental drinking finding, where respondents identified parental behaviour as a reason for being "looked down upon" on reserve.

In the east, the perception of "a lot" of crime was higher than in the west. More eastern respondents were from remote communities, making the city more frightening. In large urban centres, crime may also receive greater media attention. These explanations are supported by the finding that fear of assault was also higher in the east than in the west. More eastern respondents thought crime in their neighbourhoods was serious and that people were liable to be injured. Prostitution was of more concern to western respondents, perhaps because the inner cores are smaller in the west, and prostitution thus more concentrated and visible.

Inner 1 respondents and females in the west had the most adult victimizations. Inner 1 people in Edmonton had the most injury. Victimization by spouses/partners and relatives (especially in Regina) were higher in the west than in the east, and by friends and/or strangers in the east. More respondents in the west were victimized by other natives, and in the east by non-natives.

More people in the east thought affluent natives helped poor natives. They also used friendship centres more often. More western respondents attributed differential treatment of natives to the actions of individual police officers, but more eastern respondents attributed this treatment to the status or class of natives.

V2 Conclusions

In Chapter I, possible explanations for city-by-city differences and east/west levels of aboriginal incarceration were identified. These were: social disorganization involving concentrations of native people in inner-city conditions; the proportion of Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups in cities; reserve conflicts and tensions played out in cities; and over-policing of certain city areas. The findings are examined within these four sets of considerations.

V.2.a Social disorganization and characteristics of native inner-city populations

Inner cities were not the focus of this research, so findings about these areas were drawn from respondents and interviewer observations. It is important, therefore, to consider what follows as preliminary and only one contribution to a more systematic research effort on inner cities.

The social disorganization literature provides a conceptual framework for incorporating individual and community factors into the consideration of crime and disorder in the inner city. Separation of the inner-city population by social strata was carried out to explore differences. Inner-city native people, it was discovered, are not homogenous, and there is no "equality of victimization," nor of vulnerability to the commission of crime and criminal justice processing.

In Part I, significant differences among inner-city people were identified. These differences related to childhood, family and background experiences. There were two important findings -- the early involvement of some respondents in systems of social control (child welfare and criminal justice), and the relationship between personal dysfunctions in adulthood and experiences in childhood. A constellation of factors, often related in unknown ways, appear to influence the incidence and degree of involvement in the criminal justice system.

What is clear from the data is that childhood factors -- such as parental drinking, amount of drinking, family violence, parental detention and instability in childhood -- are indicative of family disruption and appear to be strongly related to the involvement of respondents in the juvenile justice system in early life, and problems with alcohol in later life. One such finding was that the age at which an individual is first involved with the criminal justice system predicts the duration and intensity of involvement.

Some variables emerged repeatedly in the analysis, particularly in relation to adult outcomes such as alcohol problems and involvement in criminal justice and correctional systems. Several variables related to family life, namely, parental drinking, family violence, number of siblings, upbringing, parents in jail, stability and mobility in childhood, source of family income, and paternal employment. Others related to community life, such as the level of violence encountered there. Juvenile offending, type and number offences and the age of first involvement in the criminal justice system were all predictors of adult charges and detention.

Cities like Edmonton and Regina, with larger concentrations of Inner 1 and Inner 2 people, are likely to have more severe native justice "problems," which are reflected in higher levels of involvement in the criminal justice and correctional systems. Concentrations of native people in inner-city conditions of high unemployment, low education attainment and poor housing, are more conducive to family disruption and subsequently, to the involvement of youth in the juvenile and, later, the adult justice systems. Unlike Toronto and Montreal, the inner-city areas of Edmonton and Regina are contained within clear boundaries. Everybody in these cities knows the inner-city areas, and for native people living in them, there is an institutionalized isolation from the social and economic mainstream.⁶⁸ This isolation compounds and exacerbates other problems of joblessness, alcoholism and alienation.

The other side of these concentrated native areas in western cities is that a strong sense of community may also exist. Kinship and acquaintanceship networks in cities, as on reserves or home communities, have the potential to mediate inner-city conditions. These networks may reduce vulnerability to formal criminal justice system processing, as was found in Regina, particularly for respondents in the Inner 2 and Outer groups. Inner 1 people were least protected within these networks because their circumstances often exclude them, with the result they are more exposed to situations involving the criminal justice system. This exclusion may result from a lack of connection to family and kin because of self-imposed isolation, and/or severe alcohol problems.

The limitations of a community to act as an effective agent of social control, and to promote community stability and social organization, results from the physical and social isolation of the respondents from individuals and the institutions of real mainstream society. While there are many efforts to promote multiculturalism in most cities, some of the organizations lack a genuine acceptance and integration of outsiders, particularly if they are poor and marginalized. Inner-city people know the difference. Moreover, for inner-city native people, especially those in the Inner 1 group, acceptance by other native people often appears as great a challenge as does acceptance by non-native society.

What accounts for these fundamental differences in cities and the communities from which people migrate? One factor is the size of cities and the relationship between the native population and mainstream society. In large urban areas like Toronto and Montreal, the native population is only one of several minority populations. In smaller centres such as Regina natives are the primary minority population. In Edmonton the native population is somewhere between these two. The inner-city native population is much more visible in Edmonton and Regina than in Toronto and Montreal. This

visibility reinforces isolation and stereotypes. Without the necessary "tools" for successful city living, such as education, skills, employment, and personal competence, and without access to opportunities in home communities, many long-term inner-city residents (especially in Edmonton and Regina but in other cities as well) are excluded from the mainstream and remain on the periphery. They will continue to be a population that is "seen but not heard".

V.2.b Migration and inner-city conflict

People come to cities for different reasons and with different intentions. Inner-city native people in Edmonton, and especially in Regina, were more inter-related and involved in family. In Montreal, however, friends were important factors in making the decisions to come and to stay in the city. In the west, personal and family reasons kept people in the city. In the west, more people were married or common-law, which suggests a longer term relationship with the city than was the case in the east, where more people were single. Victim-offender relationships were also more between natives in the west. This reflects a greater concentration and familiarity between people. In Regina, the stronger sense of community is seen in those factors relating to being settled in the city, in marital status and in living arrangements.

At the same time, Regina respondents were more socio-economically diverse. There was a greater socio-economic distance between Inner 1 people and those in the Inner 2 and Outer groups. Official demographic data also show lower income levels for aboriginal people in Regina and Edmonton than for those in Toronto and Montreal. The greatest socio-economic distance between those with no income and those earning \$40,000 or more occurred in Regina. Incomes of \$20,000 or more were much more prevalent in Toronto and Montreal than they were in Edmonton and Regina.

In the west, but especially in Regina, Inner 1 people were the most marginalized and, the most involved in the criminal justice system. Inner 1 respondents felt the most excluded and explained their exclusion from friendship centres and reserves in class terms. Some perceived that their lack of opportunities on reserve followed them into the city. Others maintained that reserve tensions and violence among people also came into the city. They argued that offences rarely involve the victim and offender alone, but "ripple out," pulling other family members into disputes. Further research exploring the issues of differential resources and/or access to existing resources, and settlement patterns on eastern and western reserves, may be required to shed light on the genesis of these contemporary tensions.

V.2.c *Policing inner-city areas*

A methodology for exploring “over-policing” of certain city areas was not included in this project and should be the subject of further research. Edmonton and Regina had high concentrations of native people, so the potential for over-policing in these areas is high. Although there are no specific findings, because the research was not focused on this aspect of policing, more people in Edmonton preferred to live in another area of the city. This was usually attributed to “wanting to live in another part of town” and the reason for moving was attributed to violence, alcohol and drugs in the inner city. The data were not systematic or detailed enough for more analysis, so whether over-policing contributes to higher official crime levels for native people in inner cities, is unanswered in this research. A methodology involving participant observation, an examination of the number and type of police patrols and decision-making on whether to change an individual or not would be required to explain it further.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

In Part I, the implications of the findings were discussed in a general way. It was noted that the causes of crime are located within the social and economic structure, the community and community development initiatives. In the domain of criminal justice, new approaches to policing were discussed. It was suggested that, in order to reduce the involvement of native people in the criminal justice system, it would be necessary to be creative, innovative and to target resources and find approaches that would prevent entry and re-entry into the system. This chapter furthers those discussions and identifies some specific approaches that could be considered, from the point of view of the individual, the community and the criminal justice system.

VI.I *Elements of Program Intervention (Greene, 1993)*

Young people growing up in poverty and around violence are very angry about what feels like everyone's inattention to their plight (Greene, 1993:114).

One aspect of this research relates to childhood and family life. The findings reveal how the spiral leading to the inner city began in childhood. Problems of childhood are rooted in parenting and in the circumstances of parents.⁶⁹ A review of the literature on American inner cities showed that, while there was not a direct connection between poverty, joblessness and adult criminality, there was a relationship between the social and economic circumstances under which people live, social disorganization and family disruption. Family disruption was related to involvement in the juvenile justice system which, in turn, was related to adult criminality.⁷⁰

The important point is that to reduce the involvement of aboriginal people in the criminal justice system as adults it is essential to reduce their involvement as juveniles. To accomplish that, the circumstances under which many children live must change. Situations of abuse, neglect, instability, and parental drinking, resulting from social and economic marginalization of individuals and families, must be redressed to reduce the involvement of youth in systems of social control.

Crime prevention through social development is often focused on specific programs such as Head Start, but in a recent article on the needs of youth-at-risk, Greene (1993:111-121) presents a comprehensive agenda. The nine elements he believes essential (which reflect the body of available research and evaluation) to any effective program are the following.

1. *Street Outreach and Referral* - actively recruit young people, through word of mouth, to join a youth program or attend a neighbourhood centre .

2. *Needs and Interest Assessment* - identify the needs and wants (interests, hobbies and dreams, and not simply therapeutic needs) of each youth, and develop an initial structured plan to help the young person achieve them.

3. *A Supportive, Personal Relationship with an Adult* - provide a "good parent substitute" which is not replacing a parent, but ensuring that youth have an adult in whom they can have trust and from whom they can seek from whom they can counsel to develop faith that adulthood can be fulfilling.

4. *Role Models* - expose youth to adults with whom they can identify, and through whom they can see how disputes and disagreements are resolved. These adults also become role models for success that does not involve crime.⁷¹

5. *Peer Group Discussions* - provide on-going, structured settings in which young people can talk to one another about their feelings and thoughts. Young people who grow up amid poverty and violence generally possess extremely poor communication skills.

6. *Family Interventions* - providing intensive home-based counselling, such as the Homebuilders Program where two families only are assigned to a social worker who spends 15-20 hours per week in the home with each family for a period of 4-6 weeks, teaching family members to communicate with one another. Good parenting can buffer a child from the adverse consequences of exposure to poverty and violence but good parents themselves are buffeted. However, good communication between adolescents and their parents is a necessary component of programs that work with young people. The many single parents in the inner city is an important reason for exploring the

number of family interventions. Some research shows that it is not the status of single parenthood that is related to the quality of parenting but that the education and income of the single parent are paramount.

7. *Neighbourhood Projects* - encourage and facilitate projects to improve neighbourhoods. Poor neighbourhoods have a demoralizing feel to them. However, simply taking youth out to something better is not the answer, as they are only more demoralized when they return home. It is necessary to draw on the energy and resourcefulness of young people in communities. One program in New York City, Posse for Change, provides intensive and extensive training to young people in methods of community development. They recruit and work with other young people to identify the problems and needs in their neighbourhood and discuss how to resolve them. They also work with local associations or municipal departments in implementing solutions. These programs provide important services to their neighbourhoods - they teach youth how to work cooperatively with peers and adults, they instill in young people a sense they can make a difference, and that they can create positive change.

8. *Education and Job Preparedness Training* - increase individual levels of education and job preparation. Because so many inner-city youth have no job skills and poor educational attainment, it is necessary to increase both. There are three ways in that youth programs can enhance education - within their own program activities by focusing on aspects of the programs that lend themselves to enhancing reading, writing and arithmetic skills; through the creation of off-site education programs at youth centres (where licensed teachers are stationed); or by bringing social-service programs into the schools to provide services to adult and youth community members.

Young people need education about the kinds of jobs they realistically can acquire, about attire and job interviews, about keeping a job and about dealing with problems that arise in work situations. Temporary jobs are useful as learning experiences. Another approach to employment and job creation is entrepreneurship, where youth are taught certain skills and provided money to begin small businesses (this is not unlike small business projects for rural women in Bangladesh, the Calmeadow approach in Canada, or the willingness of banks to fund businesses on reserves). In the United States, several entrepreneurship training programs for youth are available.⁷² These projects can also stimulate neighbourhood economies.⁷³

9. *Program Objectives* - monitor and evaluate programs. Planners need to set and monitor program objectives to evaluate how well the program is meeting them. Program objectives should be realistic and set at a point just beyond what the program planners hope to accomplish.

VI.2 *Community Development*

Two aspects of communities drawn from the literature on crime and disorganization in inner cities and community development frame the following discussion: segregation from the social and economic mainstream and subsidized housing. While at first glance disparate, these two aspects are, in reality, related. The relegation of certain groups or races to marginal positions in society (through historical or contemporary processes, or both), and from which they have considerable difficulty escaping, is what creates inner cities. Lemann (1994) argues that a lack of adequate and secure housing fosters transiency and instability in inner cities and reduces the opportunities for change and development.

VI.2.a *Segregation and isolation*

In Chapter I, urban inequality was discussed in relation to race and crime. Crime and violence are perceived to occur disproportionately in communities with high levels of family disruption, residential instability and urban poverty, concentrated by race. Social isolation was defined as a lack of contact with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society. Social isolation and the ecological concentration of the truly disadvantaged are seen to lead to structural barriers and to cultural adaptations that undermine social organization and the control of crime.

The concentration of native people in the inner cores of Canadian cities, particularly in the western provinces, has been a long-standing consequence of poverty and out-migration from reserves. A lack of skills and opportunities, often coupled with alcohol and other personal problems, makes the inner city the only available residential option. Personal factors, including a lack of education and skills, living in a socially disorganized area and discrimination based on racial stereotypes (reinforced by the visibility of certain races in downtown areas of cities) create structural barriers to opportunities. Adaptations to this reality, and to inner-city life, often involve situations in which the criminal justice system is brought to bear.

VI.2.b *Subsidized housing*

Inherent in Greene's agenda for dealing with at-risk youth is a belief in community revitalization within the inner city. A focus on "community" is critical to this research as the theoretical framework within which the data were analyzed and discussed related to the geographic and racial concentration of the inner cities in the four sites.

Community-development projects are often initiated to replace or augment straight income or welfare programs in poor and socially disorganized city areas. However, attempts at economic revitalization in United States inner cities have been largely unsuccessful, in Lemann's view, because they:

... often take the place of other efforts that would do much more good (especially improving schools, housing and police protection), and they establish a public mission that can't be accomplished. Nothing does more to feed the public perception that antipoverty programs - in fact, Government programs generally - don't work than the poor physical appearance of the ghettos; the more the Government claims it's going to revitalize them, the harder it becomes politically to take on the problem in the future (Lemann, 1994:28).

The failure of economic revitalization, however, is not paralleled in the area of subsidized housing. Indeed, Lemann (1994:54) concludes that subsidized housing is the most successful aspect of community-development in the United States and -- "the spiritual center of anti-poverty work." Assessments of successful subsidized housing projects reveal a number of key points -- a heavy emphasis on security, keeping the size of each development manageable, creating some economic mix of tenants, screening prospective tenants, and expelling tenants who commit crimes or otherwise break the rules (Lemann, 1994:54).⁷⁴ Lemann argues that if subsidized housing was implemented successfully in inner cities, the implications for making a dent in homelessness and inner-city dilapidation would be immense. He writes:

Success stories in housing might well make the public more willing to support Government efforts in education, child care, health, public safety and job training that would address what everyone knows is an intolerable crisis in the ghettos (Lemann, 1994:54).⁷⁵

A major factor in reducing opportunities for positive community development and the mobilization of human resources in inner cities is transiency. People move in and out of these areas in search of affordable housing or because of joblessness and "rootless-

ness." The lack of stability in the lives on many inner-city native people, particularly those in the Inner I group, was evidenced in this research. Most have no jobs or skills, and many have no families or support outside the inner city. Instability in housing exacerbates these problems and produces even more transiency.

Various crime prevention theorists argue that confronting inner-city problems of crime and victimization, or of social disorganization in neighbourhoods, requires the organization and mobilization of community forces (see Skogan, 1990; Linden, 1993; Sampson, 1991). These forces are not likely to be mobilized in highly transient areas, where a recurring complaint is the quality and/or lack of housing. Successful housing to replace street-level shelters and slum-landlord housing may be the key to establishing more stable, politically and socially-active populations in inner cities.⁷⁶ Efforts to solve social and economic problems of the inner cities, without stabilizing housing and producing more sedentary populations, seem doomed to failure. Making public housing safe and secure without attention to designing accommodation that reflects inner-city social life and social relations, seem equally doomed to failure.

VI.3 *The Criminal Justice System*

The usual response to crime and disorder is not to improve communities or respond differently to the problem, but to expand the criminal justice system. At the same time, it is unrealistic to focus only at the broader level of crime prevention when exploring policy and program issues. The reality for many native people in the inner city is ongoing and intense involvement with the criminal justice system. Thus, the criminal justice response to crime and disorder in the inner city is a critical issue. This section provides information about two areas of criminal justice first raised in Part I - diversion and recidivism.

VI.3.a *Police, Police Charging and Diversion*

In Part I, police and "policing the inner city" issues were identified. New approaches to crime and disorder were discussed in the context of problem-solving, where police were only "one piece in the problem-solving puzzle" (Shearing, in LaPrairie, 1994:113). Events of disorder involving people who share similar circumstances, and where altercations and conflict emerge from those circumstances, are daily occurrences in the inner city. To use only the weight of the criminal justice system in response is to continue to treat these events exclusively as criminal problems.⁷⁷

Although contact with police is a fact of everyday life for all inner-city people, the nature of the contact is especially important for youth, where the potential to interrupt

the progression of deviant behaviour is greatest. This research found juvenile involvement in the criminal justice system "sets the stage" for adult involvement. Efforts to make policing more community-based, and contacts with police more positive, are reflected in some police programs for inner-city youth presently underway in the United States and elsewhere. These range from a school resource officer program in Florida, to a witness-to-violence program in Boston, to gang prevention programs in several cities and to police-citizen youth clubs in New South Wales, Australia (Guarino-Ghezzi (1994:144-148). In assessing these programs, Guarino-Ghezzi (1994:149) argues that:

... the police role needs to be reexamined as an important resource for juvenile offender reintegration and crime prevention, particularly in high-crime neighbourhoods where other vital supports are lacking and disorder is prevalent.⁷⁸

Diversion

Diversion and alternate dispute resolution (ADR) are favoured approaches for reducing involvement in the criminal justice system. Alternate dispute resolution is most common in non-criminal areas such as family, labour and civil law but mediation in criminal matters is part of a growing "negotiated" or "restorative" justice movement. The line between diversion and ADR is increasingly obscured, however, as some pre-charge diversion incorporates reparation, mediation and restitution measures. Victim-offender reconciliation is used increasingly in diversion and alternate dispute resolution. Restoring harmony and dealing with the grief of a direct or an indirect victim is central. Victim-offender and offender-community reconciliation are part of many new justice initiatives such as sentencing circles, community justice strategies (based on shame and reintegration) and mediation.

Diversion is the most common alternative to criminal justice processing and may be used before (pre-charge) or after charging (post-charge).⁷⁹ Juvenile diversion has been more common because the criminal career of offenders is less entrenched, offences not so serious and interests and concerns of victims easier to accommodate than they are for adult offenders (Dignan 1992:453-454).

Traditional diversion strategies, whether juvenile (for example, alternative measures in the *Young Offenders Act*), or adult, include community service orders, letters of apology, restitution or other forms of making amends to victims and/or communities. Most diversion programs have strict criteria about eligible offences and offenders.⁸⁰ Most are for relatively minor offences and first-time offenders. Programs such as the

Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto, Native Community Council Project⁸¹, are recognizing the need to expand these criteria⁸² or risk serving only a select group of offenders.⁸³ Recent evaluations of diversion programs for adults and juveniles identify other important issues.

The evaluation of an experiment in Rotterdam found that diverting juvenile shoplifters to make reparation in shops where they were caught resulted in a greater reduction in shoplifting for the experimental group than for a control group (Kruissink and Verwers, 1991). Similarly, LeBlanc and Beaumont (1991) found reparation measures among other *Young Offenders Act* alternative measures, produced lower recidivism rates. The authors argued that recidivism rates would have been reduced further if certain factors such as age, occupational status, prior record and other characteristics of the offence and the offender had been taken into account.

More focus in the selection of offenders, and the kinds of programs into which they are diverted, are recurring themes in evaluations of juvenile and adult diversion. For example, in evaluating a post-charge program to divert offenders to psychological/psychiatric treatment, Cooke (1992) found this type of diversion most useful for older offenders, first offenders and females. People with alcohol or drug addictions were less amenable to this treatment than shoplifters who exhibited anxiety or depressive disorders. Only 9% of the female shoplifters re-offended, compared with 33% of males with breaches of the peace, and 50% with alcohol-related offences.⁸⁴

Accommodating the interests of offenders and victims, and reducing the labelling effect of criminal justice processing, are other important diversion issues.⁸⁵ The Kettering Adult Reparation Bureau, the first pre-trial diversion scheme in England to cater exclusively to non-juveniles, appears to be accomplishing both in the diversion of some offenders. The process involves police selection of possible divertees (for relatively minor offences at present) where an admission of guilt, evidence and a consideration of victim needs are requirements.⁸⁶ Reparation is negotiated between victim and offender and most cases involve more than an apology (sometimes compensation is required but more often direct work for victims or the community). An evaluation of the program revealed a higher proportion of compensation agreements were reached and honoured. The majority of victims also expressed satisfaction.⁸⁷ Dignan (1992: 468) argues that a major benefit of this process is that it reduces the effects of social stigmatization that conviction produces. He espouses Braithwaite's theory that effective control of crime is dependent on "reintegrative shaming," that is, where shaming is combined with a process of reconciliation, and the reaffirmation of an offender's place in the community.

Evaluations of diversion stress the importance of adopting an experimental approach and gathering information about "what works" for particular offenders and offences. In diversion, as in other areas, as identified in Chapter IV, there are no "model" problems and no "model" solutions. For the inner-city population, it is especially important to be innovative and to expand the definition of eligibility, or diversion will be ineffective. For victim-offender reconciliation and reparation, it is essential that negotiations and agreements reflect relationships among inner-city people. Merging housing and criminal justice needs may also be a fruitful direction to pursue. Creative approaches that include inner-city people in decision-making should be explored.⁸⁸

VI.3.b *Recidivism*

Recidivism is the most recalcitrant problem in criminal justice. Aboriginal people are caught in a "revolving door" (some to a much greater extent than others) for a number of reasons, including the build-up over time of charges and detentions. Some relevant recidivism issues are elaborated below.

This research revealed the intense and long-standing involvement of native people in the inner city in the criminal justice and correctional systems. The earlier this involvement, the more entrenched it becomes. An important finding is the lack of connection to families, institutions, employment and/or education. Another is the extent to which people are trapped in bad memories and substance abuse. Two approaches to understanding recidivism that have relevance for this research are described below.

Factors in Recidivism

An examination of 3,000 aboriginal and non-aboriginal federal inmates released in 1983-1984 revealed that aboriginal recidivists were significantly more likely to have been incarcerated earlier in their lives, and convicted of their first offence at an earlier age, than non-aboriginal offenders. Only 8% of the aboriginal offenders were first-time offenders and two thirds committed a further offence (Bonta *et al*, 1992). The three strongest predictors of recidivism for all offenders were previous incarcerations, an offence of break and enter and age at first conviction.

The second approach to explaining recidivism is a departure from "static" predictors of recidivism, and seeks to understand the psychological and social processes that cause the resumption of criminal behaviour. This approach involves two components. The first is the "coping-criminality hypothesis." It suggests that new criminal offences result from inadequate or destructive ways of dealing with ordinary life. The second component involves a

relapse into "addictive" behaviour, triggered by negative emotional states, interpersonal conflict and particular thought patterns, along with external factors such as social pressure.

In exploring this approach, Zamble (1993) studied the lifestyles of 100 ex-inmates. He discovered that "hanging out" with friends was the single largest category of time-use and that family activities occupied much less time. There was much instability in people's lives, with frequent changes in residences, jobs and living partners. Many subjects showed substantial evidence of depression. Two particular areas indicated difficulties in adjustment and are possible predictors of future trouble - substance abuse and emotional stress. The majority of ex-inmates admitted to violating the condition not to drink in the first week after release, and of drinking in the 24 hours before new offences. In describing their moods in the day preceding the offence, unstable emotions - usually involving anger and depression - were most common. These findings suggested recidivists had little ability to cope with common problems, and that emotional problems and substance abuse were precursors to the resumption of criminal actions. The impulsive nature of these actions was striking (Zamble, 1993:27-30).

The results of both studies accurately portray many criminal justice and "personal" findings of the inner-city research. Age at first involvement and the degree of involvement were critical factors in determining future offending, number of detentions and length of time in detention. Personal problems, alcohol abuse, emotional stress and lack of emotional resources to cope with stress, social pressures to drink and the desire for acceptance and to be "one of the gang," were also evident in interviews and in the stories people told about their lives. The emotional "aloneness" of people, even those with friends and acquaintances, was striking. Because their circumstances were so similar, inner-city people were often reluctant to burden others with their problems.⁸⁹

Evaluating Alternatives/Correctional Treatment Approaches

Evaluating sentencing alternatives and institutional programs and initiatives is an important strategy for reducing recidivism for natives and non-natives alike. For example, a recent analysis of the move away from rehabilitation or treatment toward alternative sanctions, including intensive supervision probation programs, found no effect of intensive supervision on offender recidivism. There is evidence that probationers who participated in employment, counselling and restitution programs had significantly lower recidivism rates (Gendreau *et al*, 1993).⁹⁰

Other evaluations of rehabilitative approaches show that identifying individual offender needs, and developing specific treatment programs, are effective in reducing recidivism. For example, Hagan and King (1992) in evaluating an intensive treatment program in a U.S. correctional facility for juveniles with severe psychological and behavioural problems,⁹¹ found half the subjects were successfully maintained in community placement after discharge from the program and the facility. The Intensive Treatment Program consisted of a strong ecological approach, cognitive behavioural training, individualized contracts and family therapy. Programs designed to interrupt developmental progression into anti-social behaviour (rooted in early life) and address parent training, child social skills, inter-personal problem solving and education are necessary.⁹² When juveniles who completed this program did recidivate, the offences were less serious.⁹³

Follow-up studies of the Treatment Alternative Programs or TAP (used either as a court diversion mechanism or a supplement to probation for low-risk substance abusing offenders), showed that offenders completing the program are significantly less likely to recidivate than offenders not completing the program. Case management is used to sever the cycle of addiction-criminality-arrest, prosecution, conviction, incarceration, release, re-addiction, and rearrest (Van Stelle *et al*, 1994:175). The offender is referred to community-based supervision where an individualized program with substance abuse treatment is devised. Eligible clients can be diverted at any stage in the criminal justice process -- a useful sentencing alternative for inner-city people. The strongest elements of the model are case management and increased communication between the criminal justice system and community treatment resources (Van Stelle *et al*, 1994:176).⁹⁴

The emergence over the past two decades of culturally-sensitive programs for aboriginal inmates in correctional institutions suggests the need to examine the impact of these initiatives on recidivism. Sweat lodges, elder involvement in institutional programming and at parole hearings, native liaison services, substance abuse treatment, native skills training, sensitivity training for correctional and parole personnel, spiritual practices, and aboriginal literacy programs all need to be monitored and evaluated to determine their effectiveness in reducing recidivism. In addition, an exploration should be undertaken of the merit of release preparation, post-release programs and services in meeting the needs of aboriginal offenders, thereby reducing further involvement in the criminal justice system.⁹⁵

Summary

This chapter elaborates on a number of policy and program issues raised in Part I. It discusses community development in the inner city from the perspective of the need for safe and secure housing so that other community development initiatives can emerge. It presents a strategy for responding to youth at risk because family disruption and involvement in the juvenile justice system predict the intensity and duration of involvement in the adult system and marginalization in adult life. Thus, affecting change for children and youth at risk will address longer-term problems. Finally, this chapter discusses diversion and recidivism approaches to reducing involvement in the criminal justice system.

Findings from both reports argue for policy and program attention to be directed to those whose needs are greatest. When "broad brush" solutions are imposed, those with the most and the least needs are treated equally. Conducting basic research about the nature and extent of problems prior to designing and implementing policies, and evaluating policies and programs when implemented, are essential. The evaluation of culturally-focused programs for native inmates and their effectiveness in reducing recidivism is likewise essential. The value of cultural approaches alone, and in combination with other treatment and rehabilitation approaches, should also be explored. The merits of mainstream diversion and rehabilitation programs for adult and juvenile native offenders should not be dismissed. Nor should native approaches for non-native offenders. Programming for native offenders becomes an opportunity to explore new directions. One explanation for the persistent over-incarceration of aboriginal people in correctional institutions in Canada, despite two decades of initiatives, is that systematic research to identify the needs of individuals and groups (within and outside the institutions) has not been undertaken prior to the implementation of policies. This is compounded by a lack of monitoring and evaluation of existing initiatives.

In the final analysis, however, as Grobsmith (1989:296) notes in relation to Native American inmates in the United States:

Treatment programs without question offer an avenue to successful rehabilitation and sobriety for Native American offenders. Those geared toward Indian culture and spirituality may enjoy greater success than those lacking specific cultural orientation. However, no treatment or rehabilitation is a substitute for prevention ... early prevention approaches that serve as successful deterrents to the onset of juvenile criminal activity may be the most powerful deterrent to a pattern of offence commission and repeated incarceration. Documentation of

early substance abuse, analysis of the influence of familial disintegration and its contribution to this abuse and documentation of early offence commission may permit prevention strategies to consider more salient features of juvenile which better enable them to identify and communicate with potential high risk users.

CONCLUSION

This research provides information about select inner city native people in four cities. Its objective is to identify relevant issues in a number of areas -- including why people migrate to cities, the relationship between childhood experiences and adult life and involvement in the criminal justice system. It describes differences in native people in the inner cities of Edmonton, Regina, Toronto, and Montreal and attempts to account for disproportionate levels of aboriginal incarceration in western correctional institutions.

The research revealed that the criminal justice system is a major player in the lives of inner city native people (and police and judges may be responding more harshly to this group in some cities than in others), but that marginalization and alienation -- resulting from unstable and violent childhood experiences, coupled with a lack of education, opportunities and options and a dependency on alcohol, are the real culprits in making people vulnerable to commission of crime and criminal justice processing. It concludes that in order to reduce this involvement it is necessary to identify more specifically the needs of inner city native people, and to alter the physical and emotional conditions in which they live. A reduction in the involvement of native youth in the criminal justice system is essential. This research revealed the downward slide from childhood into adulthood where involvement in the juvenile system was a precursor to involvement in the adult system. This findings suggest that who controls a criminal justice system for native people in the inner city is less important than changing the circumstances that propel them into it in the first place.

ENDNOTES

PART II

- ¹ As noted in Part I, the term "native" is used throughout, as that is how inner-city people identified themselves.
- ² The "three" refer to the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups that were constructed for the purposes of understanding and analyzing the data. The respondents were divided according to where they lived and how the sample was selected. Inner 1 was the street-level group that was drawn from street-level agencies (drop-in centres, soup kitchens, shelters, the street) and lived in the inner city. The Inner 2 group also lived in the inner city but was drawn from social agencies (family services, neighbourhood projects, justice agencies, Friendship Centres etc.). The Outer individuals were people whose addresses were outside the boundaries of the inner city.
- ³ For a full accounting of the differences among the three groups along a number of dimensions, including adult and childhood victimization, family life, coming to and living in the city, what people want in their lives, and perceptions of the criminal justice system and of their own involvement in it, see Part I.
- ⁴ Because of the large amount of data this project generated, this report will be restricted to answering these specific research questions within a broader theoretical framework. A separate volume consisting of additional tables and data from this and the first report, and the original questionnaire and coding manual, will also be provided in a separate report.
- ⁵ As in most research undertakings, the ideal methodology is different from what is possible. Despite that fact that all agencies were identified prior to the field work, and precise numbers of respondents determined from each, it was simply not possible to accomplish this fully for a variety of reasons: some relating to the interviewers, the agencies and the respondents. We can say with some assurance that there were similar problems in all four cities so in some sense it "evens out." We believe we collected a fairly representative sample in each of the cities. This is the basis upon which the data analysis proceeded. Where the sample was not properly drawn, questionnaires were excluded from the analysis. This does not mean, however, that we would not wish to have interviewed more people in each city so the analysis could have been extended. The reader will note that the city-by-city analysis is unable to cross-tabulate the gender variable by the location variable because the numbers were too small.
- ⁶ The Federation of Canadian Municipalities had been involved in discussions in both Edmonton and Regina about urban aboriginal issues, and had made the Department of Justice aware of its interest. As a result, this research benefited from those discussions and received support from the municipal governments in both cities.
- ⁷ The population data cited are from the *1991 Aboriginal People's Survey* and reflect those people who identify themselves as aboriginal.
- ⁸ This, however, is difficult to say with any certainty as there could be differences in the way data are collected, particularly in the provincial institutions.
- ⁹ The inner and outer city designations are not as accurate as one would like. At the time of sampling, there were no federal, provincial or municipal data that defined either the territory or the population of the inner city. Undertaking census in these areas is fraught with problems as people are often living with friends, have no permanent address, no telephones, and/or are often moving around from

place to place. It should be kept in mind that the sampling was not random in the pure research sense (because inner city population sizes were unknown), but because of the sampling technique employed, it is being treated as "representative," at least of those people using agencies, services and on the street. We apply tests of significance to the data, but the reader should be aware of the sampling constraints.

- ¹⁰ A description of these areas in each of the cities is provided in Chapter II.
- ¹¹ These were all examined again at the time of coding and where some uncertainty existed about a designation, knowledgeable people in the various cities were contacted for advice about the proper designation.
- ¹² This issue of isolation of racially segregated areas is critical. The United States literature identifies this as a key factor in understanding crime in inner cities.
- ¹³ Kastes (1993:83) in lamenting the lack of new empirical research on urban aboriginal people in Canada, and in society's understanding of their special needs, calls for "a research framework which recognizes the integrated nature of the myriad of issues facing urban aboriginal people."
- ¹⁴ In Canada, findings about the relationship between rates of homicides and economic inequality have been produced by Kennedy *et al* (1991). These authors also found that the relationship between inequality and homicide may be mediated by population composition, such as the proportion of young males.
- ¹⁵ An expansion of the individual perspective for understanding interpersonal violence is provided by Collins and Flewelling (1991). Their thesis on interpersonal violence as normative conduct is rooted in interactionist and social learning theory whereby violent aggression and criminal behaviour are learned in social interactions with, or by observing the behaviour of, others. They claim that social context, relationships between people, types of interaction (e.g., drinking), the emotional state of people and cognitive capacity are related to violence, and that approval for violence varies along certain socio-demographic factors.
- ¹⁶ Reiss (1986) is another proponent of using victimization to link the community and individual perspectives.
- ¹⁷ This position is supported by the work of Collins and Flewelling (1991) mentioned earlier.
- ¹⁸ Bursik (1988:543) concludes that: "a large part of the traditionally high association between race and crime may reflect processes of minority groups being stranded in high-crime communities from which they cannot afford to leave." This view supports the contention made here about levels of crime in certain cities.
- ¹⁹ Sampson (1991) notes that the effects of residential stability are mediated by the density of friendship and acquaintanceship networks, and that these networks promote individual attachment to communities.
- ²⁰ The frequency of involvement means that over time people accumulate more and more prior offences which are used, along with seriousness of offence, in sentencing decision-making.
- ²¹ Sometimes in this and in subsequent chapters, the cities are referred to by name; in other instances they are referred to as the "western" or "eastern" cities. In this context, western refers to Edmonton and Regina, eastern to Toronto and Montreal.

- ²² One of the questions asked of respondents was the name of their reserve or home community. The purpose of the question was to determine the distance from the present city and migration from reserves. The names of reserves were not used in any other way nor is it possible in any of the reports to identify the reserves or people from certain reserves.
- ²³ Differences in the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups are best elaborated in Report 1: *The Inner City Sample, Social Stratification and the Criminal Justice System*. Because of the complexities of the data and the multi-level analysis (i.e., by location - Inner 1, 2 and Outer, gender, and city-by-city), variation among the location groups is not made as explicit in this report as in the first.
- ²⁴ The CHAID process described in the first report was used to show the dominance of certain cities in relation to certain variables. Chart 1: *Significant Differences Among Cities* in Appendix III, shows some of these differences.
- ²⁵ Some people claim that landlords were encouraged to rent their houses to native people and assured of payment by welfare.
- ²⁶ The questionnaire was translated into French and, where the respondent was unable to speak English, the interview was conducted in French.
- ²⁷ In this, as in the first report, "significant" refers to statistical significance. In calculating statistical significance only cells with five cases or more were included.
- ²⁸ This has important implications for involvement in the criminal justice system, as was suggested in Report 1. In that report, the finding that the Inner 1 and 2 groups were most heavily involved in the criminal justice system led to the speculation that cities with a disproportionate number of these groups would probably have a more serious "aboriginal justice" problem.
- ²⁹ Official data from the *1991 Aboriginal People's Survey* reveal that 6% of the Edmonton and 4% of the Regina aboriginal population had eight years or less education, compared with about 1% in Toronto and Montreal. By contrast, 3% of the population in Edmonton and Toronto, about 1% of that in Montreal, and 7% of that in Regina reported a university degree. The aboriginal populations in Regina are the most extreme - comprising groups with the least and most education.
- ³⁰ The 1991 Aboriginal People's Survey revealed that 46% of the Edmonton, 51% of Regina, 38% of Toronto, and 42% of the Montreal self-identified native populations had an annual income of \$10,000 or less. Regina had the most economic distance between those with no income and those earning \$40,000 or more. Incomes of \$20,000 or more were much more prevalent in Toronto and Montreal than in Edmonton and Regina.
- ³¹ The Montreal location data may be somewhat problematic, as mentioned previously, and the findings among the three designated groups, Inner 1, 2 and Outer, not as discrete as the other cities. The problem in Montreal was a lack of distinction in agencies at the street, and the social-agency levels. The Friendship Centre in Montreal, unlike the situation in the other cities, tended to serve the entire native population in the city and acted as a drop-in, a social agency, an educational institution, a referral centre etc.
- ³² The issue of one's own experiences vs. what is attributed to other people is an interesting one for researchers. Much of the "straw-poll" opinion research typically asks people what they "think" rather than what they "experienced." Perceptions of a general situation or what they believe to be the experience of others has been the major source of information in aboriginal criminal justice (Grossman, 1993).
- ³³ This finding is somewhat tautological. The majority of Montreal respondents were from the Friendship Centre, the major native agency in the city.

- ³⁴ There are two friendship centres in Toronto, Council Fire on Parliament St., and the Native Canadian Centre on Spadina Ave. They have two different affiliations. For purposes of this research, the Spadina Centre was referred to in the question because it has been in existence longer, although Council Fire is widely used.
- ³⁵ Or reserve life may be romanticized by those with no experience of reserves, as appears to be the case for some Inner 2 and Outer respondents people in Toronto.
- ³⁶ The interviews were conducted without recording respondent names or addresses. Assurances of confidentiality of interviews were essential. Any attempt to verify criminal justice information by recording names would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to carry out the research. The reliability of self-report data was found in one study to be high, as will be discussed in Report III.
- ³⁷ More Montreal respondents claimed to have a serious drinking problem. The finding about public drinking charges is consistent with an earlier finding that more respondents in Edmonton and Toronto used alcohol all or most of the time in committing offences.
- ³⁸ This is a particularly important finding. It suggests that these offences (predominately break-and-enters and administrative) in addition to the high proportion of Type 4 offences (thefts, frauds and shoplifts) committed by Inner 1 in Regina, are a major reason for the "revolving door" syndrome and high levels of native people in provincial institutions. This is supported by the previous findings that more respondents in Regina had committed 26 or more *Criminal Code* offences, and that more Regina (and Edmonton) respondents than in the east were in the Inner 1 group.
- ³⁹ For offences committed in the home community/reserve, there were no significant differences between males and females in Edmonton and Montreal, but Regina and Toronto males reported considerably more home offences than did females.
- ⁴⁰ The small proportion of respondents in Regina who reported having courtworker services may be a reflection of the cancellation of the courtworker program in Saskatchewan in 1987.
- ⁴¹ People seemed less reluctant to describe charges than detentions. There was often some difficulty in remembering details of both, so probing and patience were required to elicit a chronology of involvement with the criminal justice system. People had no hesitation in remembering if they had legal representation, courtworkers etc., but often appeared uncertain about the exact nature of a charge and/or the type of detention they had. Part of this is an understandable confusion about charges and types of detention, and some people had no idea what they were charged with or why they went into detention. Another part of the hesitancy about describing detentions, especially federal detention, is because people do not want to remember them. This section should be read with these constraints in mind.
- ⁴² Inner 2 people in Edmonton and Montreal were significantly more likely to be charged and to serve detention than Inner 2 people in Toronto, and especially Regina. The numbers were too small for tests of significance for Inner 1 respondents, and there were no significant differences among cities for the Outer group.
- ⁴³ Unfortunately, the numbers for the three location groups are not large enough to examine total and other detention types by detailed detention time categories.
- ⁴⁴ The figures for those serving juvenile detention from the *total* city samples are 33% in Edmonton, 18% in Regina, 29% in Toronto, and 23% in Montreal.
- ⁴⁵ The actual figures for the percentage of the *total* city respondents who served pre-trial detention were 56% in Edmonton, 42% in Regina, 50% in Toronto, and 44% in Montreal.
- ⁴⁶ For *total* respondents in each city, 59% of Edmonton, 35% of Regina, 45% of Toronto, and 39% of Montreal, had provincial detention.

- ⁴⁷ More Edmonton Inner 1 than all other respondents had been in provincial detention - 85% (of Inner 1 people), compared with 69% in Montreal, 62% in Regina, and 56% in Toronto. More Inner 2 people in Edmonton and Toronto, as compared with the same groups in Regina and Montreal, had provincial detention. Fewer Inner 2 and Outer people in Regina, served provincial detention compared to these same groups in the other cities. In involvement in all types of detention, the Outer group in Regina stands apart from the Outer groups in all other cities, because its members had the least amount of detention time.
- ⁴⁸ As mentioned in Part I, it was difficult to collect information about involvement in federal institutions because people generally regarded it as much more serious than any other type of detention, and seemed more reluctant to admit doing federal time. It was also surprising that people would admit to a large number of serious offences yet claim they did no federal time.
- ⁴⁹ The findings reflect responses not respondents.
- ⁵⁰ Part I revealed that Inner 1 females generally felt less fairly treated in home communities or reserves than did males and females in the Inner 2 and Outer groups. In cities, Inner 2 females felt less fairly treated than males or females in the Inner 1 and Outer groups.
- ⁵¹ The cell sizes were too small to conduct tests of statistical significance.
- ⁵² While there are some city-by-city differences in perceptions of treatment by the city criminal justice system, the most interesting finding is the difference in perception about home and city criminal justice systems. Generally, perceptions about home communities or reserve systems were more positive. Nonetheless, as the first report revealed, there were some differences by location. Inner 1 females felt less fairly treated than did males or females in the Inner 2 and Outer groups.
- ⁵³ Respondents had difficulty understanding this question and most responded as if the question was "Do police treat natives and whites the same?" As a result, the question often had to be repeated with the emphasis that it was only about the treatment of native people. The question was rephrased as "Do you think police treat some natives differently from other natives?"
- ⁵⁴ Generally, however, fewer people maintained their belief that whites were treated better when this specific question about rude whites and rude natives, was posed.
- ⁵⁵ One of the most interesting aspects of this finding was that Montreal people had the fewest public drinking charges, even though more of the sample reported having a serious alcohol problem. More people in Montreal also reported the involvement of alcohol in their offences.
- ⁵⁶ However, a similar proportion of respondents spent their childhoods in Regina. Differences in involvement in the juvenile justice system may also relate to the type of "community" and family circumstances in which children and youth live. One of the most obvious findings about Regina was the existence of family networks. These were not as obvious in other cities, especially Edmonton and Toronto, where involvement in the juvenile justice system was highest.
- ⁵⁷ In this chapter, the term "predictor" refers to variables which have a statistically significant relationship with select outcome variables. The predictor variables for each of the outcome variables are listed in Appendix V.
- ⁵⁸ For a description of how the analysis of dependent (outcome) and independent (predictor) variables was done using the Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detector (CHAID) program, see Appendix V. It is important to keep the sampling constraints in mind when reading this chapter. "Predictor" variables for this analysis are those that are statistically significant in relation to certain outcome variables *for this sample of people*. In this chapter, predictor and outcome findings relate to the total sample and respondents in each city.
- ⁵⁹ In this chapter, the term "significant" refers to statistical significance.

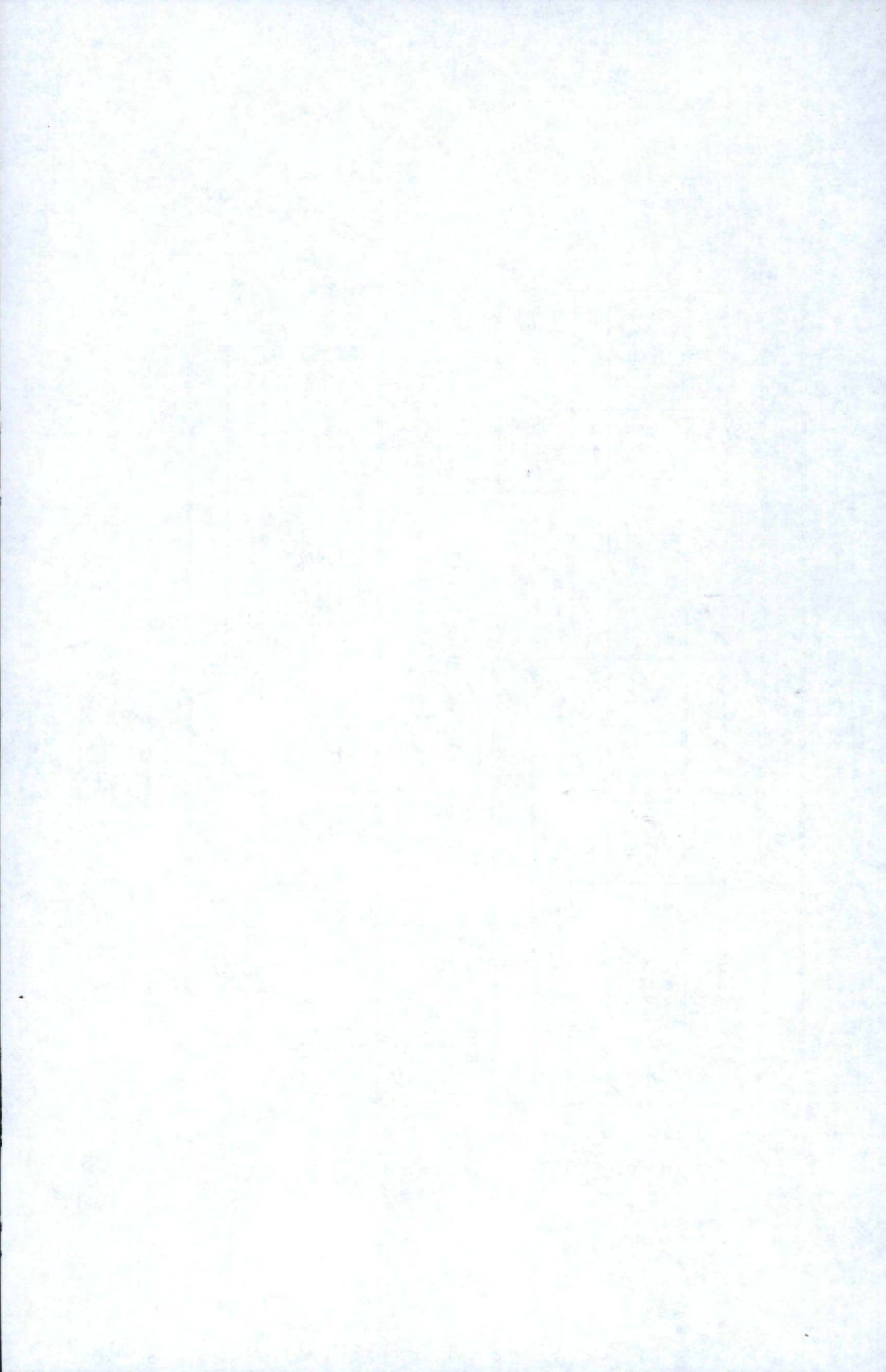
- ⁶⁰ In the text of this chapter only the first level of analysis is presented for each of the outcomes, except for total juvenile charges where the second level of analysis is also presented. The second level of analysis for family violence will be presented in Report III: *Victimization and Family Violence*, and for the other outcomes in this chapter, see Appendix V.
- ⁶¹ Although there are often multiple distinctive segments, we are reporting only those where "risk," in terms of respondent's falling within select outcome categories such as serious alcohol problem, more charges and long detention - is greatest.
- ⁶² In this table "percent" refers to all persons in the segment with "1 or more" juvenile charges.
- ⁶³ Perpetrator of family violence, number of victimizations, upbringing, and childhood mobility are more likely to predict total charges but not total C.C. charges. Severity of father's drinking and length of time in the city were more likely to predict total *Criminal Code* but not total charges. Belonging to Inner 1 and Inner 2 are indistinguishable for total *Criminal Code* charges, but Inner 1 alone is more likely to predict total charges.
- ⁶⁴ More of those with "other" charges (referring to "other" *Criminal Code* offences, such as shoplift, mischief etc.), had no charges.
- ⁶⁵ Where some variables were more significant, others were significant only in some cities. A good example is the relationship between attendance at residential school, total charges, and time in detention for Regina males, but not for other groups. Similarly, lack of exposure to native culture in childhood was significantly related to detention only for Montreal respondents. Being in the city a long time was related to charges in some cities but not in others. Reserve level of violence was significant for Montreal respondents, who lived the longest on reserve, and for whom it would naturally have the most impact.
- ⁶⁶ Methodological and other constraints have prevented this research from addressing a variety of critical issues. Migration to cities, variation in reserves, the historical forces that shaped contemporary eastern and western reserves, and differences among native people who live in inner cities, require further exploration. The research provides significant new information about inner city native people and the criminal justice system in four cities, although it has not always been able to account for many of these differences. It is hoped that this study provides some directions for further research on these questions.
- ⁶⁷ In this context, east and west refers to the four cities - Edmonton and Regina are "west," and Toronto and Montreal are "east."
- ⁶⁸ The issue of isolation was raised in the first report in the context of native people determining the relationship they want to forge with mainstream society. In a United States study about acculturation and self-esteem, Phinney *et al* (1992) found self-esteem correlated positively with identification with one's own culture and mainstream society. This seems to be an important finding for the creation of urban reserves, as well as for geographically isolated reserves, where segregation from mainstream society is most extreme. There has been little research into the effects of isolation in combination with the images of mainstream society that are projected through television and videos. Isolation may be particularly difficult for the group most vulnerable to the images, i.e., youth and young people. It is these groups that seem to have the most serious problems on isolated reserves, as reflected in high levels of suicide and attempted suicide, and involvement in the criminal justice system. "Isolation" may also refer to a state of mind as well as to geography.
- ⁶⁹ In a recent article about deviance in the United States, Daniel Moynihan cites earlier longitudinal research showing that, of children born in the years 1967-69, 15.7% of the white children and 72.3% of the black children were on welfare before the age of 18. Moynihan quotes the response to this finding in a *New York Times* article on welfare and poverty as a "startling finding a symptom of vast social calamity." (1993:22) Moynihan argues that, despite these figures, there is general acceptance in the United States of the situation as "normal" with none of the marshalling of resources that is associated with significant social action.

- ⁷⁰ Farrington's (1992) research on criminal careers in the United Kingdom supports two important findings of the inner city research. First, the age of first offence is positively related to the number of subsequent offences; second, age of first offence is also related to the length of criminal career.
- ⁷¹ This is the basis upon which a mentoring program for young aborigine petrol-sniffers in Western Australia was devised and presently operates. The Department of Community Services in Western Australia, adopted strategies attempted in the United States and Puerto Rico to deal with young offenders. A male kin member is attached to a youth and some official training of the mentor and "bonding" between mentor and youth occur. The kin member "rides herd" on the youth in the community, but also involves the young person in re-establishing respectful relations with other people in the community - a form of what Braithwaite (1990) identifies as "reintegrative shaming." In this way kinship networks are also reestablished and/or strengthened (Dr. Pat O'Malley, La Trobe University, in conversation).
- ⁷² The Calmeadow approach in Canada does not provide training. When contacted and asked about their work in inner cities, and especially about the Vancouver Eastside Loan Program, officials said it (the loan program in the inner city) was unsuccessful for two reasons. First, people could not handle the financial aspects of a small business because they were not economically active (and most probably had never been); and second, people in the inner city had too many personal problems to overcome. Both these factors would suggest the need for training and on-going counselling as part of any entrepreneurial training program with inner city residents.
- ⁷³ Another important aspect of these projects may be to forge bonds with mainstream society. The U.S. literature on inner cities presented in Chapter I suggests that one reason for social disorganization in these areas is their isolation from the economic and social mainstream. Small-business activity may be useful in reducing that isolation. In Toronto, one approach has been for the street community to begin a small local newspaper, *The Outrider*, which inner city people sell on main streets around the city.
- ⁷⁴ In Canada, a project to evaluate social housing in 11 Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) communities, and the Safe Neighbourhoods Initiative, was funded jointly by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and MTHA. The evaluation focused on safety and security in public housing in Toronto where people, not police, were responsible. It found that social housing communities need long-term, comprehensive and realistic plans for ensuring community safety. Direction and commitment from all community levels was required. This entailed organization by community teams, security strategies that met the particular needs of the community, adequate resources and support systems that involved administrative, technical, community, communication, and financial people. Safety and security in public housing were achievable if these principles were incorporated (Hann and Asbury, 1993).
- ⁷⁵ In 1972, Krotz argued that native people in urban areas required more quality, low-cost housing, orientation facilities for new arrivals, emergency short-term housing and housing that acknowledges the fact that large and extended families want to live together.
- ⁷⁶ This is not to say that subsidized housing in the inner city would necessarily follow the same formula as subsidized housing in other areas of cities. One approach to housing in the inner city areas of Bombay, India, has been the mobilization of street women. These women decide upon what kind of housing is required and sustainable.
- ⁷⁷ Without broader police and justice reform, the most obvious way to reduce involvement in the criminal justice system is to effect change at the level of police charging. For certain offences, diversion to victim-offender, job and/or educational, or day programs (which offer training, plus addiction and other forms of counselling, and are located within the boundaries of the inner city) could replace charges. Specific criteria for selection of offences and offenders would be essential, and decisions about eligibility made on a case-by-case basis. Examples of offences that may be suitable for diversion include minor assaults, disorder, theft, fraud, public drinking (in the present research there was a different criminal justice response to public drinking in two of the four cities), prostitution, B&E, possession, and administrative offences.

- ⁷⁸ Guarino-Ghezzi (1994:132) also believes that the current reactive model of police protection is unresponsive to the needs of inner-city youth who when victimized have turned to "retaliation against acquaintance aggressors rather than co-operation with police".
- ⁷⁹ While not typically "diversion," fine default and electronic monitoring programs are alternatives to incarceration. Diversion is where an offender is diverted from formal processing at the pre-charge stage, or from going deeper into the system at the post-charge stage. With the advent of "restorative justice" measures, the line between diversion and sentencing alternatives is becoming increasingly obscured.
- ⁸⁰ This research suggests that if only first offenders and those with non-person offences are selected for diversion, few inner city people (the group most involved in the criminal justice system) would be eligible. One of the major criticisms of diversion has been that it does not really affect the group most likely to go into detention. Another criticism has been that it "widens the net." In other words, by diverting only first-time offenders and those who commit non-serious offences, diversion may be doing something more onerous than would occur in the regular system, and would catch more people in the diversion "net." Saskatchewan Justice (1994) has recently drafted mediation/ diversion guidelines that expand the selection criteria for offenders and offences.
- ⁸¹ This is a diversion project where the Council, drawn from the native community in Toronto, decides upon culturally appropriate community-based sanctions for native people charged but diverted by the Crown.
- ⁸² The Fraser Region Community Justice Association in B.C. is presently involved in mediation and victim offender reconciliation for less-serious offences. They, like Aboriginal Legal Services in Toronto, are considering broadening their diversion criteria to include more serious offences.
- ⁸³ Restricting offenders to those with only one type of offence, or first offence, would render diversion meaningless in the inner city. Offence histories often look much more serious than they really are and do not reflect the reality of life in the inner city, the facts surrounding incidents, or the real degree of seriousness.
- ⁸⁴ An evaluation of a diversion program in Kentucky for first-time shoplifters found the program was successful in reducing re-arrests for shoplifting. Recognizing that anxiety, depression, family disruption, loneliness and isolation were inherent in many shoplifters, the county attorney asked the local mental health centre to create a diversion program for first-time shoplifters. The elements of the program are -- attendance at a psycho-educational group, 60 hours of community service and weekly contact with the county attorneys office - a combination of surveillance and treatment approaches. (Royse and Buck, 1991)
- ⁸⁵ The inner-city research, particularly as described in the first report, reveals how much people consider themselves "labelled" through official involvement in the criminal justice system, and how much they feel this influences their future contacts with police.
- ⁸⁶ Compliance with the victim's wishes is always attempted but lack of compliance does not necessarily result in refusal to divert. Where direct victim-offender mediation is not possible, the bureau could become involved in "offence resolution." (Dignan, 1992:460).
- ⁸⁷ Dignan (1992:465) notes that "in light of the experience to date, it is probable that the range of offences will also be expanded, and that new methods of intervention will be explored."
- ⁸⁸ One possible way to merge housing, individual and criminal justice needs would be to locate day programs, referral, counselling and health services, education upgrading, cultural activities, and criminal justice services such as probation and parole within the housing complex. People could be diverted into co-ordinated services that facilitate and encourage attendance.
- ⁸⁹ Instituting a mentoring system might reduce the loneliness, and hence the propensity to re-offend. This could be done through probation or parole services or as a voluntary service where every individual released from a correctional institution could be assigned a "mentor" (either a paid professional but preferably a

carefully screened volunteer) from whom they could seek counsel, advice and friendship. This kind of contact might also reduce the alienation and rejection many inner-city people feel in relation to mainstream society.

- ⁹⁰ A recent evaluation of an Intensive Supervision Program (IPS) for drug offenders on probation or parole, based on close surveillance (involving small caseloads, frequent contact, curfew, community service, random drug testing, and strict enforcement of conditions), showed disappointing results in reducing recidivism. The authors compared this with a California program that combined surveillance and treatment and reduced recidivism 15% over only surveillance IPS. They concluded that it is necessary to experiment with various combinations of treatment and surveillance (or other criminal justice sanctions) to find the most effective in reducing recidivism (Petersilia *et al.*, 1992).
- ⁹¹ It is essential to find ways to reduce recidivism for native youth, as involvement in the juvenile justice system appears strongly related to involvement in the adult system.
- ⁹² Hagan and King (1992) noted that other evaluation research into juvenile recidivism demonstrated that counselling can significantly increase the likelihood of success on probation, for example, but that the fear of punishment is ineffective.
- ⁹³ Guarino-Ghezzi (1994:142-143) argues for a merging of correctional and police institutions to achieve juvenile offender re-integration. The challenge for juvenile correctional programs, in her view, is to forge mutually beneficial partnerships with community social institutions. In this, the goals of correctional agencies and police are coordinated instead of working at cross-purposes.
- ⁹⁴ A comprehensive program for inmates with drug-related offences (including inmates with alcohol problems) in the United States, although not yet evaluated, is consistent with some Canadian correctional approaches. The ten-month program has seven principal elements - intake/evaluation/follow-up, drug education, skills development, lifestyle modification, wellness, responsibility, and individualized counselling/case supervision. Its objective is to assist inmates to construct a new lifestyle, based on education, personal responsibility, positive reinforcement, and cognitive/lifeskill development (Walters *et al.*, 1992).
- ⁹⁵ In addition, the results of the intensive parole supervision projects in Regina and Winnipeg, the community development initiatives in Ontario and the prairie region, and the job preparedness training for released offenders, must be carefully scrutinized to determine their value in reducing recidivism.



REFERENCES

- Akers, R. (1985). *Deviant Behaviour: A Social Learning Approach*, Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 3d ed.
- Alberta Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and its Impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta (Cawsey Report). (1991). *Justice on Trial*, Vol. I, Edmonton.
- Bienvenue, P and A.H. Latif. (1974). "Arrests, Dispositions and Recidivism: A Comparison of Indians and Whites," *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Corrections*, 16:105-116.
- Birkenmenyer A.C. and S. Jolly. (1981). *The Native Inmate in Ontario*, Toronto: Ontario Native Council on Justice.
- Blau, J. and P. Blau. (1982). "The Cost of Inequality: Metropolitan Structure and Violent Crime," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 47: 114-29.
- Bonta, J., S. Lipinski and M. Martin. (1992). "The Characteristics of Aboriginal Recidivists," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 34,3-4, (July-October): 517-521.
- Brody, Hugh. (1971). *Indians on Skid Row*, Northern Science Research Group, Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
- Braithwaite, John. (1989). *Crime, Shame and Reintegration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bursik, Robert J. (1988). "Social Disorganization and Theories of Crime and Delinquency: Problems and Prospects," *Criminology*, 2, pp. 519-552.
- Byrne, James H. and Robert J. Sampson. (1986). "Key Issues in the Social Ecology of Crime," in J.H. Byrne and R.J. Sampson (eds.), *The Social Ecology of Crime*, New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (1993). *Police-Reported Aboriginal Crime in Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Clatworthy, Stuart. (1983). *The Effects of Urban Residency on Native Labour Market Behaviour*, Research and Working Papers No. 1, Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.

Cloward, Richard A. and Lloyd B. Ohlin. (1960). *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs*. Glencoe Ill.: The Free Press.

Collins, James J. and Robert L. Flewelling. (1991). "Interpersonal Violence and Normative Conduct," Research Triangle Institute.

Cooke, D.J. (1992). "Reconviction following Referral to a Forensic Clinic: the criminal justice outcome of diversion", *Medicine, Science and the Law*, 32,4, pp. 325-330.

(1991). "Psychological Treatment as an Alternative to Prosecution," *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*, 30, 1, pp.53-65.

Dignan, Jim. (1992). "Repairing the Damage: Can Reparation be Made to Work in the Service of Diversion?" *British Journal of Criminology*, 32,4, pp.453-472.

Edmonton Inner City Task Force and the Edmonton Aboriginal Representative Committee. (1992). *Inner City Service Improvement for the Aboriginal Community in Edmonton*, Edmonton.

Farrington, David. (1992). "Criminal Career Research in the United Kingdom," *British Journal of Criminology*, 32,4 (Autumn): 521-536.

Gendreau, Paul, Mario Papanozzi, Tracy Little and Murray Goddard. (1993). "Does 'Punishing Smarter' Work? An Assessment of the New Generation of Alternative Sanctions in Probation," *Forum*, 5,3, (September):31-34, Ottawa: Correctional Services Canada.

Globe and Mail. (1994). "Edmonton sees crime rates drop", Monday, January 10, 1994, pp. 1,10.

Greene, Michael B. (1993). "Chronic Exposure to Violence and Poverty: Interventions That Work for Youth," *Crime and Delinquency*, 39,1 (January): 106-124.

Grobsmith, Elizabeth. S. "The Relationship between Substance Abuse and Crime Among Native American Inmates in the Nebraska Department of Corrections", *Human Organization*, Vol.48, No.4, pp.285-298.

Grossman, Michelle. (1993). *Aboriginal People's Perceptions and Expectations of Criminal Justice in Canada*, Justice Canada; Ministry of the Attorney General, Province of Ontario.

Guarino-Ghezzi, Susan. (1994). "Reintegrative Police Surveillance of Juvenile Offenders: Forging an Urban Model", *Crime and Delinquency*, Vol.40 No.2, April, pp. 131-153.

Haapanen, Rudy A. (1989). *Selective Incapacitation and the Serious Offender*, Springer-Verlag.

Hagan, Michael and Robert P. King. (1992). "Recidivism Rates of Youth Completing an Intensive Treatment Program in a Juvenile Correctional Facility," *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 36, 4, pp.349-358.

Hann, Robert G. and Kathryn Asbury. (1993). *Reclaiming Urban Neighbourhoods: Assessing New Strategic Approaches to Security in 11 Canadian Social Housing Communities*, Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC).

Hirshi, Travis. (1969). *Causes of Delinquency*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hsieh, Ching-Chi and M.D.Pugh. (1991). "Inequality and Violent Crime: Another Ten years of Inconclusive Research," Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Meetings, San Francisco, November 1991.

Hull, Jeremy. (1983). *Natives in a Class Society*, One Sky, Saskatoon.

Interdepartmental Working Group on Crime Prevention. (1993). *An Inventory of Federal Crime Prevention Activities* (Draft), Prepared for the National Symposium on Community Safety and Crime Prevention, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Jackson, Michael. (1989). *Locking up Natives in Canada*, A Report of the Canadian Bar Association Committee on Imprisonment and Release.

Kastes, Wade G. (1993). *The Future of Aboriginal Urbanization in Prairie Cities*, Winnipeg: Institute of Urban Studies.

Kennedy, L., R. Silverman, and D. Forde. (1991). "Homicide in Urban Canada: Testing the Impact of Economic Inequality and Social Disorganization," *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 16, 4:397-410.

Kerri, James N. (1976). "Indians in a Canadian City: Analysis of Social Adaptive Strategies," *Urban Anthropology*, 5, 2:143-156.

Koehler, Richard J. and Charles Lindner. (1992). "Alternative Incarceration: An Inevitable Response to Institutional Overcrowding," *Federal Probation*, 56,3, pp.12-18.

Krotz, Larry. (1972). *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd.

Kruissink, M. and C. Verwers. (1991). *Diversion of Shoplifters in the Halt Procedure: Evaluation of a Rotterdam Experiment*. The Hague, Netherlands: Netherlands Ministry of Justice.

Kornhauser, R. (1978). *Social Sources of Delinquency*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

La Prairie, Carol. (1994). *Seen But Not Heard: Native People in the Inner City. Part I. The Inner City Sample, Social Strata and the Criminal Justice System*, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

(1992). *Dimensions of Aboriginal Over-representation in Correctional Institutions and Implications for Crime Prevention*, Aboriginal People's Collection, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

(1991). *Justice for the Cree: Communities, Crime and Order*, Nemaska: Cree Regional Authority.

LeBlanc, Marc. (1991). "Family, School, Delinquency and Criminology: The Predictive Power of an Elaborated Social Control Theory for Males," paper presented at the American Society of Criminology meetings, San Francisco, November.

LeBlanc, Marc and Helene Beaumont. (1991). "L'efficacite de la dejudiciarisation a Montreal en 1981," *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, 33,1, pp.61-82.

Lemann, Nicholas. (1994). "The Myth of Community Development," *The New York Times Magazine*, January 7, 1994: 27-31,50,54 & 60.

Linden, R. (1993). "The Role of Strategic Planning, Policy and Evaluation in Crime Prevention," Director's Research Workshop on Crime Prevention, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Magidson, Jay. (1993). *SPSS for Windows: CHAID Relief 6.0* Chicago: SPSS.
(1993). *SPSS + CHAID, Version 5.0*, Chicago: SPSS.

Massey, Douglas S., Andrew B. Gross, Mitchell L. Eggers. (1991). *Segregation, the Concentration of Poverty and the Life Chances of Individuals*, Population Research Centre, NORC, University of Chicago.

McCaskill, D. (1970). "A Study of Needs and Resources Related to Offenders of Native Origin in Manitoba: A Longitudinal Analysis." Ottawa: Correctional Planning Branch, Ministry of the Solicitor General.

(1981). "The Urbanization of Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis," *Culture*, I,1,pp.82-89.

(1985). "Patterns of Criminality and Corrections among Native Offenders in Manitoba: A Longitudinal Analysis." Ottawa: Correctional Services of Canada, Saskatoon: Department of the Solicitor General.

Merton, R. (1938). "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, 3:672-714.

Moyer, Sharon, Fagie Kopelman, Brenda Billingsley, and Carol La Prairie. (1985). *Native and Non-Native Admissions to Federal and Provincial Correctional Institutions*, User Report, Ottawa: Ministry of the Solicitor General.

Moyer, Sharon and Lee Axon. (1993). *An Implementation Evaluation of the Native Community Council Project of the Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto*, Toronto: Ministry of the Attorney General.

Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. (1993). "Defining Deviance Down," *The American Scholar*, November, pp. 17-31.

Peters, Evelyn. (1992). "Native Women's Adoptive Strategies in Urban Milieux," Unpublished Paper; Kingston: Queen's University.

Petersillia, Joan, Susan Turner and Elizabeth Piper Deschenes. (1992). "The Costs and Effects of Intensive Supervision for Drug Offenders," *Federal Probation*, 56, pp.12-17.

Phinney, Jean S., Victor Ghavira, and Lise Williamson. (1992). "Acculturation Attitudes and Self-Esteem Among High School and College Students," *Youth and Society*, Vol. 23 (3):299-312.

Reeves, W. and J. Frideres. (1981). "Government Policy and Urbanization: The Alberta Case," *Canadian Public Policy*, 7(4):584-595.

Reiss, A. (1986). "Why are Communities Important in Understanding Crime?" *Communities and Crime*, A. Reiss and M. Tonry (eds.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.1-33.

Report of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba (Hamilton and Sinclair). (1991). *The Justice System and Aboriginal People*, Winnipeg: Public Inquiry into the Administration of Justice and Aboriginal People.

Royse, David and Steven A. Buck. (1991). "Evaluating a Diversion Program for First-Time Shoplifters," *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 17, 1/2, pp.147-158.

Sampson, Robert J. (1987). "Urban Black Violence: The Effect of Male Joblessness and Family Disruption," *American Journal of Sociology*, 93:348-382.

(1991). "Linking the Micro-and-Macro Level Dimensions of Community Social Organization," *Social Forces*, 70:43-64.

Sampson, Robert and William Wilson. (1993). "Toward a Theory of Race, Crime and Urban Inequality," John Hagan and Ruth Peterson (eds). *Crime and Inequality*, Stanford University Press.

Saskatchewan Justice. (1994). *Draft Mediation/Diversion Program Policy*, Regina.

Shaw, C. and H. McKay. (1942). *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shearing, Clifford. (1993). "Alternative Forms of Policing," Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape.

Skogan, Wesley. (1986). "Fear of Crime and Neighbourhood Change," *Communities and Crime*, A. Reiss and M. Tonry (eds.), Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.203-229.

(1990). *Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighbourhoods*, The Free Press.

Stanbury, W.T. (1975). *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Statistics Canada. (1990). *Profile of Visible Minorities and Aboriginal Peoples*, Ottawa: Employment Equity Program.

(1993). *1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey*, Ottawa, Vol. I-6.

Steering Committee. (1993). *Justice 2001: Socio-Demographic and Criminal Justice Trends*, Regina, October.

Submission by the Honourable Robert W. Mitchell, Minister of Justice and Attorney General For Saskatchewan. (1994). *Cultivating Change*, To the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples Regarding Aboriginal Peoples and the Justice System, April.

Sutherland, E.H. and D.R. Cressey. (1955). *Principles of Criminology*, Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Van Stelle, Kit R., Elizabeth Mauser and D. Paul Moberg. (1994). "Recidivism to the Criminal Justice System of Substance-Abusing Offenders Diverted into Treatment," *Crime and Delinquency*, Vol. 40, No. 2, April, pp. 175-196.

Walters, Glenn D., Michael Heffron, Diane Whittaker and Shella Dial. (1992). "The CHOICE Program: A Comprehensive Treatment Program for Drug-Involved Federal Offenders," *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 36,1, pp. 21-29.

Zamble, Edward. (1993). "Expanding the Recidivism Inquiry: A Look at Dynamic Factors," *Forum*, 5,3: 27-30, Ottawa, Correctional Services Canada.

APPENDIX I

METHODOLOGY

1. *Literature Review, Development and Pre-test of Questionnaire*

The rationale for the research, the selection of research sites and the structure of the questionnaire reflect previous in-house research, and inner city and aboriginal justice literature. The questionnaire is constructed in four sections - coming to the city and contacts with the criminal justice system in the city; family background information; home community information and contacts with the criminal justice system in the community; and perceptions of the needs of inner-city aboriginal people.

The construction of the questionnaire began in February 1993 and pre-testing was done over February, March, and part of April. The interview frame was difficult to construct as it covers many aspects of each respondent's life and experiences, as well as the inner-city areas of four quite different cities. The construction of the questionnaire took almost three months. Despite some limitations, it is a fairly comprehensive instrument.

2. *Contacts with Agencies and Number of Interviews per Agency*

Once the appropriate agencies were selected, letters were sent to agency personnel by the Director General, Aboriginal Justice Directorate, Department of Justice, introducing and outlining the project and eliciting support. The letters explained the rationale for the research and the general methodology, and requested interviewers be given access to clients and a space in which to interview people in the respective agencies. This letter was followed up with a letter from the principal investigator informing each agency about the identity of the research assistant who would be working out of their agency. These letters were also given to research assistants who were responsible for arranging time to be spent at the agencies. The research assistants were also given letters of identification from the Department of Justice to carry with them during the field work period. As much as possible of the groundwork was laid by the principal investigator to facilitate the work of the research assistants in each city. Each research

assistant was instructed to collect a certain number of interviews per agency. The second level agencies that received these letters were as follows. It should be kept in mind, however, that for various reasons respondents were drawn from most but not all agencies below.

EDMONTON

Ben Calf Robe Society
Community and Family Services
Alberta Vocational College
Native Counselling Services of Alberta
Friendship Centre
John Howard Society of Edmonton
Elizabeth Fry Society
Boyle McCauley Health Centre
Mustard Seed Church

REGINA

Pyakowak (Parent Aid)
Friendship Centre
Circle Project
Regina Public Library (literacy and Next Steps program)
SIAST (adult upgrading)
Native Youth and Community Services
Adult Probation
Cornwall Alternative School
Native Counselling Services, Regina General Hospital

TORONTO

Native Friendship Centre
Native Child and Family Services
Gabriel Dumont Housing

Native Women's Resource Centre
Native Employment, CEIC
Aboriginal Legal Services
John Howard Society

MONTREAL

Native Friendship Centre - provides multiple services plus a drop-in
Maison Waseskun
Service parajudiciaires des auctotones
CSS Ville Marie
Native Women's Shelter

The principal investigator conducted a minimum of 50 street level interviews in each of the cities. Street level agencies are as follows.

EDMONTON

Boyle Street Co-op
Bissell Centre
Urban Manor (men's shelter)
Women's Emergency Shelter
Street

REGINA

Circle of Life
Rainbow Youth Centre
Salvation Army
Marion Centre
Canadian Mental Health Assoc. Drop-In
Native Addiction Centre
Souls Harbour Mission
Indian and Metis Fellowship

TORONTO

Anduhyan (women's hostel)
Corner Drop In
Native Men's Residence
Council Fire
St. Christopher's Church
Fred Victor Mission

MONTREAL

Atwater Park
Salvation Army Hostel
Open Door
Old Brewery
Friendship Centre Drop-in

3. *Selection of Contact Persons and Research Assistants*

Contact persons

The hiring of street-level contact persons was an essential part of the research strategy. Contact persons with credibility on the street were necessary to elicit interviews with inner city aboriginal people who utilized street level agencies such as shelters, drop-ins etc. It was important that the principal investigator be with someone in whom people had trust.

Contact persons were identified primarily through street-level agencies. For example, in Edmonton, the person hired as the contact person was recommended by the Executive Director of the Boyle Street Co-op, a drop-in centre for street people; in Toronto during the pre-test period the contact persons were found through the Anishnawbe Health Services and the Aboriginal Legal Services Society; in Montreal the main agency for aboriginal street people is the Friendship Centre so the contact person was found there; and in Regina, the Rainbow Youth Centre and Youth Unlimited were contacted for suggestions about possible candidates for the contact person position. In Regina,

however; the principal investigator arranged her own interviews, due to a number of problems finding an appropriate contact person. Street level agencies such as the Marion Centre assisted in recruiting respondents who used these agencies.

Research Assistants

Native university students from social science backgrounds were sought to fill the research assistant positions so that they could acquire practical research experience. These individuals were found through university criminology, anthropology, and native studies departments.

4. Training of Interviewers

One of the objectives of the Inner City Project was to compare east/west data along a number of dimensions so it was essential data were collected similarly in each of the four research sites. Systematic training of interviewers was essential for reducing interviewer error:

The training strategy was two-fold: first, a guide to the questionnaire with instructions about how to interpret and understand it was developed; second, each interviewer had to sit through two to three interviews with the principal investigator to observe the interviewing technique, and the principal investigator had to sit through two to three interviews (depending on the complexity of the interview) with each of the interviewers so their interpretation of the questionnaire and interviewing techniques could be observed and discussed.

The field work of the principal investigator began April 1, 1993, and continued until September 1, 1993. The research assistants began interviewing May 1 and continued until September 30, 1993. A coding manual was constructed in August 1993, and the data were coded from September 1 - November 1, 1993. Data analysis began November 1, 1993, and continued in tandem with the writing of the reports until the present time.

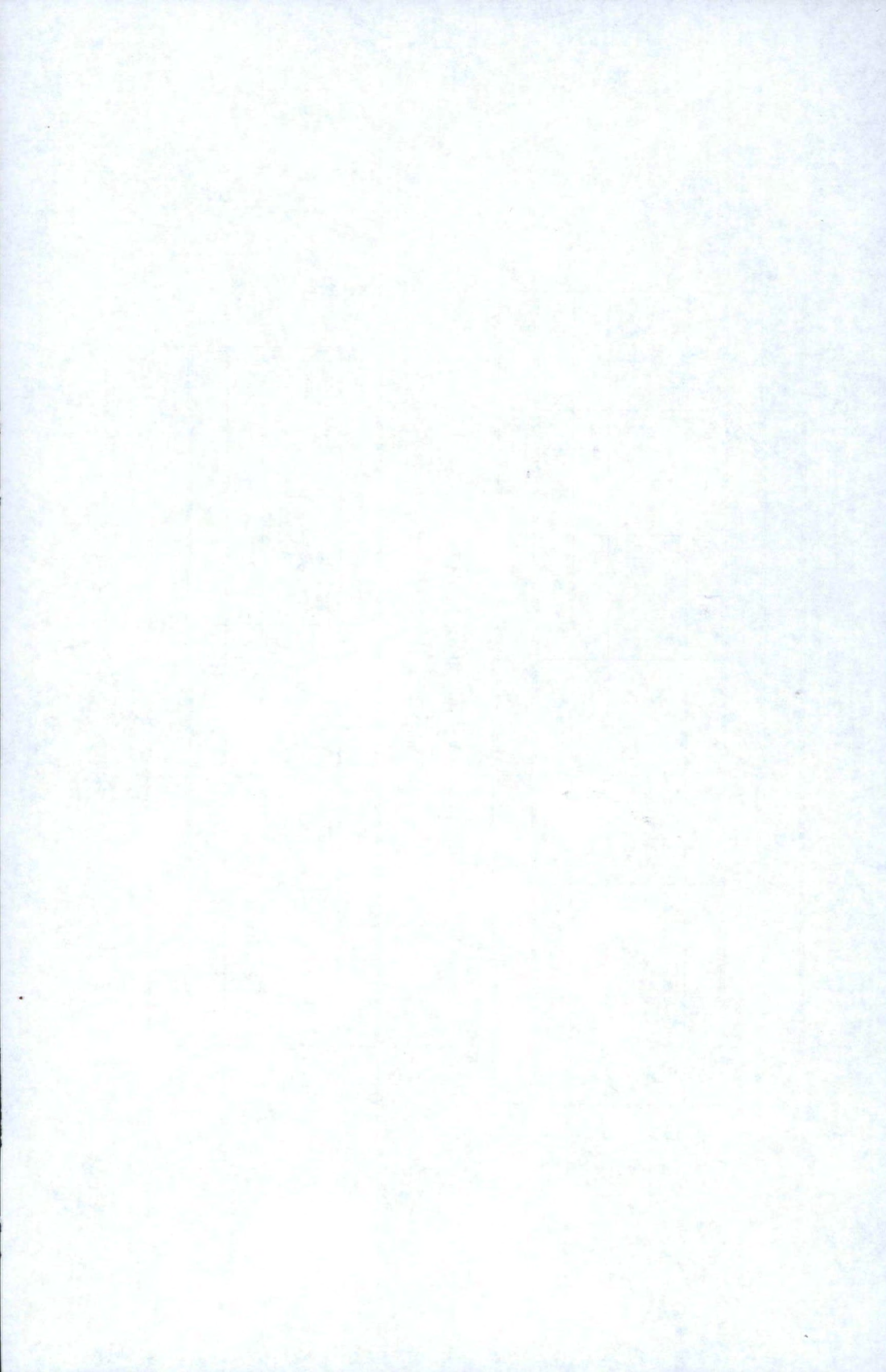
APPENDIX II

OFFENCE TYPES FROM
MOST TO LEAST SERIOUS

- Type 1* HOMICIDE, SERIOUS AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT (attempted murder, aggravated assault, sexual assault with a weapon, sexual assault, assault with a weapon)
- Type 2* ASSAULTS, TRAFFICKING OFFENCES (common assault, robbery, assault police officer, trafficking)
- Type 3* IMPAIRED DRIVING, BREAK AND ENTER (theft of motor vehicle, possession for the purpose of trafficking, pimping)
- Type 4* THEFT, SHOPLIFTING, POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA (fraud, forgery, mischief, soliciting, obstructing a police officer)
- Type 5* ADMINISTRATIVE OFFENCES (fail to comply - order, fail to appear, breach of probation)
- Type 6* NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES (public drinking)
- Type 7* JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ACT (JDA) OFFENCES

APPENDIX III

CHART AND TABLES



APPENDIX III: CHART AND TABLES

Chart 1 Significant Differences among Cities

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P-
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
RESPONDENTS PRESENT LOCATION										
Inner 1 and 2 /Missing	26	28	24	22	468	2	1	3	4	0.047
Outer	22	18	34	27	153	3	4	1	2	
LENGTH OF TIME LIVING IN CURRENT CITY										
0-3 Months	22	14	29	34	145	3	4	2	1	0.000
3-8	22	26	24	28	131	4	2	3	1	
8-15	16	26	18	19	121	4	1	3	2	
15+	30	29	28	14	214	1	2	3	4	
AGE ARRIVED IN CITY										
Born	29	30	32	9	77	2	3	1	4	0.000
1-14 years	24	42	19	15	152	2	1	3	4	
15-24 years	22	20	30	29	240	3	4	2	2	
25 +	28	15	26	31	137	2	4	3	1	
WHERE RESPONDENT SPENT MAJORITY OF THEIR LIFE										
Reserve	15	17	22	46	121	4	3	2	1	0.000
Small Town/ City/ Missing	28	29	27	16	412	2	1	3	4	
Varied	20	22	31	27	88	4	3	1	2	
DOES RESPONDENT CONSIDER CITY AS HOME										
Home	25	30	24	21	441	2	1	3	4	0.017
Visit/Missing	23	16	32	29	180	3	4	1	2	
FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO RESERVE/HOME COMMUNITY										
Often	24	22	25	28	170	3	4	2	1	0.000
Little	15	38	22	26	184	4	1	2	3	
Never/Missing	31	19	30	19	267	1	3	2	4	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %	
RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCE FOR HOME LOCATION (LIVE)										
Reserve	19	17	34	29	126	3	4	1	2	0.000
City/No Preference	24	32	20	25	374	3	1	4	2	
Other/Missing	34	16	39	12	121	2	3	1	4	
RESPONDENTS' PREFERENCE FOR HOME LOCATION (GOB)										
Reserve	13	17	34	36	116	4	3	2	1	0.000
City/No Preference	26	27	23	26	348	2	1	4	3	
Other/Missing	31	28	31	10	157	1	2	1	3	
PREFER TO LIVE IN ANOTHER PART OF CITY										
Yes	32	24	20	24	221	1	2	3	2	0.022
No/Missing	21	27	30	23	400	4	2	1	3	
MAIN REASON FOR COMING TO CITY										
Employment/Education/ Missing	21	23	36	21	239	3	2	1	4	0.000
Friends/Family	25	38	17	21	190	2	1	4	3	
Forster/Wanted a Change/ Reserve Problems	29	17	24	30	192	2	4	3	1	
CONTACTS UPON ARRIVAL TO CITY										
N/A	19	7	8	26	78	4	2	1	3	0.000
None	25	13	40	21	126	2	4	1	3	
Family	22	31	25	22	249	3	1	2	4	
Friends	20	19	19	43	96	2	3	3	1	
Missing	40	31	11	18	72	1	2	4	3	
CITY LIVE UP TO EXPECTATIONS										
Yes/Better	19	27	28	26	317	4	2	1	3	0.03
No Worse	28	21	36	14	85	2	3	1	4	
No Expectations/Missing	32	25	21	23	219	1	2	4	3	
CURRENT SERIOUS PROBLEM										
None/Missing	39	31	12	18	157	1	2	4	3	0.000
Other/Violence/Health /Racism	14	35	24	28	174	4	1	3	2	
Employment/Housing	10	17	44	29	153	4	3	1	2	
Alcohol/Drugs/Crime	39	18	27	16	137	1	3	2	4	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P-
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
WHAT RESPONDENT DOES NOT LIKE ABOUT NEIGHBOURHOOD										
Alcohol/Drugs/Crime/Racism/ Housing	31	26	28	15	267	1	3	2	4	0.0031
Police Harassment/Nothing Bad/Missing	22	16	28	34	176	3	4	2	1	
Generally Negative	19	33	22	26	178	4	1	3	2	
LEVEL OF CRIME IN SURROUNDINGS										
A lot	23	21	28	28	272	3	4	2	1	0.0048
Some/Missing	19	33	28	20	188	4	1	2	3	
None	35	25	22	19	161	1	2	3	4	
WHICH TYPE OF VICTIMIZATIONS DOES RESPONDENT FEAR THE MOST										
Sexual Assault/Assault/ Robbery/Missing	24	24	28	24	568	4	2	1	3	0.004
B&E	28	35	28	9	103	2	1	2	3	
IS THIS THE SERIOUS CRIME										
Yes	25	17	35	23	293	2	4	1	3	0.000
No	16	49	20	14	98	3	1	2	4	
Other	31	29	20	21	117	1	2	3	4	
WHO ARE MOST TARGETS OF CRIME										
Children/Rich People/All	28	35	28	9	103	2	1	2	3	0.000
Non-White People	6	16	44	34	82	4	3	1	2	
Trusting People/Drunk/Old	36	17	25	22	197	1	4	2	3	
Women/Missing	21	32	21	27	239	3	1	3	2	
RECEIVING ADULT EDUCATION AID										
Education	16	31	21	12	75	3	1	2	4	0.000
CURRENT MARITAL STATUS										
Married/Separated/ Common-law/Missing	32	27	22	19	264	1	2	3	4	0.0089
Single	19	24	30	27	357	4	3	1	2	
ETHNICITY OF PARTNERS										
Native	35	31	21	14	306	1	2	3	4	0.000
Non-Native/Some Native Some Non-Native	15	15	35	35	181	3	3	2	1	
Missing	15	28	28	29	134	4	3	2	1	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P-
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
NUMBER OF CHILDREN										
None or 1 / Missing	19	22	28	32	308	4	3	2	1	0.000
2+	31	29	25	15	313	1	2	3	4	
CUSTODY OF CHILDREN										
Yes	28	37	22	13	177	2	1	3	4	0.000
No	30	20	29	21	255	1	4	2	3	
Missing	15	22	27	37	189	4	3	2	1	
NUMBER OF CHARGES IN PRESENT CITY										
1 / Missing	22	22	24	32	279	4	3	2	1	0.00087
2+	27	29	27	16	342	3	1	2	4	
NUMBER OF PLACES OFFENCES COMMITTED										
1 or Missing	20	26	25	29	373	4	2	3	1	0.00086
2+	31	25	28	15	248	1	3	2	4	
AGE OF FIRST CHARGE										
5-18	29	24	32	15	314	2	3	1	4	0.000
18+	21	47	24	19	85	4	1	2	3	
RESPONDENT HAD A NATIVE COURT WORKER										
Yes	25	17	40	18	105	2	4	1	3	0.000
No	20	30	26	24	289	4	1	2	3	
INVOLVEMENT OF ALCOHOL IN OFFENCE										
No	11	47	24	19	85	4	1	2	3	0.000
Always/Missing	28	20	27	26	456	1	4	2	3	
Sometimes	23	36	29	13	80	3	1	2	4	
INVOLVEMENT OF DRUGS IN OFFENCE										
No	21	28	31	20	278	3	2	1	4	.0013
Always/Missing	42	24	45	22	100	1	3	4	2	
Sometimes	22	24	26	27	243	4	3	2	1	
RESPONDENTS RELATIONSHIP TO VICTIMIZER										
Spouse/Relative/Varied	30	33	15	22	160	2	1	4	3	0.0081
Friends/Strangers	23	23	30	24	461	4	3	1	2	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P*
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
NUMBER OF MODERATE INJURIES SUFFERED BY RESPONDENT										
1 TO 4 /Missing	22	25	29	24	545	4	2	1	3	0.000
4+	41	32	8	20	76	1	2	4	3	
ETHNICITY OF VICTIMIZER										
Native/Both	26	35	14	14	207	1	2	3	4	0.000
Non-Native	11	12	38	38	143	3	2	1	1	
Missing	23	25	29	23	271	3	2	1	4	
RESPONDENT PROBLEM WITH ALCOHOL IN THE CITY										
All the Time	25	19	26	30	130	3	4	2	1	0.000
Sometimes	24	32	25	19	117	3	1	2	4	
In the Past	27	19	25	30	166	2	4	3	1	
No Problem	24	31	29	16	205	3	1	2	4	
REASON FOR ALCOHOL PROBLEM IN THE CITY										
Alcoholic/Personal Problems	20	20	20	40	159	2	2	2	1	0.000
Stress/Missing	32	25	27	17	337	1	3	2	4	
Nothing To Do/Fun	11	35	33	21	125	4	1	2	3	
RESPONDENT DRUG PROBLEM IN CITY										
All the Time	22	29	9	40	45	3	2	4	1	0.000
Sometimes	27	27	23	22	77	1	1	2	3	
In the Past	29	26	14	31	129	2	3	4	1	
No Problem	23	25	34	18	360	3	2	1	4	
RESPONDENT FELT GUILTY OF OFFENCE										
Yes	27	27	27	18	401	1	2	3	4	0.00093
No	8	33	28	31	61	4	1	3	2	
Missing	24	19	25	33	159	3	4	2	1	
PLACE OF BIRTH										
On Reserve	20	24	23	32	327	4	2	3	1	0.000
Off Reserve Urban	29	25	34	12	195	2	3	1	4	
Off Reserve Rural	33	34	19	14	79	2	1	3	4	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
RESPONDENTS CHILDHOOD LOCATION										
On Reserve	17	26	20	37	231	4	2	3	1	0.000
Off Reserve Urban/Rural Combination/Missing	29	25	30	15	390	2	3	1	4	
RESPONDENT WAS RAISED BY										
Single Parent/ Other	27	25	32	17	260	2	3	1	4	0.000
Both Parents/Missing	19	33	18	30	234	3	1	4	2	
Foster	31	13	31	25	127	1	3	1	2	
NUMBER OF BIOLOGICAL SIBLINGS										
0-3 siblings/Missing	19	21	34	27	188	4	3	1	2	0.031
4+	27	28	23	22	433	2	1	3	4	
RESPONDENTS FIRST LANGUAGE										
English	13	36	33	19	312	4	1	2	3	0.000
French/Inuit/Missing	7	7	17	69	70	3	3	2	1	
Aboriginal	46	18	20	16	239	1	3	2	4	
MAIN SOURCE OF INCOME FOR BIRTH FAMILY										
Welfare	24	34	21	21	241	2	1	3	3	0.0687
Employment/Missing	25	20	30	25	380	2	4	1	3	
BIRTH PARENTS RECORD OF JAIL										
Yes Both/Missing	43	15	26	16	137	1	4	2	3	0.000
No	19	25	26	30	347	4	3	2	1	
Yes Father/Yes Mother	20	38	28	15	137	3	1	2	4	
SEVERITY OF BIRTH MOTHER DRINKING PROBLEM										
Severe/Missing	24	24	26	26	529	3	4	2	1	0.0026
Moderate	26	35	30	9	92	3	1	2	4	
SEVERITY OF BIRTH FATHERS DRINKING PROBLEM										
Severe	26	23	27	24	521	2	4	1	3	0.012
Moderate	17	40	25	18	100	4	1	2	3	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P-
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
PERPETRATOR OF FAMILY VIOLENCE										
Biological/Extended/Varied /Missing	24	28	24	24	542	2	1	3	2	0.01
Foster/Step-Parents	27	13	44	16	79	2	4	1	3	
RESPONDENT ATTENDED RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL										
Yes/Missing	33	34	14	19	174	2	1	4	5	0.000
No	21	22	31	25	447	4	3	1	2	
RESPONDENT'S PARENTS ATTENDED RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL										
Yes	28	40	20	12	215	2	1	3	4	7.0e-14
No	20	20	21	38	205	3	3	2	1	
Missing	25	15	38	21	201	2	4	1	3	
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
Grade 9 or less	27	29	22	22	290	2	1	3	3	0.000
Some High School	21	26	21	22	193	4	2	1	3	
Graduated High School	13	21	36	32	115	4	3	1	2	
ADULT EDUCATION COURSES										
No	28	16	27	28	197	1	3	2	1	0.000
Yes Upgrading	32	27	23	18	205	1	2	3	4	
Yes Technical/Life Skills /Other	14	33	29	24	219	4	1	2	3	
LOCATION OF RESERVE IN PROVINCE										
North	25	11	37	27	263	3	4	1	2	0.000
Central/Missing	35	26	24	14	195	1	2	3	4	
South	11	49	12	28	163	4	1	3	2	
RESERVE OR HOME COMMUNITY DESCRIPTION										
Remote	10	6	25	58	106	3	4	2	1	0.000
Near Town	19	36	29	17	227	3	1	2	4	
Near Urban Centre	16	26	29	28	102	4	3	1	2	
AWARENESS OF NATIVE CULTURE										
Also/Missing	20	24	17	38	138	3	2	4	1	0.00021
Some/None	26	26	29	19	483	3	2	1	4	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P-
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
RESPONDENT RECEIVED NATIVE CULTURE										
Alex	27	21	17	36	131	2	3	4	1	0.0018
None/None/Missing	24	27	29	20	490	3	2	1	4	
SOURCE OF CULTURAL GUIDANCE										
Parents/Elders	37	16	10	37	109	2	3	4	1	0.000
Grand Parents	25	44	18	14	85	2	1	3	4	
Other/Missing	22	25	30	22	427	4	2	1	3	
WERE SOME PEOPLE ON RESERVE LOOKED DOWN ON										
Yes/Missing	23	28	25	24	488	4	1	2	3	0.0017
No	29	15	35	23	153	2	4	1	3	
GENERAL TREATMENT BY JUSTICE SYSTEM ON RESERVES										
Fair/Missing	24	27	26	23	565	3	1	2	4	0.035
Unfair	30	9	34	27	56	2	4	1	3	
DO RESERVE POLICE TREAT ALL NATIVES THE SAME										
Always	22	15	32	31	185	3	4	1	2	0.000
Sometimes/Never	17	35	30	19	223	4	1	2	3	
Missing	35	26	18	21	213	1	2	4	3	
LEVEL OF VIOLENCE ON RESERVE										
High/Medium/Missing	25	26	22	27	419	4	2	3	1	0.00038
Low	18	24	39	19	140	4	2	1	3	
Not Aware of Any	40	23	29	8	62	1	3	2	4	
FIRST PROBLEMS FOR NATIVE IN THE CITY										
Decent Housing	15	24	44	17	92	4	2	1	3	0.038
Drugs/Alcohol	25	18	25	31	130	2	3	2	1	
Employment/Education/ Money	21	33	21	25	89	3	1	3	4	
Lonely/Confusion	26	24	24	26	156	1	4	3	2	
Other	29	29	25	16	112	1	1	2	3	
SUFFICIENT NATIVE OPPORTUNITIES IN THE CITY										
Yes	25	19	34	22	313	3	4	1	2	0.000
No	22	34	20	25	245	3	1	4	2	

VARIABLE	CITY				TOTAL n	PREDOMINATE CITY				P-
	EDMONTON %	REGINA %	TORONTO %	MONTREAL %		EDMONTON	REGINA	TORONTO	MONTREAL	
TOTAL PRETRIAL DETENTION TIME										
.1 day to 6 months/missing	23	27	25	25	543	3	1	2	2	0.0085
6+	37	18	35	10	78	1	3	2	4	
TOTAL PROVINCIAL CUSTODY TIME										
.1 day to 6 months	40	16	22	22	95	1	3	2	2	0.0003
6.1 to 18 months/missing	18	29	27	27	410	4	1	2	3	
18.1 to 36 months	36	12	38	14	50	2	4	1	3	
36.1+	35	32	21	12	66	1	2	3	4	
TOTAL CUSTODY TIME										
.1 day to 6 months/missing	19	30	25	26	361	4	1	3	2	0.00079
6.1 to 60 months	33	15	29	23	172	1	4	2	3	
60.1 +	34	28	26	11	88	1	2	3	4	
NUMBER OF SERIOUS VICTIMIZATIONS ON RESERVE										
1/missing	24	28	27	21	536	4	1	2	3	0.018
2+	27	13	20	40	85	2	4	3	1	
RESPONDENT COMMITTED A LESS SERIOUS OFFENCE (ASSAULTS, SOME TRAFFICKING OFFENCES)										
Yes	26	22	33	19	289	2	3	1	4	0.000
No	23	29	20	27	332	3	1	4	2	
RESPONDENT COMMITTED A MEDIUM SERIOUS OFFENCE (IMPAIRED DRIVING, BREAK AND ENTERS)										
Yes	29	26	28	17	341	1	3	2	4	0.000
No	19	25	25	31	280	4	2	3	1	
RESPONDENT COMMITTED A NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGE										
Yes	28	17	42	14	118	2	3	1	4	0.000
No	24	28	23	26	503	3	1	4	2	
RESPONDENT WAS SERIOUSLY VICTIMIZED										
Yes	27	25	23	25	395	1	2	3	2	0.05
No	20	27	32	21	226	4	2	1	3	

Table II.1 Age Groups by City

Age Group	AGE GROUPS OF RESPONDENTS								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
15 - 24	31	20	47	30	39	24	41	28	158	25
25 - 34	58	38	49	31	68	41	54	37	229	37
35 - 44	41	27	41	26	39	24	41	28	162	26
45+	23	15	22	14	18	11	9	6	72	12
Total	153	100	159	100	164	100	145	100	621	100
p=n.s.										

Table II.2 Gender by City

Gender	GENDER BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Males	94	61	92	58	101	62	83	57	370	60
Females	59	39	67	42	63	38	62	43	251	40
Total	153	25	159	26	164	26	145	23	621	100
p=n.s.										

** For most of the tables in this appendix chi-squares are given, however where there are no chi-squares the cells sizes were too small to calculate chi-squares or there was no significance for that table.

Table II.3 Location by City

	LOCATION BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Inner 1	46	31	58	38	54	33	55	38	213	35
Inner 2	70	47	69	45	57	35	49	34	245	40
Outer	33	22	27	18	52	32	41	28	153	25
Total	149	100	154	100	163	100	145	100	611	100
p=.03										

Table II.4 Location by Gender and City

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Location	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Inner 1	28	26	35	20	44	39	29	19	34	34	32	20	42	35	32	20
Inner 2	54	50	35	20	39	34	53	35	41	41	26	16	40	35	26	16
Outer	17	16	30	17	17	15	18	12	26	26	42	26	18	15	42	26
p=.06				n.s.				p=.06				p=.006				

Table II.5 Home Community by City

Main Residences	HOME COMMUNITY BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Reserve	18	12	20	13	27	16	56	39	121	20
Small Town	31	21	24	15	25	15	20	14	100	16
City	84	56	96	60	85	52	45	31	310	50
Varied	18	12	19	12	27	16	24	17	88	14
Total	151	100	159	100	164	100	145	100	619	100
p=.000										

Table II.6 Time In City by City

Age Group	YEARS OF RESIDENCY IN CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0 - 3	32	21	21	13	42	26	50	35	145	24
4 - 8	29	19	34	22	31	19	37	26	131	21
9 - 15	24	16	42	27	28	17	27	19	121	20
15+	65	43	61	39	59	37	29	20	214	35
Total	150	100	158	100	160	100	143	100	611	100
p=.000										

Table II.7 Settled By City

	RESPONDENT CONSIDERS CITY AS HOME								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Home	111	77	131	84	106	67	93	66	441	73
Visitor	34	23	25	16	52	33	48	34	159	26
Total	145	100	156	100	158	100	141	100	600	100
p = .001										

Table II.8 Live/Work on Reserves by City

Preferred Location	PREFERENCE OF JOB LOCATION								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Reserve	15	12	20	16	39	30	42	31	116	22
City	85	67	91	73	73	56	85	63	334	64
Other	23	18	10	8	16	12	5	4	54	10
No Preference	4	3	4	3	3	2	3	2	14	3
Total	127	100	125	100	131	100	135	100	518	100
cells too small										

Table II.9 Preference for Living in Another Area of City by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Change	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Yes	57	24	62	40	15	5	39	22	37	24	19	5	34	16	30	16	24	12	29	14	54	26	33	13
No	43	18	38	25	85	28	61	34	63	41	81	21	66	31	70	37	76	38	71	34	46	22	68	27
	p=.000						p=n.s.						p=n.s.						p=.05					
	Inner 1 p=.04						Inner 2 p=.002						Outer p=n.s.											
	Total Population p=n.s.																							

Table II.10 Marital Status by City

Marital Status	CURRENT MARITAL STATUS										TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal					
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Married	9	6	19	12	11	7	6	4	45	7		
Divorced or separated	27	18	14	9	9	6	15	10	65	11		
Common-law	47	31	38	24	37	23	29	20	151	24		
Single	69	45	87	55	106	65	95	66	357	58		
Total	152	100	158	100	163	100	145	100	618	100		
	p=.000											

Table II.11 Educational Attainment by City

Educational Attainment	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN SCHOOL								TOTAL		
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
No Education	5	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	8	1
<Grade 6	20	13	18	11	19	12	16	11	73	12	
Grade 7 - Grade 9	72	47	65	41	44	27	48	33	229	37	
Some High	41	27	51	32	59	36	42	29	193	31	
Graduated High School	8	5	12	8	28	17	16	11	64	10	
Technical	1	1	3	2	2	1	9	6	15	2	
Post Secondary	6	4	7	4	11	7	12	8	36	6	
Total	153	100	157	100	164	100	144	100	618	100	

Table II.12 Source of Money by City and Location

City	Edmonton			Regina			Toronto			Montreal														
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer													
Source	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n												
Welfare	86	36	67	46	36	12	84	48	51	35	33	9	85	40	51	29	50	26	83	45	58	28	45	18
Employment	0	0	9	6	21	7	4	2	15	10	22	6	4	2	11	6	13	7	4	2	10	5	25	10
Education	0	0	1	1	15	5	0	0	29	20	26	7	6	3	18	10	21	11	2	1	13	6	18	7
Other S.A.	14	6	23	16	27	9	12	7	4	3	19	5	4	2	21	12	15	8	11	6	19	9	13	5

Table II.13 Lifetime Employment by City

Employment History	LIFETIME EMPLOYMENT BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mainly Employed	41	28	56	35	66	41	45	32	208	34
Mainly Unemployed	40	27	61	38	46	29	55	39	202	33
Half and Half	65	45	42	26	48	30	41	29	196	32
Total	146	100	159	100	160	100	141	100	606	100
P=.005										

Table II.14 Alcohol Problem by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Location	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Always	43	20	11	8	6	2	32	18	6	4	7	2	30	16	23	13	10	5	40	21	22	11	17	7
Sometimes	24	11	20	14	9	3	33	19	19	13	22	6	30	16	18	10	6	3	13	7	12	6	22	9
In Past	24	11	26	18	42	14	23	13	17	12	19	5	19	10	26	15	31	16	30	16	39	19	34	14
No	9	4	43	30	42	14	12	7	58	40	52	14	22	12	33	19	54	28	17	9	27	13	27	11

Table II.15 Alcohol Problem by City and Gender

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Problem	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Always	21	20	20	12	20	18	10	7	30	30	6	4	28	23	26	16
Sometimes	22	21	12	7	31	28	15	10	18	18	17	11	17	14	13	8
In Past	31	29	25	15	16	15	25	17	22	22	30	19	38	31	30	18
None	26	24	42	25	33	30	49	33	31	31	46	29	17	14	31	19
	n.s.				p=.02				p=.003				n.s.			
	N=153				N=158				N=164				N=143			

Table II.16 Upbringing by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Upbringing	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Single Per.	11	5	34	24	27	9	24	14	29	20	19	5	24	13	35	20	54	28	11	6	16	8	27	11
Both Per.	28	13	29	20	33	11	33	19	57	39	59	16	33	18	19	11	25	13	53	28	49	24	39	16
Relatives/Other	22	10	19	13	18	6	24	14	6	4	19	5	9	5	21	12	8	4	15	8	10	5	12	5
Foster	39	18	19	13	21	7	19	11	7	5	4	1	33	18	25	14	13	7	21	11	24	12	22	9
	p=.04						too small						too small						p=n.s.					
	Inner 1 p=.02												Cells too small for Inner 2 and Outer											

Table II.17 Parental Drinking Problems by City

Alcohol Problems	BIRTH PARENTS' HISTORY OF ALCOHOL PROBLEMS								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Neither	40	28	41	27	41	28	49	36	171	30
Yes, father	21	15	39	26	31	21	35	26	126	22
Yes, mother	18	13	10	7	20	14	13	9	61	11
Both	64	45	60	40	55	37	40	29	219	38
Total	143	100	150	100	147	100	137	100	577	100
p=.05										

Table II.18 Ethnicity of Victimizer by City

Ethnicity	ETHNICITY OF VICTIMIZER								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mainly native	55	60	59	66	20	24	23	27	157	45
Mainly other	16	18	17	19	55	65	55	65	143	41
Both	20	22	14	16	10	12	6	7	50	14
Total	91	100	90	100	85	100	84	100	350	100
p=.000										

Table III.1 Respondent Charged by City

IF RESPONDENT WAS CHARGED	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
Yes	130	85	124	78	139	85	112	77	505	81	ns
No	23	15	35	22	25	15	33	23	116	19	
Total (Row %)	153	25	159	26	164	26	145	23	621	100	

Table III.2 Number of Total Charges by City

TOTAL CHARGES	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
1	8	6	19	15	8	6	19	17	54	11	0.005
2 to 4	24	18	29	22	30	21	25	23	109	21	
5 to 10	29	22	24	19	25	18	35	32	114	22	
11 to 20	37	28	28	22	32	23	10	9	107	21	
21+	35	26	23	18	45	32	19	16	130	25	
Total (Row %)	133	26	129	26	140	27	112	22	514	100	

Table III.3 Total Criminal Code Charges by City

TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	CITY								TOTAL		P.
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
1-2 charges	22	17	34	27	22	16	31	28	109	22	0.025
3-5	22	17	20	16	32	23	19	17	93	18	
6-10	22	17	21	16	26	19	29	27	98	19	
11-15	22	17	13	10	14	10	4	4	53	10	
16-25	25	19	16	13	22	16	14	13	77	15	
26+	18	14	24	19	16	16	12	11	70	14	
Total (Row %)	131	26	128	26	132	26	109	22	500	100	

Table III.4 Total Charges by City and Location

TOTAL CHARGES BY CITY AND LOCATION	PRESENT LOCATION						TOTAL		p.
	INNER 1		INNER 2		OUTER		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
EDMONTON									
1-10	19	42	22	36	18	72	59	45	0.025
11+	26	58	38	64	7	26	71	55	
Total (Row %)	45	35	60	46	25	19	130	100	
REGINA									
1-10	19	36	35	67	14	74	68	55	0.005
11+	34	64	17	33	5	26	56	45	
Total (Row %)	53	43	52	42	19	15	124	100	
TORONTO									
1-10	18	36	20	38	24	66	62	45	0.010
11+	32	64	33	62	12	33	77	55	
Total (Row %)	50	36	53	38	36	26	139	100	
MONTREAL									
1-10	26	54	35	90	20	80	81	72	0.005
11+	22	46	4	10	5	20	31	28	
Total (Row %)	48	43	39	35	25	22	112	100	

Table III.5 Criminal Code Charge by City and Location

CRIMINAL CODE CHARGE		PRESENT LOCATION						TOTAL		p.
		INNER 1		INNER 2		OUTER		n	%	
		n	%	n	%	n	%			
EDMONTON	Yes	44	96	59	84	25	74	128	85	too small
	No	2	4	11	16	8	26	21	15	
	Total (Row %)	46	31	70	47	33	22	119	100	
REGINA	Yes	52	90	52	75	19	70	123	79	0.05
	No	6	10	17	25	8	30	31	21	
	Total (Row %)	58	38	69	45	27	18	154	100	
TORONTO	Yes	49	91	53	93	35	67	137	84	0.005
	No	5	9	4	7	17	33	26	16	
	Total (Row %)	54	33	57	35	52	32	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	49	89	38	79	22	54	110	76	0.000
	No	6	11	11	21	19	36	35	24	
	Total (Row %)	55	38	49	34	41	28	145	100	

Table III.6 Total Charges by City and Gender

TOTAL CHARGES BY CITY AND GENDER	GENDER				TOTAL		p.
	MALES		FEMALES		n	%	
	n	%	n	%			
EDMONTON							
1-4 Charges	14	16	18	42	32	24	0.005
5-10	20	22	9	21	29	22	
11+	56	62	16	37	72	54	
Total (Row %)	90	68	43	32	133	100	
REGINA							
1-4 Charges	23	28	25	54	48	37	0.005
5-10	14	17	10	22	24	19	
11+	46	55	11	24	57	44	
Total (Row %)	83	64	46	36	129	100	
TORONTO							
1-4 Charges	14	15	24	50	38	27	0.000
5-10	13	14	12	25	25	18	
11+	65	71	12	25	77	55	
Total (Row %)	92	66	48	34	140	100	
MONTREAL							
1-4 Charges	21	28	24	63	45	40	0.005
5-10	28	38	8	21	36	32	
11+	25	34	6	16	31	28	
Total (Row %)	74	66	38	34	112	100	

Table III.7 Total Criminal Code Charges by City and Gender

TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES BY CITY AND GENDER	GENDER				TOTAL		p.
	MALES		FEMALES		n	%	
	n	%	n	%			
EDMONTON							
1-2	9	10	12	29	21	16	0.025
3-5	13	15	9	22	22	17	
6-10	16	18	6	15	22	17	
11+	51	57	14	34	65	50	
Total (Row %)+	89	68	41	32	130	100	
REGINA							
1-2	18	22	15	33	33	26	0.005
3-5	8	10	12	27	20	16	
6-10	13	16	8	17	21	17	
11+	43	52	10	22	53	42	
Total (Row %)	82	65	45	35	127	100	
TORONTO							
1-2	6	7	16	34	22	16	0.000
3-5	16	18	16	34	32	23	
6-10	17	19	9	19	26	19	
11+	52	57	6	13	58	42	
Total (Row %)	91	66	47	34	138	100	
MONTREAL							
1-2	12	16	20	56	32	29	0.000
3-5	12	16	6	17	18	17	
6-10	24	33	5	14	29	27	
11+	25	34	5	14	30	28	
Total (Row %)	73	67	36	33	109	100	

Table III.8 Criminal Code Charges by Gender and City

CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES BY GENDER AND CITY	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
MALES											0.010
1-2	9	10	18	22	6	7	12	16	45	13	
3-5	13	15	8	10	16	18	12	16	49	15	
6-10	16	18	13	16	17	19	24	33	70	21	
11+	51	57	43	52	52	57	25	34	171	51	
Total (Row %)	89	27	82	24	91	27	73	22	335	100	
FEMALES											ns
1-2	12	29	15	33	16	34	20	56	63	37	
3-5	9	22	12	27	16	34	6	17	43	25	
6-10	6	15	8	17	9	19	5	14	28	17	
11+	14	34	10	22	6	13	5	14	35	21	
Total (Row %)	41	24	45	27	47	28	36	21	169	100	

Table III.9 Charge by Type of Offence by City

CHARGE BY CITY	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
COMMITTED A SERIOUS OFFENCE (homicide, serious aggravated assault and serious sexual assault)											
Yes	43	28	33	21	47	29	33	23	156	25	ns
No	110	72	126	79	117	71	112	77	465	75	
Total (Row %)	153	25	159	26	164	26	145	23	621	100	
COMMITTED A LESS SERIOUS OFFENCE (assaults, some trafficking offences)											
Yes	75	49	62	39	96	59	56	39	289	47	0.005
No	78	51	97	61	68	41	89	61	332	53	
Total (Row %)	153	25	159	26	164	26	145	23	621	100	
COMMITTED A MEDIUM OFFENCE (impaired driving, break and enters)											
Yes	100	65	88	55	95	58	59	41	342	55	0.000
No	53	35	71	45	69	42	86	59	279	45	
Total (Row %)	153	25	159	26	154	26	145	23	621	100	
COMMITTED A MINOR OFFENCE (thefts, shoplifting, also possession of marijuana and prostitution)											
Yes	109	71	105	66	103	63	91	63	408	66	ns
No	44	29	54	34	61	37	54	37	213	27	
Total (Row %)	153	25	159	26	164	26	145	23	621	100	
COMMITTED A MOST MINOR OFFENCE (administrative-- failure to appear, fail to comply, breach of probation, fine default)											
Yes	56	37	59	37	46	28	44	30	205	33	ns
No	97	63	100	63	118	72	101	70	416	67	
Total (Row %)	153	25	159	26	164	26	145	23	621	100	

Table III.10 Number of Charges by Type of Offence by City

NUMBER OF CHARGES BY TYPES OF OFFENCES	CITY								Total		p.
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
COMMITTED A SERIOUS OFFENCE (homicide, serious aggravated assault and serious sexual assault)											
1 to 2	35	81	28	85	40	85	29	88	132	85	
3 to 5	4	9	4	12	4	9	4	12	16	10	
6+	4	9	1	3	3	6	0	0	8	5	
Total (Row %)	43	28	33	21	47	30	33	21	156	100	
COMMITTED A LESS SERIOUS OFFENCE (assaults, some trafficking offences)											
1 to 2	47	63	37	60	50	52	29	52	163	56	
3 to 5	18	24	14	23	24	25	19	34	75	26	
6+	10	13	11	17	22	23	8	14	51	17	
Total (Row %)	75	26	62	21	96	33	56	19	289	100	
COMMITTED A MEDIUM OFFENCE (impaired driving, break and enters)											
1 to 2	34	27	28	32	35	37	28	47	125	37	
3 to 5	28	32	26	30	19	20	14	24	87	25	
6+	38	38	34	39	41	43	17	29	130	38	
Total (Row %)	100	29	88	26	95	29	59	17	342	100	

COMMITTED A MINOR OFFENCE (thefts, shoplifting, also possession of marijuana and prostitution)										
1 to 2	44	40	49	47	42	41	41	45	176	43
3 to 5	33	30	24	23	37	36	26	29	120	29
6+	32	30	32	30	24	23	24	26	112	27
Total (Row %)	109	27	105	26	103	25	91	22	408	100
COMMITTED A MOST MINOR OFFENCE (administrative-- failure to appear, fail to comply, breach of probation, fine default)										
1 to 2	24	43	26	44	21	46	25	57	96	47
3 to 5	21	38	16	27	14	30	12	27	63	31
6+	11	20	17	29	11	24	7	16	46	22
Total (Row %)	56	27	59	29	46	22	44	21	205	100

ns

ns

Table III.11 Charge by Type of Offence by Location and City

TYPES OF OFFENCES		CITY								TOTAL		p.
		EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
COMMITTED A SERIOUS OFFENCE (homicide, serious aggravated assault and serious sexual assault)												
INNER 1	Yes	19	41	19	33	19	35	15	27	72	34	ns
	No	27	59	39	67	35	65	40	73	141	66	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	19	27	9	19	21	37	13	27	62	25	0.025
	No	51	73	60	81	36	63	36	73	183	75	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	245	100	
OUTER	Yes	3	10	4	15	7	13	4	10	18	12	too small
	No	30	90	23	85	45	87	37	90	135	88	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	27	153	100	
COMMITTED A LESS SERIOUS OFFENCE (assaults, some trafficking offences)												
INNER 1	Yes	26	57	24	41	29	54	25	45	104	49	ns
	No	20	43	34	59	25	46	30	55	109	51	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	35	50	28	41	44	77	21	43	128	52	0.000
	No	35	50	41	59	13	23	28	57	117	48	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	245	100	
OUTER	Yes	13	39	9	33	22	40	92	22	53	35	ns
	No	20	61	18	67	30	58	32	78	100	65	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	26	153	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		CITY								TOTAL		p.
		EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
COMMITTED A MEDIUM OFFENCE (impaired driving, break and enters)												
INNER 1	Yes	30	65	43	74	36	67	26	47	135	63	0.025
	No	16	35	15	26	18	33	29	53	78	37	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	48	69	33	48	37	65	23	47	141	58	0.025
	No	22	31	36	52	20	35	26	53	104	42	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	145	100	
OUTER	Yes	19	58	10	37	22	42	9	22	60	39	0.025
	No	14	42	17	63	30	58	32	78	93	61	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	27	153	100	
COMMITTED A MINOR OFFENCE (thefts, shoplifting, also possession of marijuana and prostitution)												
INNER 1	Yes	36	78	46	79	38	70	43	78	163	77	ns
	No	10	22	12	21	16	30	12	12	50	23	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	51	73	42	61	39	68	30	61	162	66	ns
	No	19	27	27	39	18	32	19	39	83	34	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	245	100	
OUTER	Yes	26	79	13	48	25	48	19	46	77	50	ns
	No	13	21	14	52	27	52	22	54	76	50	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	27	153	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		CITY								TOTAL		p.
		EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
COMMITTED A MOST MINOR OFFENCE (administrative-- failure to appear, fail to comply, breach of probation, fine default)												
INNER 1	Yes	17	37	36	62	19	35	22	40	94	44	0.025
	No	29	63	22	48	35	65	33	60	119	56	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	30	43	14	20	18	32	14	29	76	31	0.05
	No	40	57	55	80	39	68	35	71	169	69	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	245	100	
OUTER	Yes	6	18	6	22	9	21	7	17	28	22	ns
	No	27	82	21	78	43	79	34	83	125	78	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	27	153	100	
NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES (includes public drinking)												
INNER 1	Yes	14	30	12	21	24	44	12	28	62	29	0.025
	No	32	70	46	89	30	56	43	72	151	71	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	9	13	5	7	10	18	3	6	27	11	cells too small
	No	61	87	64	93	47	82	46	94	218	89	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	245	100	
OUTER	Yes	8	24	2	7	15	29	2	5	27	18	cells too small
	No	25	86	25	93	37	71	39	95	126	82	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	27	153	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		CITY								TOTAL		p.
		EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
JUVENILE DELINQUENT ACT (JDA) OFFENCES												
INNER 1	Yes	11	24	4	7	7	14	4	7	26	12	cells too small
	No	35	76	54	93	47	86	51	93	187	88	
	Total (Row %)	46	22	58	27	54	25	55	26	213	100	
INNER 2	Yes	5	7	1	1	3	5	2	4	11	5	cells too small
	No	65	93	68	99	54	95	47	96	234	95	
	Total (Row %)	70	29	69	28	57	23	49	20	245	100	
OUTER	Yes	1	3	0	0	2	4	2	5	5	3	cells too small
	No	32	97	27	100	50	96	39	95	148	97	
	Total (Row %)	33	22	27	18	52	34	41	27	153	100	

Table III.12 Charge by Type of Offence by City and Gender

TYPES OF OFFENCES		GENDER				TOTAL		p-
		MALES		FEMALES				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	
COMMITTED A SERIOUS OFFENCE (homicide, serious aggravated assault and serious sexual assault)								
EDMONTON	Yes	31	34	12	21	43	29	ns
	No	61	66	45	89	106	71	
	Total (Row %)	92	65	57	35	149	100	
REGINA	Yes	25	28	8	12	33	22	0.025
	No	63	72	58	88	121	78	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	100	
TORONTO	Yes	34	34	13	21	47	28	ns
	No	67	66	49	79	118	72	
	Total (Row %)	101	63	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	29	35	4	6	33	23	0.000
	No	54	65	58	94	112	77	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	
COMMITTED A LESS SERIOUS OFFENCE (assaults, some trafficking offences)								
EDMONTON	Yes	56	61	19	33	75	50	0.005
	No	36	39	38	66	4	50	
	Total (Row %)	92	61	57	39	149	100	
REGINA	Yes	43	49	19	29	62	40	0.025
	No	45	51	47	71	92	60	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		GENDER				TOTAL		p.
		MALES		FEMALES				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	
TORONTO	Yes	68	67	28	45	96	58	0.010
	No	33	33	34	55	67	42	
	Total (Row %)	101	62	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	41	49	15	24	56	39	0.005
	No	42	51	47	74	89	61	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	
COMMITTED A MEDIUM OFFENCE (impaired driving, break and enters)								
EDMONTON	Yes	75	82	25	44	100	67	0.000
	No	17	18	32	56	49	33	
	Total (Row %)	92	62	57	38	149	100	
REGINA	Yes	64	73	24	36	88	57	0.000
	No	24	27	42	64	66	43	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	100	
TORONTO	Yes	79	78	16	26	95	58	0.000
	No	22	22	50	74	68	42	
	Total (Row %)	101	62	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	51	61	8	12	59	41	0.000
	No	32	39	54	88	86	39	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		GENDER				TOTAL		p.
		MALES		FEMALES				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	
COMMITTED A MINOR OFFENCE (thefts, shoplifting, also possession of marijuana and prostitution)								
EDMONTON	Yes	72	78	37	65	109	73	ns
	No	20	22	20	35	40	27	
	Total (Row %)	92	62	57	38	149	100	
REGINA	Yes	70	80	35	53	105	68	0.000
	No	18	20	31	47	49	32	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	100	
TORONTO	Yes	66	65	37	60	103	63	ns
	No	35	35	25	40	60	37	
	Total (Row %)	101	62	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	60	72	31	50	91	63	0.010
	No	23	28	31	50	54	37	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	
COMMITTED A MOST MINOR OFFENCE (administrative-- failure to appear, fail to comply, breach of probation, fine default)								
EDMONTON	Yes	41	49	15	24	56	39	0.005
	No	42	51	47	76	89	61	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	
REGINA	Yes	43	49	16	24	59	38	0.005
	No	45	51	50	76	95	62	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		GENDER				TOTAL		p.
		MALES		FEMALES				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	
TORONTO	Yes	39	39	7	11	46	28	0.000
	No	621	61	55	89	117	72	
	Total (Row %)	101	62	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	35	42	9	15	44	30	0.000
	No	48	58	53	85	101	70	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	
NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES (includes public drinking)								n.s.
EDMONTON	Yes	20	28	11	19	31	21	
	No	72	72	46	81	118	79	
	Total (Row %)	92	65	57	35	149	100	
REGINA	Yes	12	14	8	12	20	13	
	No	76	86	58	88	134	87	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	100	
TORONTO	Yes	34	34	15	24	49	30	
	No	67	66	47	76	114	70	
	Total (Row %)	101	62	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	9	11	8	13	17	12	
	No	74	89	54	7	128	88	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	

TYPES OF OFFENCES		GENDER				TOTAL		p.
		MALES		FEMALES				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	
JUVENILE DELINQUENT ACT (JDA) OFFENCES								
EDMONTON	Yes	6	7	12	21	18	12	0.01
	No	86	93	45	89	131	88	
	Total (Row %)	92	62	57	38	149	100	
REGINA	Yes	2	2	4	6	6	4	n.s.
	No	86	98	62	64	148	96	
	Total (Row %)	88	57	66	43	154	93	
TORONTO	Yes	3	3	9	15	12	7	n.s.
	No	98	97	53	85	151	93	
	Total (Row %)	101	62	62	38	163	100	
MONTREAL	Yes	4	7	4	7	8	6	n.s.
	No	79	93	58	93	137	94	
	Total (Row %)	83	57	62	43	145	100	

Table III.13 Ethnicity of Victim of Offence by City

Ethnicity	ETHNICITY OF VICTIM OF OFFENCES								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Native	19	24	23	34	10	10	10	17	62	20
Non-native	32	41	29	43	76	74	37	62	174	56
Some of each	27	35	15	22	17	16	13	22	72	23
Total	78	100	67	100	103	100	60	100	308	100
p = .000										

Table III.14 Courtworker City Charges by City

Courtworker Present	RESPONDENT USUALLY HAD A COURTWORKER FOR CRIMINAL CHARGES								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	26	31	18	17	42	36	19	22	105	27
No	58	69	38	33	75	64	68	78	289	73
Total	84	100	106	100	117	100	87	100	394	100
p = .007										

Table III.15 Guilt City Charges by City

Felt Guilty	GUILT CITY OFFENCES BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes, all/most	88	77	90	70	78	62	59	63	315	68
Yes, some	22	19	19	15	30	24	15	16	86	19
No, none	5	4	20	15	17	14	19	20	61	13
Total	115	100	129	100	125	100	93	100	462	100.
p = .01										

Table III.16 Charged by Detention by City and Location

CHARGED BY DETENTION - CITY	PRESENT LOCATION						TOTAL		p.
	INNER 1		INNER 2		OUTER		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
EDMONTON									
Yes	45	100	52	87	15	60	112	86	too small
No	0	0	8	13	10	40	18	14	
Total (Row %)	45	35	60	46	25	19	130	100	
REGINA									
Yes	43	81	30	58	9	47	82	66	0.010
No	10	19	22	42	10	53	42	34	
Total (Row %)	53	43	52	42	19	15	124	100	
TORONTO									
Yes	41	82	42	79	24	66	107	77	ns
No	9	18	11	21	12	34	32	23	
Total (Row %)	50	36	53	38	36	28	139	100	
MONTREAL									
Yes	40	83	33	85	13	52	86	77	0.005
No	80	17	6	15	12	48	26	23	
Total (Row %)	48	41	39	35	25	24	112	100	

Table III.17 Charged by Detention by Location and City

CHARGED BY DETENTION - LOCATION	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
INNER 1											too small
Yes	45	100	43	81	41	82	40	83	169	86	
No	0	0	10	19	9	18	8	17	27	14	
Total (Row %)	45	23	53	27	50	26	48	24	196	100	
INNER 2											0.005
Yes	52	87	30	58	42	79	33	85	157	77	
No	8	13	22	42	11	21	6	15	47	23	
Total (Row %)	60	29	52	25	53	26	39	204	204	100	
OUTER											ns
Yes	10	40	9	12	34	12	48	44	44	42	
No	25	24	16	16	36	34	25	24	105	49	
Total (Row %)	27	23	19	17	41	36	28	24	115	100	

Table III.18 Total Detention Time by City

TOTAL DETENTION TIME	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
0 Months	18	14	44	34	32	23	26	23	120	23	0.005
.1 day to 3 months	24	18	24	19	27	19	24	21	99	19	
3.1 to 12 months	19	14	16	12	17	12	22	20	74	14	
12.1 to 24 months	13	10	7	5	11	8	15	13	46	9	
24.1 to 60 months	28	21	13	10	28	20	13	11	82	16	
60+ months	31	23	15	19	25	18	12	11	93	18	
Total (Row %)	133	26	129	25	140	27	112	22	514	100	

Table III.19 Total Detention Time by City and Location

Total Detention Time - City	Present Location						TOTAL		p.
	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		n	%	
	n	%			n	%			
EDMONTON									
0 days	0	0	8	13	10	40	18	14	cells too small
.1 days to 12 months	16	36	19	32	8	32	43	33	
12.1 to 60 months	11	24	23	38	5	20	39	30	
60+ months	18	40	10	17	2	8	30	23	
Total (Row %)	45	35	60	46	25	19	130	100	
REGINA									
0 days	10	19	22	42	10	53	42	34	cells too small
.1 days to 12 months	12	32	14	27	7	37	38	31	
12.1 to 60 months	12	23	7	13	1	5	20	16	
60+ months	14	26	9	17	1	5	24	19	
Total (Row %)	53	43	52	42	19	15	124	100	
TORONTO									
0 days	9	18	11	21	12	33	32	23	cells too small
.1 days to 12 months	15	30	14	26	15	42	44	32	
12.1 to 60 months	15	30	18	34	5	14	38	27	
60+ months	11	22	10	19	4	11	25	18	
Total (Row %)	50	36	53	38	36	26	139	100	
MONTREAL									
0 days	8	17	6	15	12	48	26	23	cells too small
.1 day to 12 months	14	29	24	62	8	32	46	41	
12.1 to 60 months	17	35	7	18	4	16	28	25	
60+ months	9	19	2	5	1	4	12	11	
Total (Row %)	48	43	39	35	25	22	112	100	

Table III.20 Detention Time By City and Gender

DETENTION TIME - CITY	GENDER				TOTAL		p.
	MALES		FEMALES		n	%	
	n	%	n	%			
EDMONTON							
0 days	6	7	12	28	18	14	too small
.1 days to 3 months	13	14	11	26	24	18	
3.1 to 12 months	15	16	4	9	19	14	
12.1 to 36 months	22	24	6	14	28	21	
36.1 + months	35	38	10	23	45	34	
Total (Row %)	90	68	43	32	133	100	
REGINA							
0 days	24	29	20	46	44	34	too small
.1 days to 3 months	12	14	12	26	24	19	
3.1 to 12 months	12	14	4	9	16	12	
12.1 to 36 months	10	12	2	4	12	9	
36.1 + months	25	30	8	17	33	26	
Total (Row %)	83	64	46	36	129	100	

TORONTO							too small
0 days	12	13	20	42	32	23	
.1 days to 3 months	14	15	13	27	27	19	
3.1 to 12 months	12	13	5	10	17	12	
12.1 to 36 months	14	15	8	17	22	16	
36.1 + months	40	43	2	4	42	30	
Total (Row %)	92	65	48	35	140	100	
MONTREAL							too small
0 days	9	12	17	45	26	23	
.1 day to 3 months	13	18	11	29	24	21	
3.1 to 12 months	15	20	7	18	22	20	
12.1 to 36 months	17	23	1	3	18	16	
36.1 + months	20	27	2	5	22	20	
Total (Row %)	74	71	38	29	112	100	

Table III.21 Number of Detentions by City and Location

NUMBER OF DETENTIONS - CITY AND LOCATION	NUMBER OF DETENTIONS								TOTAL		
	1		2-5		6-10		11+		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
EDMONTON											
Inner 1	6	35	11	33	10	29	8	30	35	31	cells too small
Inner 2	8	47	16	48	18	51	16	59	58	52	
Outer	3	17	6	18	7	20	3	11	19	17	
Total (Row %)	17	15	33	29	35	31	27	24	112	100	
REGINA											
Inner 1	9	53	13	46	8	53	11	73	41	55	cells too small
Inner 2	5	29	11	39	4	47	3	20	26	35	
Outer	3	18	4	14	0	0	1	7	8	11	
Total	17	23	28	37	15	20	15	20	75	100	
TORONTO											
Inner 1	9	41	8	24	8	42	14	54	39	39	cells too small
Inner 2	8	36	19	58	7	37	10	38	44	44	
Outer	5	23	6	18	4	21	2	8	17	17	
Total	22	22	33	33	19	19	26	26	100	100	
MONTREAL											
Inner 1	9	50	9	28	11	55	10	71	34	46	cells too small
Inner 2	9	50	17	53	5	25	3	21	34	40	
Outer	0	0	6	19	4	20	1	7	11	13	
Total	18	21	32	38	20	24	14	17	84	100	

Table III.22 Charged by Juvenile Detention by City and Location

CHARGED BY JUVENILE DETENTION - CITY	PRESENT LOCATION						TOTAL		p.
	INNER 1		INNER 2		OUTER		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
EDMONTON									
Yes	18	35	27	53	6	12	51	100	ns
No	26	33	33	42	19	24	78	100	
Total	44	34	60	47	25	19	129	100	
REGINA									
Yes	12	43	12	43	4	14	28	100	ns
No	41	43	40	42	15	16	96	100	
Total	53	43	52	42	19	15	124	100	
TORONTO									
Yes	19	40	19	40	9	19	47	100	ns
No	31	62	34	81	37	66	29	100	
Total	50	36	53	38	36	26	139	100	
MONTREAL									
Yes	17	50	12	35	5	15	34	100	ns
No	31	40	27	35	20	26	78	100	
Total	48	43	39	35	25	22	112	100	

Table III.23 Total Juvenile Detention Time by City

JUVENILE DETENTION TIME	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
00	79	60	99	76	93	66	78	70	349	68	0.05
.1 day to 3 months	18	14	11	9	14	10	12	11	55	11	
3.1 to 18 months	16	12	6	5	13	9	17	15	52	10	
18+	19	14	13	10	20	14	5	4	57	11	
Total (Row %)	132	26	129	25	140	27	112	22	513	100	

Table III.24 Charged by Pre-trial Detention by City and Location

CHARGED BY PRE-TRIAL DETENTION - CITY	PRESENT LOCATION						TOTAL		p.
	INNER 1		INNER 2		OUTER		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
EDMONTON									
Yes	30	68	44	73	9	36	83	64	0.005
No	14	32	16	27	16	64	46	36	
Total (Row %)	44	34	60	47	25	19	129	100	
REGINA									
Yes	34	64	25	48	6	32	65	52	0.05
No	19	36	27	52	13	68	59	48	
Total (Row %)	53	43	52	42	19	15	124	100	
TORONTO									
Yes	29	58	37	70	15	42	81	58	0.05
No	21	42	16	30	21	58	58	42	
Total (Row %)	50	36	53	38	36	26	139	100	
MONTREAL									
Yes	25	52	29	74	10	40	64	57	0.025
No	23	48	10	26	15	60	48	43	
Total (Row %)	48	43	39	35	25	22	112	100	

Table III.25 Total Pre-Trial Detention Time By City

PRE-TRIAL DETENTION TIME	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
00	46	35	62	50	58	41	48	43	214	42	too small
.1 day to 3 months	40	30	43	34	40	29	41	37	164	32	
3.1 to 18 months	33	25	18	14	31	22	20	18	102	20	
18+	13	10	6	5	11	8	3	3	33	6	
Total (Row %)	132	26	129	25	140	28	112	22	513	100	

Table III.26 Charged by Provincial Detention by City and Location

CHARGED BY PROVINCIAL DETENTION - CITY	PRESENT LOCATION						TOTAL		p-
	INNER 1		INNER 2		OUTER		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			n
EDMONTON									
Yes	35	41	40	45	12	14	87	100	0.05
No	9	21	20	48	13	31	42	100	
Total	44	35	60	46	25	130	129	100	
REGINA									
Yes	33	60	18	33	4	7	55	100	0.005
No	20	29	34	49	15	22	69	100	
Total	53	43	52	42	19	15	124	100	
TORONTO									
Yes	28	38	30	41	15	21	73	100	ns
No	22	33	23	35	21	32	66	47	
Total	50	36	53	38	36	26	139	100	
MONTREAL									
Yes	33	58	15	26	9	16	57	100	0.01
No	15	28	24	43	16	30	55	100	
Total	48	43	39	35	25	22	112	100	

Table III.27 Total Provincial Detention Time by City

PROVINCIAL DETENTION TIME	CITY								TOTAL		p.
	EDMONTON		REGINA		TORONTO		MONTREAL				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
00	42	32	73	56	66	47	54	23	235	46	0.000
.1 day to 3 months	28	21	83	6	13	19	19	28	68	13	
3.1 to 18 months	22	17	21	16	28	20	22	20	93	18	
18+	41	35	27	21	33	24	16	14	117	23	
Total (Row %)	133	26	129	25	140	27	111	22	513	100	

Table III.28 Police Treatment City Charges by City (Accused Respondents)

Treatment	CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Respectful	27	15	42	25	21	11	41	29	131	19
Matter-of-fact	45	25	34	20	44	23	27	19	150	22
Rude	30	16	41	24	25	13	26	19	122	18
Verbal Abuse	33	18	19	11	40	21	21	15	113	17
Physical Abuse	47	26	35	20	59	31	25	18	166	24
Total	182	100	171	100	189	100	140	100	682	100

Table III.29 Police Treatment City Charges by City (0-8 years in City)

Treatment	CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Respectful	12	20	14	30	11	14	19	26	56	22
Matter-of-fact	15	25	12	27	23	30	10	14	60	23
Rude	10	17	10	22	11	14	15	20	46	20
Verbally Abusive	7	12	5	11	10	13	15	20	37	14
Physically Abusive	16	27	5	11	21	28	15	20	57	22
Total	60	100	46	100	76	100	74	100	256	100

Table III.30 Police Treatment Home Charges by City

Treatment	POLICE TREATMENT HOME CHARGES BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Respectful	22	28	13	33	20	32	24	42	79	33
Matter-of-fact	24	30	8	20	17	27	7	12	56	23
Rude	7	9	7	18	9	14	11	19	34	14
Verbally Abusive	11	14	6	15	6	10	7	12	30	13
Physically Abusive	15	19	6	15	11	17	8	14	50	21
Total	79	100	40	100	63	100	57	100	239	100

Table III.31 Fairness of Treatment - City Justice System by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fair	64	28	61	33	69	18	61	33	50	19	83	19	62	29	60	31	64	25	78	32	45	14	76	19
Unfair	36	16	39	21	31	8	39	21	50	19	17	4	38	18	40	21	36	14	22	9	55	17	24	6
	p=n.s.						p=.03						p=n.s.						p=.01					
	Inner 1 p=n.s.						Inner 2 p=n.s.						Outer p= n.s.											

Table III.32 Fairness of Treatment - City Justice System by City and Gender

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fair	62	52	70	30	61	47	65	28	56	50	73	36	60	38	79	27
Unfair	38	32	30	13	39	30	35	15	44	40	27	13	40	25	21	7
	n.s.				n.s.				p=.04				p=.05			
	N=127				N=120				N=139				N=97			

Table III.33 Fairness of Treatment - City Police by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fair	58	25	53	28	52	13	60	32	36	18	74	17	65	30	50	20	60	15	56	23	53	17	81	22
Unfair	37	16	36	19	40	10	34	18	50	25	22	5	26	12	50	20	36	9	37	15	47	15	19	5
1/2 - 1/2	5	2	11	6	8	2	6	3	14	7	4	1	9	4	0	0	4	1	7	3	0	0	0	0
p=n.s.																								

* Regina and Montreal significant when calculating x2 only using Fair and Unfair category.

Table III.34 Fairness of Treatment - City Police by City and Gender

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fair	51	42	56	27	55	42	69	24	55	35	75	27	65	53	70	28
Unfair	43	35	31	15	42	32	26	9	41	26	25	9	28	23	28	11
1/2 - 1/2	6	5	13	6	4	3	6	2	5	0	0	0	6	5	3	1
n.s.																
N=124				N=130				N=112				N=100				

Table III.35 Fairness of Treatment - City Courts by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fair	70	30	60	30	72	18	63	33	57	26	78	18	72	31	63	26	76	19	76	29	64	18	77	17
Unfair	23	10	36	18	24	6	31	16	28	13	22	5	21	9	37	15	24	6	16	6	29	8	23	5
1/2 - 1/2	7	3	4	2	4	1	6	3	15	7	0	0	7	3	0	0	0	0	8	3	7	2	0	0

*When calculating χ^2 using only fair /unfair categories, nonsignificant differences with the cities.

Table III.36 Fairness of Treatment - City Court by City and Gender

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Fair	65	53	70	28	58	45	73	36	66	49	78	28	73	45	73	19
Unfair	28	23	28	11	29	23	25	12	32	24	17	6	21	13	23	6
1/2 - 1/2	6	5	3	1	13	10	0	0	1	1	6	2	6	4	4	1
	N=121				N=126				N=110				N=88			

Table III.37 City Police Treat Natives The Same by City

Treatment	CITY POLICE TREAT NATIVES THE SAME BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Same	35	26	40	30	53	36	44	41	172	33
Different	99	74	94	70	96	64	63	59	352	67
Total	134	100	134	100	149	100	107	100	524	100
p = .06										

Table III.38 Reason For Differential Treatment of Natives by City

Reason	DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF NATIVES BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Individual Officer	21	22	25	29	16	21	3	5	65	20
Native's Action	50	53	39	45	36	48	31	49	156	49
Status/class of native	23	24	23	27	23	31	29	46	98	31
Total	94	100	87	100	75	100	63	100	319	100
0.006										

Table III.39 Reason for Differential Treatment of Natives by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Location	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Why																								
Indiv. Offic.	10	2	32	15	17	4	23	7	36	14	33	4	16	4	19	5	29	7	6	1	4	1	6	1
Native Action	71	15	38	18	65	15	48	15	36	14	42	5	56	14	38	10	50	12	67	12	43	12	41	7
Native Class	19	4	30	14	17	4	29	9	28	11	25	3	28	7	42	11	21	5	28	5	54	15	53	9
Inner 1 p=too small						Inner 2 p=.05						Outer p=too small												

Table III.40 City Police Treat Natives and Whites the Same by City and Location

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Treatment	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Same	40	12	13	8	19	4	36	17	17	10	10	2	44	20	18	9	20	8	44	20	21	8	16	5
Whites better	57	17	87	52	80	18	64	30	83	50	90	19	53	24	82	41	80	32	53	24	77	30	84	26
	p=.01						p=.01						p=.000						p=.01					

Table III.41 City Police Treat Rude Natives and Rude Whites the Same by City

Police Treatment	POLICE TREAT RUDE NATIVES AND WHITES THE SAME BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Same	57	52	39	30	79	56	57	49	232	47
Whites better	52	48	92	70	61	44	60	51	265	53
Total	109	100	131	100	140	100	117	100	497	100
p = .000										

Table III.42 Police Treat Rude Natives and Rude Whites the Same by City and Location

City	Edmonton			Regina			Toronto			Montreal														
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2	Inner 1		Inner 2	Inner 1		Inner 2	Inner 1		Inner 2	Outer											
Treatment	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%										
Same	17	74	25	42	14	58	17	43	12	20	6	26	28	61	27	55	23	52	31	67	13	33	13	41
Whites better	6	26	34	58	10	42	25	57	47	80	17	74	18	39	22	45	21	45	15	33	26	67	19	39
Inner 1 p = .04														Inner 2 p = .002				Outer p = n.s.						

Table III.43 City Police The Same by City

Views Police as	CITY POLICE THE SAME BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
The same	13	9	11	7	13	8	25	18	62	10
Most bad	32	22	43	27	39	24	34	25	148	25
Most good	41	28	63	40	54	34	35	26	193	32
Half/half	62	42	40	25	54	34	43	31	199	33
Total	148	100	157	100	160	100	137	100	602	100
p=.004										

Table III.44 Needs of Native Released from Correctional Institutions by City

What Native Inmates Need When Released	WHAT NATIVE INMATES NEED OR RELEASE BY CITY								TOTAL	
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Support	40	48	44	44	33	33	34	37	151	40
Housing	8	10	8	8	35	35	15	16	66	18
Job	23	28	21	21	21	21	19	21	84	22
Family	8	10	16	16	9	9	15	16	48	13
Other	4	5	12	12	2	2	9	10	27	7
Total	83	100	101	100	100	100	92	100	376	100
cells too small										

Table IV.1 Family Violence by Predictor Variables by Total Sample

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				p-
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Did Birth Parents Have a Drinking Problem	None	54	31	7	7	1.8e-18
	Father / Mother / missing	26	37	16	20	
	Both Parents	10	43	19	28	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	11	38	20	31	6.5e-16
	Moderate / missing	39	38	11	12	
Severity of Birth Mothers Drinking Problem	Severe	10	39	20	31	8.3e-14
	Moderate	22	52	13	13	
	missing	40	33	13	14	
Did Birth Parents Serve Detention Time	Both Parents / Mother / missing	22	36	16	29	1.1e-8
	No	37	39	12	13	
	Father	9	39	13	29	
Did Respondent Move Alot During Their Childhood	Yes / missing	17	37	18	28	3.8e-7
	No	35	38	13	14	
Who Respondent was Brought Up By	Single Parent / Other	20	44	17	19	4.3e-6
	Both Parents	40	37	9	15	
	Foster Parents / missing	22	28	21	29	

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				p.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Source of Income For Birth Parents	Welfare / missing	17	41	19	23	2.5e-5
	Employment / Traditional	36	35	12	17	
Violence on Reserve is Spousal	Yes	16	40	29	43	4.5e-5
	No / missing	33	37	15	16	
Birth Fathers Source of Income	Wage / Traditional	33	36	13	17	0.00024
	Unemployed	15	41	19	25	
Type of Violence on Reserve is Family Non/Spousal	Yes	14	36	20	30	0.0023
	No / Missing	30	38	14	18	

Table IV.2a. Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				P.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Did Respondent Move A lot During Their Childhood	Yes / Missing	9	39	24	29	1.3e-6
	No	42	41	12	5	
Birth Parents Source of Income	Welfare /missing	12	39	22	28	0.00020
	Employment / Traditional	40	40	13	6	
Type of Violence on Reserve is Spousal Violence	Yes	13	38	21	28	0.024
	No / missing	34	40	15	11	
Level of Violence on the Reserve	High / missing	17	35	26	22	0.040
	Medium / Low / Not Aware of Any	35	43	10	12	

Table IV.2b. Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				P.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Who Respondent Was Brought Up By	Single / Both Parents / Missing	38	41	9	12	0.00010
	Other / Foster	15	24	12	49	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	15	39	11	35	0.00069
	Moderate / missing	43	35	10	12	

Table IV.2c. Family Violence by Predictor Variables by City (Toronto)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				p.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	11	33	28	28	6.2e-5
	Moderate / missing	31	48	8	12	

Table IV.3 Total Juvenile Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL JUVENILE CHARGES (Row %)					p.
		1	2-4	5-10	11-20	21+	
Gender	Males	20	33	25	12	9	0.0055
	Females	31	40	19	8	1	
Child Abuse	Less Severe / missing	27	39	19	9	7	0.015
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	16	28	33	16	7	
Level of Violence on Reserve / Home Community	High / Medium / Low	25	38	20	8	9	0.029
	None / missing	20	28	31	18	3	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe	42	29	23	6	0	0.040
	Moderate Severe / missing	22	37	22	13	7	
	Most Severe	15	25	45	0	15	

Table IV.4 Total Juvenile Charges by Predictor Variables by Males

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL JUVENILE CHARGES (Row %)					p-
		1	2-4	5-10	11-20	21+	
Child Abuse	Less Severe / missing	25	39	19	9	9	0.00049
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	10	22	38	19	10	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe / Moderate Severe / missing	23	38	21	10	8	0.0072
	Most Severe	10	18	41	20	12	

Table IV.5 Total Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHARGES	p.
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge / missing	13	4.9e-25
	2 - 4 charge	20	
	5 - 10 charge	29	
	11 - 20 charge	43	
	21+ charge	58	
Age of First Detention	5-20 years of age	28	1.8e-20
	21+ years of age	13	
	missing	8	
Age at First Charge	5-16 years of age	27	1.8e-14
	17-18 years of age	17	
	18+ years of age / missing	9	
Gender	Males	25	5.0e-13
	Females	12	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time	32	1.2e-9
	Sometimes / In the Past	20	
	None / missing	13	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property / Other / JDA	25	2.4e-9
	Both Person and Property	33	
	missing	13	
Child Abuse	Less Severe / Missing	18	0.00094
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	27	

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHARGES	p.
Respondent Present Location	Inner 1	26	0.0020
	Inner 2 / Outer / missing	18	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe	10	0.0027
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / Missing	22	
Stability in Respondents Childhood	Stable / Bit of Both	18	0.0037
	Unstable / Missing	26	
Family Violence	Less Severe / Moderate Severe	18	0.0059
	Most Severe / Missing	25	
Did Birth Parents Have a Drinking Problem	No Problem / Father	17	0.0078
	Mother / Both / missing	24	
Age Respondent Started Regular Drinking	1-10 years of age	30	0.0080
	11+ years of age/ Missing	20	
Total Number of Victimizations	1 victimization / missing	18	0.024
	2+ victimizations	24	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological Parent	23	0.025
	Foster Parent	32	
	Extended Family / Step Family / Varied / missing	17	
Did Respondent Move Alot During Their Childhood	Alot	24	0.027
	No / Missing	19	
Respondent Was Brought Up By	Single Parent / Both Parents / Other / Missing	19	0.037
	Foster	27	

Table IV.6a. Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHARGES	P.
Age at First Charge	5-14 years of age	31	0.00021
	15-18 years of age	18	
	19+ years of age / missing	9	
Age of First Detention	5-15 years of age	33	0.00033
	16+ years of age / missing	16	
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge / missing	14	0.00064
	2+ charge	30	
Gender	Males	24	0.0057
	Females	20	
Length of Time in Present City	0-8 years	16	0.039
	9+ years missing	27	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological Parent / Foster Parent / Varied / missing	25	0.067
	Extended Family / Step Family	9	

Table IV.6b. Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHARGES	p.
*Age of First Detention	5+ years of age	29	8.0e-16
	missing	4	
Total Juvenile Charges	1-4 charges / missing	12	2.7e-8
	5+ charges	40	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time / Sometimes / In the Past	25	2.9e-5
	None / Missing	8	
Gender	Males	24	0.00012
	Females	10	
Age at First Charge	5-18 years of age	23	0.0011
	18+ years of age	7	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Other / JDA / missing	12	0.0021
	Property / Both Person and Property	28	
Family Violence	Less Severe / Moderate Severe / Missing	14	0.0056
	Most Severe	28	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Life	Reserve / City / Varied / missing	21	0.0058
	Small Town	5	
Respondent Present Source of Money	Welfare / Other / Missing	23	0.0077
	Employment / Education	9	
A lot of Movement During Childhood	Yes	26	0.018
	No / Missing	14	
Attended Residential School	Yes / missing	25	0.045
	No	15	

* This measure indicates that any detention is the most significant predictor.

** When data are unweighted "location" is a significant variable.

Table IV.6c. Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Toronto)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHARGES	P.
Gender	Males	33	7.6e-9
	Females	10	
Age of First Detention	5-20 years of age	32	4.6e-5
	21+ / missing	14	
Total Juvenile Charges	1-4 charges / missing	19	0.00015
	5+ charges	39	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time / Missing	39	0.0020
	Sometimes / In the Past / No Problem	21	
Age at First Charge	5-18 years of age / missing	28	0.0028
	19+ years of age	11	
Child Abuse	Less Severe / Missing	20	0.0035
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	36	
Age Respondent Started Regular Drinking	1-12 years of age	36	0.020
	13+ years of age	21	

Table IV.6d. Total Charges by Predictor Variables by City (Montreal)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHARGES	p.
*Age of First Detention	5+ years of age	20	5.3e-8
	missing	3	
Total Juvenile Charges	1 Charges / missing	9	9.8e-5
	2+ charges	28	
Age at First Charge	5-16 years of age	26	0.0002
	17+ years of age	9	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property / Other / Both Person and Property / JDA	26	0.0011
	missing	9	
Respondents Present Location	Inner 1 / Missing	24	0.0016
	Inner 2 / Outer	10	
Level of Violence on Reserve / Home Community	High / Medium / missing	19	0.0031
	Low / None	5	
Alcohol Problem	All The Time	26	0.0052
	Sometimes / In the Past / No Problem	11	
Gender	Males	19	0.024
	Females	10	

* This measure indicates that any detention is the most significant predictor.

Table IV.7 Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables by Total Sample

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	p.
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge missing	9	5.4e-31
	2-4 charges	14	
	5-10 charges	20	
	11-20 charges	36	
	21+ charges	56	
Age of First Detention	5-15 years of age	24	1.6e-25
	16-20 years of age	19	
	21+ years of age	10	
	missing	5	
Age at First Charge	5-16 years of age	24	1.6e-25
	17-18 years of age	19	
	18+ / missing	6	
Main Type of Juvenile Charges	Person / Other	14	1.1e-11
	Property / Both Person and Property	23	
	JDA / missing	10	
Gender	Males	19	1.7e-10
	Females	9	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time	23	2.7e-6
	Sometimes / In the Past	15	
	None / Missing	11	

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	P.
Age Respondent Started Drinking	1-10 years of age	26	0.00019
	11+ years of age / missing	14	
Respondents Present Location	Inner 1 / Inner 2	17	0.0019
	Outer / missing	11	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe	13	0.0039
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / missing	20	
Child Abuse	Less Severe / missing	14	0.036
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	20	
Did Birth Parents Have an Alcohol Problem	None / Father	13	0.027
	Mother / Both Parents / missing	18	
Stability During Childhood	Stable / Bit of Both	14	0.018
	Unstable / missing	18	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe	9	0.037
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / missing	16	
Length of Time in the City	0-8 years	14	0.041
	9+ years / missing	19	
Severity of Birth Father Drinking Problem	Severe	18	0.041
	Moderate / Missing	14	

Table IV.8a. Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Edmonton)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	p.
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge / missing	10	6.0e-15
	2-10 charges	16	
	11+ charges	43	
Age of First Detention	5-15 years of age	25	5.6e-11
	16-20 years of age	17	
	21+ / missing	7	
Age of First Charge	5-14 years of age	22	1.3e-7
	15-18 years of age	16	
	19+ years of age / missing	6	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Other / JDA / Missing	12	7.5e-5
	Property / Both Property and Person	22	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time / missing	23	0.011
	Sometimes / In the Past / No Problem	14	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe	7	0.027
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / missing	17	
Gender	Males	18	0.040
	Females	13	
Respondent Present Location	Inner 1 / Inner 2 / missing	18	0.041
	Outer	11	

Table IV.8b. Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Regina)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	P.
Age of First Detention	5-10 years of age / missing	3	4.1e-19
	11+ years of age	26	
Total Juvenile Charges	1-4 charges / missing	11	4.0e-7
	5+ charges	39	
Alcohol Problem	All of the Time / Sometimes	26	5.3-5
	In the Past / No Problem / missing	10	
Age of First Charge	5-18 years of age	21	0.00057
	19+ years of age	6	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Other / JDA / missing	11	0.0012
	Property / Both Person and Property	25	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe / missing	13	0.0063
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	25	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Life	Reserve / City / Varied / missing	19	0.0075
	Small Town	5	
Gender	Males	21	0.012
	Females	10	
Respondents Present Source of Income	Welfare / Other / missing	21	0.016
	Employment / Education	9	
Where Respondent Spent Their Childhood	Reserve / Varied	23	0.046
	Off Reserve Rural / Off Reserve Urban	12	

* When data are unweighted "location" is a significant variable.

Table IV.8c. Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Toronto)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	p.
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge / missing	10	6.0e-15
	2-10 charges	16	
	11+ charges	43	
Age of First Detention	5-15 years of age	25	5.6e-11
	16-20 years of age	17	
	21+ / missing	7	
Age of First Charge	5-14 years of age	22	1.3e-7
	15-18 years of age	16	
	19+ years of age / missing	6	
Gender	Males	22	3.2e-6
	Females	7	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Other / JDA / Missing	12	7.5e-5
	Property / Both Property and Person	22	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time / missing	23	0.011
	Sometimes / In the Past / No Problem	14	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe	7	0.027
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / missing	17	
Respondent Present Location	Inner 1 / Inner 2 / missing	18	0.041
	Outer	11	

Table IV.8d. Total Criminal Code Charges by Predictor Variables (Montreal)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	TOTAL CRIMINAL CODE CHARGES	P.
*Age of First Detention	5+ years of age	16	2.6e-7
	missing	3	
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge / missing	7	4.4e-6
	2+ charge	23	
Age of First Charge	5-16 years of age	21	5.4e-5
	16+ years of age / missing	7	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property/ Other / Both Person and Property / JDA	21	0.00023
	missing	7	
Gender	Males	15	0.00051
	Females	7	
Age Respondent Started Regular Drinking	1-10 years of age	28	0.0078
	11+ years of age	10	
Level of Violence on Reserve / Home Community	High / Medium / missing	28	0.024
	Low / None	5	

* This measure indicates that any detention is the most significant predictor.

Table IV.9 Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by Total Sample

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	p.
Age of First Detention	5-15 years of age	54	1.4e-22
	16-20 years of age	36	
	21+ years of age	18	
	missing	7	
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charge / missing	18	2.5e-17
	2-4 charge	31	
	5-10 charge	45	
	11+ charge	76	
Age of First Charge	5-12 years of age	55	3.7e-15
	13-18 years of age	34	
	19+ / missing	9	
Gender	Males	40	8.4e-11
	Females	15	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property / Other JDA	36	2.5e-9
	Both Person and Property	61	
	missing	17	
Respondents Present Location	Inner 1	43	1.5e-6
	Inner 2 / missing	28	
	Outer	15	

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	P.
Alcohol Problem	All the Time	48	2.2e-6
	Sometimes / In The Past	30	
	No Problem / Missing	19	
Respondents Age	15-24	19	5.5e-5
	25-44	32	
	45+	53	
Child Abuse	Less Severe	17	0.00080
	Medium Severe / Most Severe	40	
	Missing	31	
Respondent's Age at Regular Drinking	1-10 years of age	52	0.0014
	11+ / missing	28	
Length of Time in City	0-8 years / missing	24	0.0085
	8+ years	37	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Life	Reserve / Small Town / Missing	23	0.028
	City / Varied	35	
*Attended Residential School	Yes	42	0.020
	No / Missing	28	
City	Edmonton	39	0.022
	Regina	29	
	Toronto	32	
	Montreal	22	

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	p.
Respondent Was Brought up By	Single / Both	27	0.038
	Other / Foster / Missing	39	
Birth Parents' Have Detention Time	Yes / No / Father	28	0.032
	Mother / Missing	42	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe / Medium Severe	28	0.035
	Most Severe / Missing	42	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe / Medium Severe	18	0.049
	Most Severe / Missing	33	

* Regina Male Population Only.

** When data are unweighted "location" is a significant variable.

Table IV.10a. Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	p.
Age of First Detention	5-15 years of age	64	3.8e-5
	16+ / Missing	25	
Total Juvenile Charge	1-4 charges / Missing	29	0.00030
	5+ charges	70	
Age of First Charge	5-12 years of age	65	0.0018
	13-18 years of age	38	
	19+ / Missing	14	
Respondents Present Location	Inner 1 / Missing	57	0.0044
	Inner 2 / Outer	29	
Respondents Age	15-24	16	0.0044
	25+	45	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property / Other JDA	40	0.015
	Both Person and Property	80	
	Missing	22	
Gender	Males	45	0.031
	Females	27	
Child Abuse	Less Severe	21	0.058
	Medium Severe / Most Severe / Missing	44	

Table IV.10b. Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	p.
Age of First Detention	5-20 years of age	51	1.4e-8
	21+ / Missing	7	
Total Juvenile Charges	1-10 charges / Missing	20	9.2e-7
	11+ charges	87	
Age of First Charge	5-16 years of age	43	6.0e-5
	17+ years of age /missing	9	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property / JDA	34	0.00035
	Other/ Missing	14	
	Both Person and Property	73	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time / Sometimes / In the Past	40	0.0015
	No Problem / Missing	11	
*Attended Residential School	Yes / Missing	47	0.0035
	No	19	
Child Abuse	Less Severe / Moderate / Severe / Missing	23	0.0061
	Most Severe	61	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe / Moderate Severe / Missing	22	0.0024
	Most Severe	51	
Gender	Males	37	0.012
	Females	16	

* Male Population Only.

** When data are unweighted "location" is a significant variable.

Table IV.10c. Total Detention Time by Predictors Variables by City (Toronto)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	p.
Gender	Males	45	5.4e-9
	Females	7	
Age of First Detention	5-20 years of age	48	4.9e-9
	21+ / Missing	8	
Total Juvenile Charges	1-4 charges / Missing	22	0.00026
	5+ charges	57	
Age of First Charge	5-18 years of age	39	0.00047
	19+ / Missing	38	
Alcohol Problem	All the Time / Missing JDA	56	0.0035
	Sometimes / In the Past	25	
Child Abuse	Less Severe	11	0.0052
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / Missing	37	
Stability During Childhood	Stable / A Bit of Both	16	0.0043
	Unstable	46	

Table IV.10d. Total Detention Time by Predictor Variables by City (Montreal)

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	AVERAGE CUSTODY TIME (months)	p.
*Age of First Detention	5+ years of age	29	1.6e-14
	Missing	.5	
Age of First Charge	5-18 years of age	31	0.00069
	19+ years of age / Missing	7	
Total Juvenile Charges	1 charges	12	0.00096
	2+ charges	40	
Gender	Males	29	0.0014
	Females	9	
Respondent's Age At Regular Drinking	1-10 years of age / Missing	51	0.0026
	11-17 years of age	19	
	18+ years of age	5	
Respondents Present Location	Inner 1 / Missing	36	0.0028
	Inner 2 / Outer	12	
Respondent Received Cultural Guidance	Alot / Some / Missing	13	0.0059
	None	36	
Respondents Birth Parents Have a Drinking Problem	None / Father / Both	17	0.025
	Mother	54	
Is Respondent Settled In Present City	This Home / Missing	28	0.032
	Just Visiting	11	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Life	Reserve / Small Town / Varied / missing	15	0.048
	City	38	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Property / JDA / Missing	175	0.048
	Other / Both Person and Property	51	

* This measure indicates that any detention is the most significant predictor.

Table IV.11 Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by Total Sample

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	ALCOHOL PROBLEM (Row %)				p.
		All the Time	Some-times	In the Past	No Problem	
Age of First Detention	5-20 years of age	30	21	28	21	2.7e-11
	21+ years of age / missing	11	17	26	46	
Age Respondent Started Regular Drinking	1- 10 years of age	33	20	30	17	1.5e-10
	11+ years of age	21	20	28	31	
	missing	2	9	5	85	
Main Type of Juvenile Charge	Person / Other / missing	15	17	28	41	1.6e-6
	Property/ Both Person and Property / JDA	31	22	25	22	
Total Juvenile Custody Time	No Detention	22	21	25	32	3.3e-6
	1 day or more	29	19	30	21	
	missing	6	11	27	55	
Stability During Respondents Childhood	Stable	18	17	24	41	6.0e-6
	Unstable / missing	32	18	28	23	
	Both Unstable and Stable	10	26	32	31	
Age of First Charge	5-16 years of age	28	21	26	25	2.1e-5
	16+ years of age	18	17	30	35	
	missing	8	15	26	50	
Did Parents Have Detention Time	Yes / No / Mother	16	17	30	37	0.00034
	Father / missing	31	22	22	26	

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	ALCOHOL PROBLEM (Row %)				p.
		All the Time	Some-times	In the Past	No Problem	
Total Juvenile Charges	1-10 charge	25	19	28	27	0.00046
	11+ charge	33	31	14	22	
	missing	15	16	28	40	
Family Violence	None	13	16	25	46	0.0013
	Less Severe / Moderate Severe / Most Severe / missing	24	20	28	28	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological Parent / Foster Parent / Extended Family / Step-family / Varied	24	20	28	28	0.0018
	missing	13	17	24	46	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	25	22	28	25	0.011
	Moderate / missing	18	17	26	39	
Spouse Family Violence	Less Severe / Moderate Severe / missing	19	19	27	36	0.012
	Most Severe	33	19	28	20	
Educational Attainment	Less than Grade 9 / Some High School / missing	23	18	27	30	
	Graduated From High School	11	22	23	43	
Level of Violence on Reserve / Home Community	High / Medium / Low	20	16	28	36	0.041
	Not Aware of Any	22	27	24	27	

Table IV.12a. Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Edmonton)

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	ALCOHOL PROBLEM (Row %)				p.
		All the Time	Some-times	In the Past	No Problem	
Main Type of Juvenile Offences	Person / Property / Both Person and Property / JDA	32	24	24	20	0.0082
	Other / missing	10	13	33	44	

Table IV.12b. Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Regina)

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	ALCOHOL PROBLEM (Row %)				p.
		All the Time	Some-times	In the Past	No Problem	
Age of First Detention	5+ years of age	24	34	22	20	1.7e-5
	missing	8	14	19	60	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe / missing	11	19	19	51	0.0014
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	26	36	22	16	
Respondent Attended Residential School*	Yes / missing	26	33	12	29	0.0024
	No	10	19	25	46	
Who Respondent was Brought Up By	Single Parent / Both Parents	9	22	21	47	0.0071
	Other / Foster / missing	33	29	19	19	
Respondents Parents Serve Detention Time	Yes / No / Mother / missing	12	22	18	48	0.048
	Father	26	31	26	17	

* For males only.

Table IV.12c. Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Toronto)

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	ALCOHOL PROBLEM (Row %)				p.
		All the Time	Some-times	In the Past	No Problem	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	31	17	31	20	0.0058
	Moderate / missing	14	18	21	47	
Child Abuse	Less Severe	20	40	20	20	0.018
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / missing	21	13	26	40	
Father's Employment	Wage	25	16	15	43	0.035
	Unemployment / Traditional / missing	15	19	38	28	
Stability During Respondents Childhood	Stable / A Bit of Both	14	20	22	44	0.037
	Unstable / missing	33	14	30	23	
Spouse Family Violence	Less Severe / missing	6	19	23	43	0.039
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	35	15	33	18	

Table IV.12d. Alcohol Problem by Predictor Variables by City (Montreal)

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	ALCOHOL PROBLEM (Row %)				p-
		All the Time	Some-times	In the Past	No Problem	
Age of First Detention	5-20 years of age	40	11	37	12	0.0013
	21+ years of age / missing	17	19	32	32	
Age of First Charge	5+ years of age	33	13	37	17	0.021
	missing	11	22	25	42	
Educational Attainment	Less than Grade 9	41	14	29	16	0.040
	Some High School / Graduated High School / missing	16	16	39	29	

APPENDIX IV

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE'S SURVEY



APPENDIX IV: ABORIGINAL PEOPLE'S SURVEY

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 POPULATION FOR CITY AND PROVINCE FOR RESPONDENTS 15+ YEARS OF AGE

PROVINCE	n	CITY	n	PROPORTION OF THE PROVINCE
Alberta	61,250	Edmonton	17,375	28%
Saskatchewan	49,275	Regina	6,530	13%
Ontario	74,410	Toronto	9,890	13%
Quebec	37,670	Montreal	4,820	13%

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 INCOME LEVELS BY CITY FOR RESPONDENTS 15+ YEARS OF AGE

	CITY							
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No Income	1,506	9	1,120	17	940	10	460	10
under \$2,000	1,875	11	650	10	935	9	430	9
\$2,000 - \$9,999	4,575	26	1,580	24	1,835	19	1,100	23
\$10,000 - \$19,999	5,260	30	1,510	23	1,675	17	1,080	22
\$20,000 - \$39,999	3,205	18	1,235	19	3,455	35	1,270	26
\$40,000 +	940	5	440	7	1,050	11	485	10

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 INCOME LEVELS BY PROVINCE FOR RESPONDENTS 15+ YEARS OF AGE

	PROVINCE							
	Alberta		Saskatchewan		Ontario		Quebec	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No Income	7,475	12	6,990	14	8,055	11	5,740	15
under \$2,000	7,580	12	8,690	18	8,540	11	2,815	7
\$2,000 - \$9,999	17,205	28	14,080	29	17,570	24	11,195	30
\$10,000 - \$19,999	15,580	25	11,120	23	17,385	23	8,520	23
\$20,000 - \$39,999	10,285	17	6,585	13	17,875	24	7,235	19
\$40,000 +	3,105	5	1,785	4	4,950	7	2,165	6

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY PROVINCE FOR RESPONDENTS 15+ YEARS OF AGE

	PROVINCE							
	Alberta		Saskatchewan		Ontario		Quebec	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No Schooling	570	1	285	1	355	1	510	2
1-8 years	6,985	13	8,725	21	5,645	9	6,410	21
Secondary	26,995	51	18,605	45	33,480	54	14,470	48
Some Post Secondary	8,170	16	6,065	15	8,665	14	3,150	10
Certificate/Diploma	8,785	17	6,545	16	11,410	18	4,445	15
University Degrees	970	2	1,010	2	2,040	3	1,050	3
Not Specified	140	.5	305	1	270	.5	215	1

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY CITY
FOR RESPONDENTS 15+ YEARS OF AGE

	CITY			
	Edmonton	Regina	Toronto	Montreal
No Schooling	-	-	-	-
1-8 years	1,080	525	-	-
Secondary	8,435	2,520	4,565	1,940
Some Post Secondary	2,445	1,390	1,195	510
Certificate/Diploma	2,860	895	1,760	915
University Degree	440	475	290	-
Not Specified	-	-	-	-

CENSUS CANADA 1991 RESPONDENTS AGE BY CITY

AGE	CITY							
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0 - 4	6,435	15	2,080	16	4,725	12	4,555	10
5 - 14	10,015	23	3,290	26	7,085	18	7,230	16
15 - 24	8,330	20	2,455	19	7,215	18	7,395	17
25 - 34	8,380	20	2,075	16	9,140	23	11,015	25
35 - 54	7,560	18	2,195	17	9,570	24	11,605	26
55 +	1,970	5	675	5	2,300	6	2,840	6
Total (Row %)	42,695	30	12,765	9	40,040	29	44,645	32

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 RESPONDENTS AGE BY PROVINCE

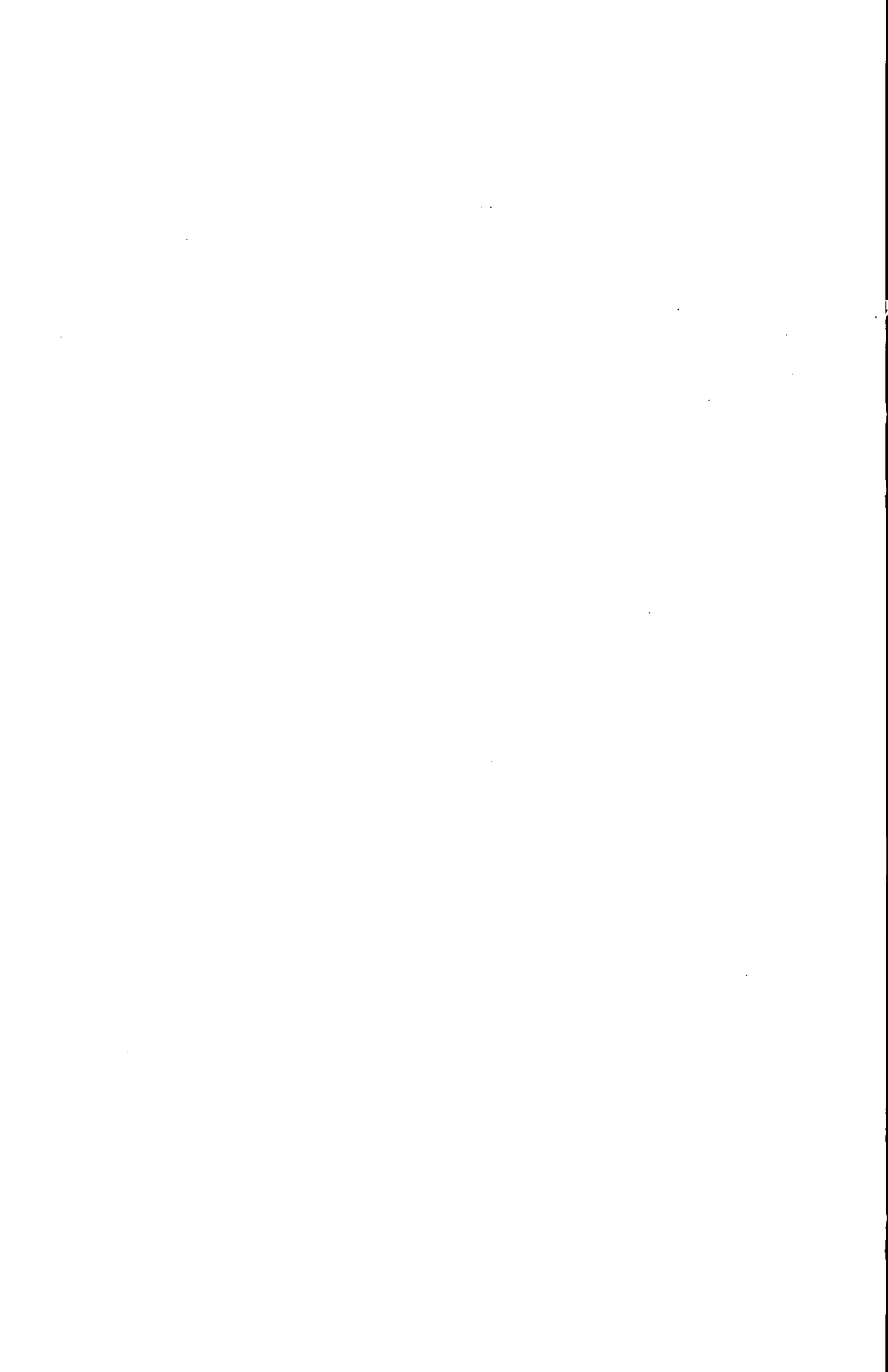
AGE	PROVINCE							
	Alberta		Saskatchewan		Ontario		Quebec	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0 - 4	15,925	15	14,145	16	14,900	13	7,030	12
5 - 14	26,475	26	23,275	27	25,585	22	11,605	21
15 - 24	20,010	19	16,615	19	21,430	19	10,220	18
25 - 34	18,295	18	13,780	16	21,675	19	10,180	18
35 - 54	17,015	16	13,160	15	22,770	20	11,775	21
55 +	5,920	6	5,725	7	8,535	7	5,495	10
Total (Row %)	103,645	29	86,695	24	114,895	32	56,295	16

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE SURVEY 1991 RESPONDENTS AGE BY CITY

AGE	CITY							
	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
0 - 4	4,750	16	11,020	16	1,595	11	690	10
5 - 14	7,115	24	1,775	25	2,730	19	1,260	19
15 - 24	5,625	19	2,715	19	2,775	20	965	14
25 - 34	5,890	20	2,120	18	3,110	22	1,545	23
35 - 54	4,625	16	1,980	17	3,165	22	1,770	26
55 +	1,240	4	1,925	5	850	6	5,45	8
Total (Row %)	29,235	48	11,020	18	14,205	23	6,775	11

APPENDIX V

CHAID



APPENDIX V: CHAID

Part of the statistical analysis for this study was done using a program called CHAID.

As described in the CHAID manual,

"CHAID (Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detector) performs **segmentation modelling**, a relatively new statistical application that is useful in any situation in which your overall goal is to divide a population into segments that differ with respect to a designated criterion". (*SPSS for Windows CHAID Release 6, SPSS Inc (1993), page 3*)

For instance, we might wish to divide up our full sample of those interviewed into different groups based on the criterion of *risk of having an alcohol problem*. We would be most interested in being able to use the data collected on all of the various *predictor variables* (e.g. the employment, personal and family history, prior experiences with the justice system, etc. of each of the people interviewed) to identify a smaller group of interviewees that had a risk of having an alcohol problem that was significantly higher than that of other groups of interviewees – and a group that had a risk that was significantly lower than that of other groups. If we were *very* successful, we would be able to identify a number of such groups, each having a risk of having an alcohol problem that was significantly different than the risks associated with other groups.

CHAID accomplishes this objective by first examining (for every case in the sample) the statistical relationship between each and every predictor variable and the criterion variable (e.g. the extent of an alcohol problem), and then choosing the one predictor variable that best divides the full sample into two or more distinct groups having significantly different risks of having this alcohol problem. That variable would then be used to divide the full sample into such groups. The procedure is then repeated for each of those groups. Suppose, for instance, the predictor variable *age* were the most powerful predictor variable, and that the variable divided the full sample into 3 "first level" groups (i.e. groups having relatively high, moderate and relatively low risks of alcohol problems). CHAID would then look only at the cases in the first of these "first level parent" groups and would examine the ability of each of the remaining predictor variables (i.e. all predictor variables except *age*) to divide that parent group of cases into subgroups with significantly different values of the criterion variable (i.e. the extent of the alcohol problem). The most powerful predictor variable (perhaps some aspect of family history) would then be used to divide up this first "first level parent" group into two or more "second level" subgroups. CHAID would then repeat this procedure separately for the remaining (second and third) "first level parent" groups identified earlier by the first predictor variable, *age*.

CHAID will then continue to further subdivide subgroups at the second, third and subsequent levels etc. until no predictor variable can be found that is capable of splitting any parent subgroup into two or more smaller subgroups that differ significantly from each other with respect to the criterion variable (in our case, *alcohol problems*).

CHAID then displays the final subgroups (segments) on an easy-to understand tree diagram and provides a number of statistical tables (including crosstabs, and CHI Squares and their level of statistical significance) that further describe the relationship among the potential predictor variables and the criterion variable – at each "node" or cell in the tree diagram.

A number of additional more statistically complex points are of interest in interpreting the results presented in this report:

- ④ CHAID does not assume that the same set of variables will be used to subdivide different groups of the sample at any level of the analysis. For instance, assume that three groups were identified at the first level of analysis. Even if family history were chosen as the predictor variable that best further segmented the first of these three level one groups, CHAID might find that totally different predictor variables best segment the second and third of these first level groups – and each of these groups would be subdivided using these different predictor variables. In other words, unlike many other statistical techniques such as regression analysis, CHAID does not assume that the behaviour of all cases in the sample is explained by the same variables, and the same relationship among those variables. CHAID allows for the very likely possibility that different variables and relationships might be relevant at different levels for different groups within the full sample (e.g. males vs females, old persons vs. young persons, inner city vs. outer city, etc.).
- ④ The probability value (p value) used by CHAID to select the best predictor for further segmenting any subgroup of the sample

"is the probability that the observed relationship between the predictor and the dependent variable would occur if the predictor and the dependent variable were statistically independent....The "best" predictor is the one that has the lowest p value" (that is less than or equal to a level of significance – .05 in this study – specified by the analyst) (*ibid*, page 127, comments in brackets added)

"The estimation of the p value depends on whether the nominal or ordinal method of analysis is used (see below). If the ordinal method is selected, the p value is based on a special test of nonindependence called the Y association. If the nominal method is selected, CHAID tests for any type of nonindependence." (*ibid*, page 127, comments in brackets added)
- ④ Two methods are available for performing a CHAID analysis: the *nominal* method, and an *ordinal* method. The *nominal* method treats the criterion variable (e.g. city or sex) as having categories that differ in kind rather than degree (i.e. Edmonton vs Calgary vs Toronto vs Montreal; or male vs female). No natural ordering is assumed. The *ordinal* method treats the criterion variable (e.g. total time in custody) as having scores associated with each of their values.

"If the dependent (criterion) variable is (treated as) nominal, the segmentation criterion is based on the probability distribution of the dependent variable. If the dependent variable is (treated as) ordinal, the criterion is the mean, or expected value, of the specified category scores."
(ibid, page 8, comments in brackets added)

- To utilize the ordinal method of analysis, in instances in which ordinal variables were coded as values within certain ranges or categories, scores had to be assigned to each of those categories. For instance, in the current study the variable *total time in custody* was coded using the categories: "1", no custodial time; "2", 1 day to 3 months; "3", over 3 and up to 6 months; "4", over 6 and up to 12 months; "5", over 12 and up to 18 months;;"9", over 60 months. These scores were determined by choosing the midpoint between the high and low point of each category (i.e. the category, "5" over 12 and up to 18 months received a score of "15"). In the instance of opened ended categories (e.g. "9", over 60 months), cases having outlying extreme values within the range were removed before a modified mid-point score for the category was calculated.
- CHAID may find that there are no statistically significant differences (with respect to the criterion variable) between or among certain of the subgroups formed by dividing up a parent group according to every one of the possible values of a predictor variable. In such instances,

"CHAID merges categories of a predictor variable that are not significantly different. This merging procedure, combined with the splitting algorithm, ensures that cases in the same segment (subgroup) are homogeneous with respect to the segmentation criterion, while cases in different segments (subgroups) tend to be heterogeneous with respect to the segmentation criterion. *(ibid, page 6, comments in brackets added)*

This merging may or may not give a lower p value for the relationship between the criterion variable and the predictor variable.

- CHAID will combine subgroups related to the "missing value" category for the predictor with subgroups related to other "non-missing" categories of the predictor variable if there is no statistical difference (with respect to the criterion variable) between the "missing" subgroup and those other subgroups.

Each person interviewed was coded as having one of four categories of *Alcohol problems*. These categories and the percent of persons in the total sample that fell within each category were as follows:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| 1. all the time , | 21% | 3. in the past, and | 27% |
| 2. sometimes, | 19% | 4. no problem. | 33% |

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 13 distinct segments. Four of these segments (i.e. compared to other segments) had a relatively high proportion of persons with an *alcohol problem* "all the time".

Persons within each of these four "high alcohol risk" segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 10 risk = 53% ¹	Segment 1 risk = 40%	Segment 12 risk = 38%	Segment 7 risk = 36%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● were over 21 years of age at the time of the first detention, ● had an unstable background, ● were brought up by single parent / both parents / other family, ● had moderate or high child family violence, and ● grew up on a reserve with a high level of violence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had their first detention between 5-20 years of age, ● had parents who did or did not serve detention time, ● age of first offence was between 5-18 years, ● had less severe family violence, ● had 0 to 9 siblings, and ● had an unstable or stable background. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had first detention after 21 years of age ● had an unstable background, and ● were brought up by foster parents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had first detention between the ages of 5-20 years of age, and ● mother or father had served detention time

Each person interviewed was coded as having one of nine categories of *Total Detention Time*. These categories were assigned scores - the midpoint between the high and low point of each category. The average total detention time score for the total sample was 31 months.

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 15 distinct segments. Five of these segments (i.e. compared to other segments) had a relatively high proportion of persons with a high *total detention time* average. These are shown below. Persons within each of these five segments with the most total detention had the following characteristics:

1. Percents in this table refer to the percent of all persons in the segment who had an *Alcohol Problem* "all of the time".

Segment 1 risk = 91 months ²	Segment 3 risk = 61 months	Segment 2 risk = 58 months	Segment 8 risk = 52 months	Segment 5 risk = 45 months
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● were between the ages of 5-15 years at first detention ● were between the ages of 5-12 years at first charge, and ● respondent's present source of income was welfare/employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● were between the ages of 5-15 years at first detention, ● were over 13 years of age at first charge, and ● present location was inner 1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● were between the ages of 5-15 years at first detention ● were between the ages of 5-12 years at first charge, and ● respondent's present source of income was educational 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● were between the ages of 16-20 years at first detention, and ● are 35 years or older 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● were between the ages of 5-15 years at first detention, ● were over 13 years at first charge, ● present location was inner 2 and Outer, and ● had two or more children

Each person interviewed was coded as having one of five categories of *Total charges*. These categories were assigned scores - the midpoint between the high and low point of each category. The average total charges score for the total sample was 21 charges.

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 26 distinct segments. Nine of these segments (i.e. compared to other segments) had a relatively high proportion of persons with a high *total charges* average.

2. "Month score" on this table refers to the average detention time in months of all persons in the segment.

Persons within each of these nine segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 13 , 16, 17, ³ risk = 26, 60, 47, charges, respectively ⁴	Segment 26 risk = 58 charges	Segment 25 risk = 55 charges	Segment 23 risk = 41 charges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 2-4 juvenile offenses, ● had an "sometimes" alcohol problem, ● mother had a moderate alcohol problem, ● juvenile custody was 1 to three months / 12 to 18 months / 18.1 to 36 months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 21 or more juvenile charges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 11-20 juvenile charges, and ● have been in the city for 15+ years 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ had 5-10 juvenile charges, and ○ do not consider the city home
Segment 10 risk = 35 charges	Segment 21 risk = 28 charges	Segment 2 risk = 26 charges	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 2-4 juvenile offenses, and ● had an alcohol problem all the time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 5-10 juvenile charges, ● considered the city home, and ● birth father had a severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 1 juvenile offence, ● had first custody between the ages of 5-20 years, ● presently location is Inner 1 or 2, and ● spent more than 3 years in the city 	

Each person interviewed was coded as having one of six categories for *Total Criminal Code Charges*. These categories were assigned scores - the midpoint between the high and low point of each category. The average total *Criminal Code* charge for the total sample was 16 charges.

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 19 distinct segments. Four of these segments (i.e. compared to other segments) contained a high proportion of persons with a high *total Criminal Code charges* average.

3. These are three separate segments where the only distinguishing factor is the amount of juvenile detention time (segment 13 had 1 - 3 months; segment 16 had 12.1 - 18 months; segment 17 had 18.1 -36 months).

4. Charges in this table refer to the average *Criminal Code* charges of all persons in the segment.

Persons in each of these four segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 19 risk = 56 charges ⁵	Segment 18 risk = 36 charges	Segment 16 risk = 31 charges	Segment 11 risk = 28 charges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 21 or more juvenile charges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 11- 20 juvenile charges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 5-10 juvenile charges, ● committed property / other / both person and property, and ● had less / moderate spouse family violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had 2-4 juvenile charges, ● had first detention between 5-20 years of age, and ● respondent attended residential school

Predictor Variables for Each of the Outcome Variable:

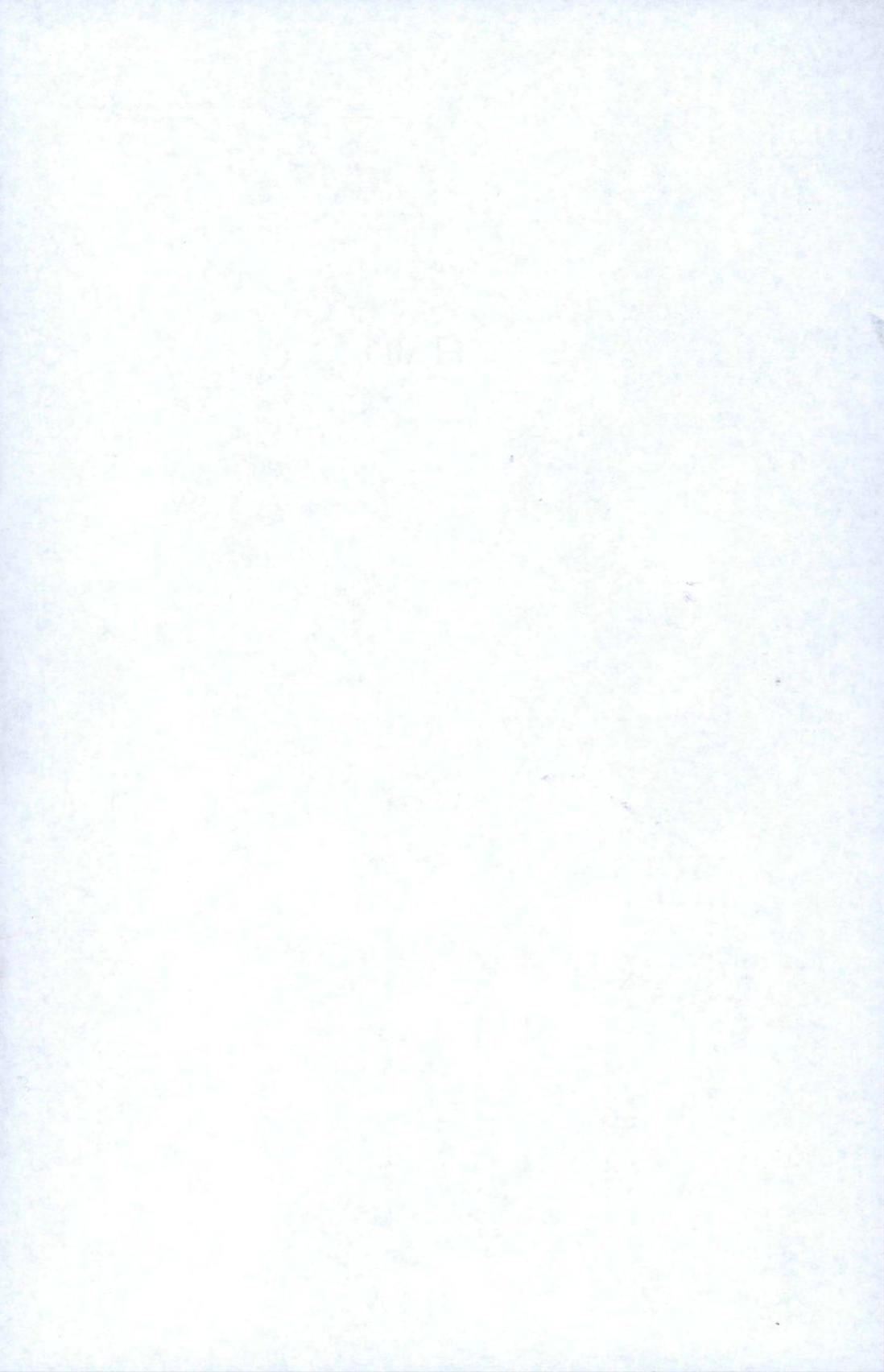
Alcohol Problem	Total Juvenile Offences
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * where respondent spent majority of life * age at first offence * where respondent spent childhood * who respondent was brought up by * number of siblings * father's source of income * parents source of income * childhood stability * childhood mobility * respondent parents served detention time * parental drinking problem * severity of birth mothers drinking problem * severity of birth fathers drinking problem * severity of family violence * perpetrator of family violence * respondent attended residential school * age respondent started regular drinking * respondent received cultural guidance * source of cultural guidance * age of first detention * level of violence on the reserve * severity of spouse family violence * severity of child family violence * severity of sexual family violence * total juvenile charges * main type of juvenile offence * educational attainment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * gender * where respondent was born * where respondent spent their childhood * who respondent was brought up by * father's source of income * mother source of income * parents source of income * childhood mobility * respondent parents served detention time * parental drinking problem * severity of birth mothers drinking problem * severity of birth fathers drinking problem * severity of family violence * perpetrator of family violence * respondent attended residential school * distance to nearest urban area * respondent received cultural guidance * level of violence on the reserve * type of violence on reserve was spousal * type of violence on reserve was family/ non-spousal * type of violence on reserve was non family * severity of spouse family violence * severity of child family violence * severity of sexual family violence

5. Charges in this table refer to the average Criminal Code charges.

Total Criminal Code Charges	Total Charges	Total Detention Time
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * present location * age * length of time in current city * where respondent spent majority of live * where respondent wants to live * respondent lives alone or with others * present source of income * marital status * number of children * age at first offence * city police treat all natives the same * does respondent have an alcohol problem * where respondent spent childhood * who respondent was brought up by * number of siblings * father's source of income * parents source of income * during respondents childhood stability * during respondents childhood mobility * respondent parents served detention time * parental had a drinking problem * severity of birth mothers drinking problem * severity of birth fathers drinking problem * severity of family violence * perpetrator of family violence * respondent attended residential school * employment history * age respondent started regular drinking * respondent received cultural guidance * source of cultural guidance * where there class levels on the reserve * age of first detention * number of offenses * level of violence on the reserve * severity of spouse family violence * severity of child family violence * severity of sexual family violence * total juvenile charges * main type of juvenile offence * total victimization * educational attainment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * present location * age * length of time in current city * where respondent spent majority of live * where respondent wants to live * respondent lives alone or with others * present source of income * marital status * number of children * age at first offence * does respondent have an alcohol problem * city police treat all natives the same * where respondent spent their childhood * who respondent was brought up by * number of siblings * father's source of income * parents source of income * stability during respondents childhood * mobility during respondents childhood * respondent parents served detention time * parental drinking problem * severity of birth mothers drinking problem * severity of birth fathers drinking problem * severity of family violence * perpetrator of family violence * respondent attended residential school * employment history * age respondent started regular drinking * respondent received cultural guidance * source of cultural guidance * where there class levels on the reserve * age of first detention * level of violence on the reserve * severity of spouse family violence * severity of child family violence * severity of sexual family violence * total juvenile charges * main type of juvenile offence * total victimization * educational attainment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * present location * age * length of time in current city * where respondent spent majority of live * where respondent wants to live * respondent lives alone or with others * respondents source of income * marital status * number of children * age at first offence * city police treat all natives the same * does respondent have an alcohol problem * where respondent spent childhood * who respondent was brought up by * number of siblings * father's source of income * parents source of income * stability during respondents childhood * mobility during respondents childhood * respondent parents served detention time * birth parents had a drinking problem * severity of birth mothers drinking problem * severity of birth fathers drinking problem * severity of family violence * perpetrator of family violence * respondent attended residential school * employment history * age respondent started regular drinking * respondent received cultural guidance * source of cultural guidance * where there class levels on the reserve * age of first detention * number of offenses * level of violence on the reserve * severity of spouse family violence * severity of child family violence * severity of sexual family violence * total victimization * educational attainment

III





SEEN BUT NOT HEARD
NATIVE PEOPLE IN THE INNER CITY

PART III

VICTIMIZATION AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

BY

CAROL LA PRAIRIE

WITH

BRUNO STEINKE



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part III

VICTIMIZATION AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

CHAPTER I

<i>Methodology and Theoretical Issues</i>	387
<i>Introduction</i>	387
I.1 <i>The Research</i>	387
I.1.a <i>Family violence and victimization methodology</i>	388
I.2 <i>Violence in Society</i>	388
I.2.a <i>Family violence and victimization assumptions</i>	390
I.2.b <i>Theories of violence</i>	391
I.3 <i>Family Violence</i>	393
I.3.a <i>Spousal assault</i>	393
I.3.b <i>Child abuse</i>	394
I.3.c <i>Child sexual abuse</i>	396
I.4 <i>Aboriginal Family Violence and Victimization</i>	397
I.4.a <i>Incidence</i>	397
I.4.b <i>Theories of family violence in aboriginal communities</i>	397
I.5 <i>The Effects of Family Violence</i>	399
I.5.a <i>Family violence and gender</i>	401

CHAPTER II

<i>Family Violence Findings</i>	405
II.1 <i>General Family Violence Findings</i>	406
II.2 <i>Childhood Factors and Family Violence</i>	409
II.2.a <i>Child abuse</i>	410
II.2.b <i>Spouse abuse</i>	412
II.2.c <i>Child sexual abuse</i>	414
II.3 <i>Family Violence and Involvement in the Criminal Justice System</i>	416
II.4 <i>Family Violence and Other Outcomes</i>	418

CHAPTER III

<i>Victimization</i>	423
III.1 <i>General Victimization Findings</i>	423
III.2 <i>Fear of Crime and Victimization</i>	427
III.3 <i>Reporting Victimizations to Police</i>	429

CHAPTER IV

<i>Conclusions and Implications</i>	433
IV.1 <i>Discussion</i>	433
IV.1.a <i>Violence and inner-city respondents</i>	433
IV.1.b <i>Family violence</i>	434
IV.1.c <i>The effects of family violence</i>	435
IV.1.d <i>Victimization</i>	436
IV.1.e <i>Reporting victimizations</i>	436
IV.2 <i>Implications of Violence and Family Violence Findings</i>	438
IV.2.a <i>The context of violence</i>	438
IV.2.b <i>Preventing violence</i>	439
IV.2.c <i>Responding to violence</i>	443
IV.2.d <i>Research, theory and evaluation</i>	445
<i>Endnotes</i>	447
<i>References</i>	457
<i>Appendix I: Family violence scale</i>	467
<i>Appendix II: Family violence variables - CHAID</i>	469
<i>Appendix III: Child abuse variables - CHAID</i>	477
<i>Appendix IV: Spouse abuse variables - CHAID</i>	481
<i>Appendix V: Child sexual abuse variables - CHAID</i>	485
<i>Appendix VI: Number of victimization variables - CHAID</i>	489
<i>Appendix VII: Tables</i>	499
<i>Appendix VIII: Offences types from most serious to least serious</i>	529

TABLES

Table II.1	Age Groups by Family Violence	501
Table II.2	Number of Types of Family Violence by Severity of Violence	501
Table II.3	Father's Employment by Family Violence	501
Table II.4	Upbringing by Family Violence	502
Table II.5, 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e	Perpetrator by Family Violence by Total Respondents - Edmonton, Regina, Toronto and Montreal	502
Table II.6	Childhood Stability by Severity of Family Violence	504
Table II.7	Childhood Movement by Severity of Family Violence	504
Table II.8	Parental Drinking by Severity of Family Violence	505
Table II.9	Incidence and Severity of Child Abuse by Gender	505
Table II.10	Childhood Instability by Severity of Child Abuse	506
Table II.11	Perpetrators by Severity of Child Abuse	506
Table II.12	Child Abuse by Severity and City	506
Table II.13	Parental Drinking by Severity of Spouse Abuse	507
Table II.14	Spouse Abuse by Severity and City	507
Table II.15	Child Sexual Abuse by Severity and City	507
Table II.16	Family Violence by Number of Charges	508
Table II.17	Family Violence by Number of Adult Charges	508
Table II.18	Severity of Family Violence by Total Custody Time	509
Tables II.19a, 19b, 19c	Total Custody Time by Severity of Child, Spouse and Child Sexual Abuse	509
Tables II.20, 21, 22	Type of Detention by Severity of Child Abuse, Spouse Abuse and Child Sexual Abuse - provincial, juvenile, pre-trial	511
Table II.23	Age of Drinking by Severity of Family Violence and Gender	514
Table II.24	Alcohol Problem by Family Violence and Gender	515
Table III.1	Total Person Victimitizations by City	516
Table III.2	Person Victimitization by Gender and City	516
Table III.3	Victim-Offender Relationship by Gender	517
Table III.4	Total Person Victimitizations by Gender and city	517
Table III.5	Injury in City Victimitizations by Location and Gender	518
Table III.6	Number Person Victimitizations by City	518
Table III.7	Number Person Victimitizations by Location and City	519
Table III.8	Person Victimitization by City and Location	519
Table III.9	Victim-Offender Relationship by City	520
Table III.10	Ethnicity of Victimizer by City	520

Table III.11	Victimization on Reserve by City	521
Table III.12	Victim-Offender Relationship - Reserve Victimizations	521
Table III.13	Number of Victimizations by Family Violence and Gender	522
Table III.14	Perception of Level of Crime by Location and Gender	523
Table III.15	Crime in Neighbourhood Serious by City	523
Table III.16	Fear Victimization - Total Sample	524
Table III.17	Fear Victimization by Location and Gender	524
Table III.18	Fear Victimization by Number of Victimizations	525
Table III.19	Type Victimization Fear by City	526
Table III.20	Target of Crime by City	527
Table III.21	Reason Not Reporting by City	528

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

Introduction

To one degree or another, violence is a fact of everyday life for many native people in the inner city. Victimization and violence in adulthood is little different from victimization and violence in childhood. For both men and women, the difference between child and adulthood violence is simply the exchanging of one perpetrator for another. But violence is not one-dimensional, particularly in adulthood. Native people in the inner city may be victims of violence one day and perpetrators the next.¹

Violence as normative behaviour, and the class² context of violence, provide the framework within which these phenomena and the findings from the research are explored. Inherent in this approach is a rejection of the belief in "equality of victimization," and in the "isolation of problems." We argue that the degree of victimization and victimizing are linked directly to the degree of social and economic marginalization and family disruption. Violence occurs not as an isolated problem but within a context conducive to violence.

I.1 *The Research*

The primary objective of the inner-city research was to provide to the federal Aboriginal Justice Initiative the "voice" of a group rarely heard. A secondary objective was to gather information from a representative group of inner-city native people in western and eastern cities, to explain the disproportionality of native incarceration levels in western provinces. Four cities were selected -- Edmonton and Regina in the west, and Toronto and Montreal in the east.

This Part examines the victimization of the inner-city group as both adults and children. The first chapter describes the methodology and the theoretical issues. It reviews family violence and victimization literature in order to frame the discussion that follows. The second chapter provides findings on general family violence as well as on spousal, child and child sexual abuse. Victimization is the subject of the third chapter, where type and incidence of victimization, degree of seriousness and reporting of victimizations to police are described. In the last chapter, conclusions and responses to violence are explored. The data are all self-report³.

I.1.a *Family violence and victimization methodology*

The term "family violence" included witnessing spousal or sibling assault, child abuse and child sexual abuse. A five-point scale (see Appendix I) was created for the general category of family violence, and for each of the three sub-categories: spousal, child and child sexual abuse.⁴ Spousal assault in childhood referred to witnessing the abuse of a parent; in adulthood, to being a victim of assault. During the pre-test, it was clear respondents did not regard emotional or psychological abuse as "real" abuse, so questions referred to actual physical abuse.

The questions about "person"⁵ victimization refer to adult victimizations both in the city and in home communities/reserves. Respondents were asked about the incidence, type and severity of victimization and about whether or not the victimization was reported to police, and if not, the reasons for non-reporting.

I.2 *Violence in Society*

Aggressive childhood behaviours correlate with elevated potentials for adult violent behaviour. However, of young children who display aggressive behaviour patterns, little is known about why a few become violent adults while most adults do not. The distinguishing factors may be related to socio-economic status because adult violent behaviour is so much more concentrated than aggressive childhood behaviour in lower-income neighbourhoods. Identifying the relevant characteristics of communities, families and persons should be of highest priority in future research (National Research Council, 1992:7).⁶

In the past two decades, violence in society, and especially family violence and violence against women, have emerged as major social issues. Personal safety, increases in public violence, and violence against certain groups, especially women, dominate media accounts of crime and generate widespread concern and fear about victimization. The growing perception of random violence in society is not documented in official statistics in Canada, but this does little to reduce fear or promote more accurate media reporting.⁷ Victimization studies, more than official records, are the common vehicle for providing more complete information about the nature and extent of violence in society. These self-report studies provide information about victims, offenders and the circumstances of the victimizations. They, more than any other source of information, provide some answers to the enduring questions about victimization.⁸

Violence in Canadian society, while a preoccupation of the media, is substantially lower than in the United States, especially for homicides. For assaults and serious sexual assaults, the differences are less extreme (National Research Council, 1992:52-53). Recent data on trends in criminal victimization in Canada reveal that rates have remained the same, or decreased, over the past five years (Gartner and Doob, 1994). However, public perceptions are that violent crime has increased (Angus Reid, 1994). With the exception of sexual assault, the levels of male and female victimization are similar. Women experienced more sexual assaults and men more robberies (Statistics Section, 1994).⁹

In the United States, official data show that the perpetrators of violent crimes are overwhelmingly male, and disproportionately drawn from racial and ethnic minorities. In the majority of simple assaults, forcible rapes and homicides, offenders and victims were acquaintances. This was not the case in aggravated assaults and robberies. Blacks were five times, and native Americans two times more likely than whites, to be victims of violent crime (National Research Council, 1993:). There are no comparable victimization data in Canada but research shows aboriginal people in Canada, and especially females, are disproportionately victimized in relation to non-aboriginal Canadians (La Prairie, 1991; CCJS, 1993). Homicide rates for aboriginal Canadians are considerably higher than for non-aboriginal Canadians (Doob *et al*, 1994). In the United States, as in Canada, community size is related to the rate of violent crime—rural areas and smaller cities have less crime than large cities (National Research Council, 1992:79; Gartner and Doob, 1994). However, this may not hold true for reserves as some data suggest (CCJS, 1991).

In Canada, the relationship between violence and social class (as measured by socio-economic status or SES) has not been a popular avenue to pursue in accounting for the extent and incidence of violence. Conventional wisdom suggests that family violence, and especially wife assault, "cuts across all levels of society," with little reference to disproportionality. These beliefs are reinforced by large-scale telephone surveys on women and the incidence of violence, where differentials in type of violence, degree of severity and the socio-economic location of victims, are downplayed in public accounts.¹⁰ Research has also tended to minimize the relationship between family disruption, socio-economic status and family violence. Theoretical explorations in western countries into spouse and child sexual abuse, and child abuse to a lesser extent, focus on power differentials between the victim and victimizer. In the case of spouse abuse, power differentials include social and economic oppression as well as physical power (Bowker, 1985; Clark, 1989; Gelles, 1976; Martin, 1976).

1.2.a *Family violence and victimization assumptions*

In Canada and elsewhere, two assumptions underpin much family violence research and theory. These are the notions of "equality of victimization" and "isolation of the problem."

"Equality of victimization" means that all who are deemed vulnerable to victimization are deemed to be equally vulnerable. The most obvious example of this is violence against women. Recent surveys suggest Canadian women are equally at risk for victimization (CCJS, 1994a). Social and economic differentials and the personal characteristics of women are often ignored or unreported.¹¹ The end result, as identified in Part I, is that those most and least seriously victimized are treated similarly. Scarce resources are not concentrated by need and often go to groups with the most ability to access them.

"Isolation of the problem" refers to treating a problem (such as spouse or child sexual abuse) in isolation from other problems. Attention is disproportionately directed to this particular problem rather than to the conditions that create it (such as combinations of social, economic, family, individual factors). When related problems are identified they tend to be treated as secondary issues. The inter-relatedness of problems, and the significance of variables that relate to certain outcomes, were highlighted in the Inner-city research.¹² In the second part, *City-by-City Differences*, when examining the variables most likely to predict certain outcomes, such as alcohol abuse and involvement in the criminal justice system, family violence was never the only predictor but always existed in combination with other predictors, such as parental drinking, family instability, parental unemployment, involvement in the juvenile justice system, etc. There was the tendency for the same variables to appear over and over again but often in a different order.¹³

These assumptions, in concert with the "ownership" of some issues (and resources) by particular interest groups, have resulted in the interests of some groups taking precedence over the interests of others. This is most obvious in victimization where women are portrayed, and often portray themselves, as the primary victims of both public and private violence, despite the fact that victimization surveys reveal that, when excluding sexual assaults, males of certain ages are as likely to be victimized as are females (Gartner and Doob, 1994; Sacco and Johnson, 1990; National Research Council, 1992). In 1993, two-thirds of all victims of homicides were male (CCJS, 1994b). Amplification of risk and trauma of victimization are repeatedly used by special interest groups to make their case, as Fattah (1993:10) notes. The end result is that attention

is diverted from one group to accommodate another.¹⁴ Identifying, understanding and responding better to violence involving both males and females, would seem a more reasonable path to pursue.

The validation in research and theory of these "conventional wisdoms" has turned attention from more exact and critical analyses. Where more exact data exist, they do not garner the same media or government attention.¹⁵ For example, Finkelhor (1984) found that females from low-income families reported higher levels of child sexual abuse and that all types of family violence were higher among lower socio-economic levels. Recent research showed boys more affected by sexual abuse than their females counterparts (Priest, 1994). These findings do not receive the media attention of other findings.

1.2.b *Theories of violence*

The National Research Council (1992:2) definition of violence is "behaviours by individuals that intentionally threaten, attempt, or inflict physical harm on others." The authors describe the complexities of adopting single theories, such as developmental or neurological, to explain the propensity to be violent, and argue that:

violence arises from interactions among individuals' psychological development, their neurological and hormonal differences, and social processes... we have no basis for considering any of these... any more fundamental than the others. Because existing studies rarely consider more than one of these levels simultaneously, very little is known about relevant interactions (National Research Council, 1992:102).

Theories of crime and victimization often adopt a "universality" in the definition and impact of violence.¹⁶ Violence is frequently portrayed by the media, and by interested groups, as a uniformly bad phenomenon pervading all streets and households alike. For example, violence on television is generally presented as equally harmful to all children who watch it.¹⁷ In the same way, criminological theories often assume that violence is equally abhorrent to all who view it. Theories of violence, however, would suggest this is not the case and that acceptance and use of violence are related to a number of situational and other factors. There are three dominant approaches for explaining violent behaviour -- psychological, biological and sociological, none mutually exclusive.

Psychological theories recognize that childhood aggression may result in an increased likelihood of adult violent behaviour; and that violence may be learned behaviour.

Collins and Flewelling (1991) believe situationally determined norms play a central role in determining the likelihood of violent behaviour. The theoretical roots are found in interactionism and social learning perspectives, which posit that criminal behaviour is learned in social interactions with others, and in non-social situations such as observing the behaviour of others. Approval for violence varies along certain socio-demographic factors, which explains in part, the generational aspect of violence.

Subgroups with the highest rates of approval for violence report the highest rates of victimization as well as of committing and/or witnessing violence. Social context plays an important role in shaping normative expectations and behaviour, but rules of behaviour may be altered by drinking and other factors. Social context, relationships between people, the type of interaction, and the emotional state and cognitive capacity of participants are all related to violence.¹⁸ In an expansion of normative theories of violence, Kalmuss and Seltzer (1989) focus on family socialization, or the process by which parents transmit values to their children. They argue that behaviour is learned in the childhood family and transmitted to the family unit formed later in life.

A National Research Council (1992:7-13) study concluded that adult violent offenders have certain personality features as children. Hyperactivity, impulsivity, attention deficit, lack of concentration, little ability to defer gratification and low IQ scores are often associated with violent behaviour in adulthood. So, however, are abnormal viewing of violence on TV, harsh and erratic discipline in families, lack of parental nurturance, low income in large families, criminal behaviour by family members, early-grade school failure and growing up in a high-crime neighbourhood. Factors that seem to reduce the chance of childhood aggression are a shy temperament, high IQ, being firstborn, and a small stable family, characterized by low discord. They also found that long-term heavy alcohol use is a predisposing factor for violent behaviour; at least for adults who showed both chronic aggressive behaviour and alcohol use in childhood or early adolescence.¹⁹

Some attention has also been given to community characteristics and child maltreatment. In a review of the influence of community characteristics on rates of child maltreatment, Mazerolle (1992:1) examined research showing that communities with high levels of social isolation, social stress and social impoverishment, have higher rates of child maltreatment. Related factors were socio-economic and demographic: single motherhood and receiving financial assistance, teenage motherhood and low economic status, and unemployment. Conversely, other research revealed that higher levels of social cohesiveness and lower levels of social stress were associated with lower levels of child maltreatment, regardless of socio-economic status. One longitudinal study

analyzed rates of unemployment, changes in the work force size, and rates of maltreatment over time and demonstrated that increases in undesirable economic change preceded increases in rates of child abuse and neglect (Mazerolle, 1992:12-16).²⁰

Despite claims of "universal" violence and impact of violence on certain groups (such as against women or against children when shown on television), few believe the social and economic contexts or the communities in which people live are the same. Differences are apparent even to the most uninformed viewer: Growing numbers of homeless, of poor people and of children growing up in poverty, attest to these differences. To pretend that the potential for violence is the same for those with more and with less social and economic advantage, or that social and economic deprivation is unrelated to family disruption and stress, is to wilfully ignore the obvious.

1.3 *Family Violence*

Part one of this report revealed that approximately three-quarters of the 621 people interviewed reported some form of family violence - either witnessing spousal assault and/or being victims of child abuse or child sexual abuse.

As with violence more generally, theories of family violence fall into three categories -- psychological (individual pathology), sociological (family systems and dynamics), and structural/political (social structure and power). There are components of each which appear to explain some types of family violence, but there is no single theory, or cause, of any type of family violence.²¹

1.3.a *Spousal assault*

Women are the primary victims of spousal abuse and research shows that divorced, separated and co-habiting women are at greatest risk (Ellis and DeKeseredy, 1989; National Research Council, 1992; CCJS, 1994a). Kurz (1989) argues that two major social science perspectives on wife abuse have emerged in the past decade -- family violence and feminist perspectives. She believes the feminist perspective portrays the reality of battering most effectively.²² In support, Clark (1989) contends that the splintered social service response to violence against women reflects social and institutional acceptance of violence against women.

Individual or psychological theories have garnered support in some quarters, but most researchers are reluctant to focus exclusively on these explanations. McLeod (1992) found that 60% to 70% of wife abusers were drinking at the time of the assault but

most theorists today do not accept alcohol as a causal factor; but more often as a claim of diminished responsibility by perpetrators. Other research shows that men who batter their spouses when drunk also batter them when sober. However, Kaufman and Strauss (1989) found that a husband's drug use, husband's drunkenness, and paternal violence in the women's family of origin, were related to wife abuse. Women who abuse alcohol were also more likely to be victims of minor marital violence, but this was not a factor in severe violence.

In explaining spouse abuse, social learning theories focus on generational violence, the acceptance of violence, and sex-role socialization. Family dynamics, power imbalances between husbands and wives, social isolation, socio-economic stress, socio-cultural and structural/political factors are other explanations for spouse abuse (Health and Welfare, 1992). Each has its supporters and detractors. The range suggests there is not one explanation. In grappling with the theories, the National Research Council (1992:20) organized risk factors for violent spouse behaviour. They identified the macro and micro social, individual, sociological and biological in relation to pre-disposing, situational and activating factors. Their schema revealed no single factor; or set of factors, that account for spouse abuse. Certain conditions, situations and events influence certain outcomes.

1.3.b *Child abuse*

Psychological, sociological and structural/political theories frame the child abuse literature, but, like findings from the inner-city research, no single cause emerges. The National Research Council (1992:240) examined the role of power in child abuse and concluded that "Children as dependents are particularly vulnerable to the exercise of power by women as well as men." Family life theories have other supporters (for example, Garbarino, 1977). Kantor (1993) analyzed United States data from the National Family Violence Survey and concluded that parental drinking and aggression are important factors:

While there are significantly higher rates of child behavioural problems in families where the husband alone or both parents are problem drinkers, the associated effects of parental verbal and physical aggression towards children may be more important determinants than the family alcohol typology (Abstract).

Wolfe (1985), in comparing abusive and non-abusive parents, found significant differences between the two groups, involving psychological and sociological dimensions. Abusers were more likely to report stress-related symptoms such as depression

and health problems that are linked to the parenting role. In the family setting, abusers also displayed anti-social and aggressive reciprocal patterns of behaviour with their children and spouses. Lenton (1990), in studying a random sample of Toronto families, found that distinct styles of discipline existed. Factors related to the childhood socialization of parents were important determinants of whether they would adopt a proactive, teaching style of discipline, whereas factors related to the distribution of power in families influenced whether parents would adopt a reactive, violent style of discipline.

The increase in the past two decades of children not living with natural parents may also account for increases in family violence. As will be discussed in Chapter II, inner-city respondents who lived in foster-, step- and varied upbringing situations were more vulnerable to abuse, and to severe abuse, than children raised with both parents or in biological families. The National Research Council (1992:241) argues that:

Major recent changes in family organization and structure may account for some family violence as well. Among those believed to be of significance are changes that affect the social and moral bonding among family members... The temporary placement of children in foster homes, adoption and informal placement of children with relatives exposes some of them to the risk of violence from caretakers.

They add:

A second major change is the increase in the number of children who are not living with their natural parents. Their numbers are substantial owing to serial cohabitation, divorce, and desertion. Lacking the bonds of natural parenthood increases the risk of violence to minors in the family, especially of female adolescents to sexual violence.

Those most vulnerable to child abuse are unwanted children, step-children, children in foster homes, very young children, and children who are physically handicapped (Health and Welfare, 1992:25). There are also cultural theories of child abuse that link differences in definitions of discipline and cultural values to higher levels of child abuse (Breines and Gordon, 1984). Violence as normative, culturally-approved behaviour is an area which, to date, has not been widely explored in relation to child abuse. The literature reviewed recently by Health and Welfare, Canada, (1992:25) on perpetrators of child abuse is contradictory. On the one hand, it states those most at risk of committing child abuse are: young, single mothers from broken homes who themselves

were neglected or abused in childhood; fathers who are often absent and do not want the child; and families who live in poverty, with other special needs children and who are unaware of good nutrition. Many of these characteristics are synonymous with low SES populations. However, the same report does not emphasize this disproportionality when it argues that child abuse cuts across class lines.

1.3.c *Child sexual abuse*

In examining research on the prevalence of sexual abuse, Mullen (1990:25) found that, "in broad terms, these community studies suggest that over 50% of women will report having experienced sexual abuse and harassment during their childhood and adolescence, and between 10% and 15% report having been the victims of unequivocal sexual assault." He argues the need for clarity in public education when referring to rates of sexual abuse, so as not to misinform about what proportions of females are *actually* subjected to rape or violent sexual assault. To suggest the majority of men sexually abuse children is also misusing statistics. At the same time, Mullen warns the problem should not be minimized.

To many theorists, child sexual abuse best exemplifies the abuse of power. Psychosocial, biological and cultural explanations abound, particularly in relation to sexual violence against strangers. Explanations for sexual violence against acquaintances often involve beliefs about appropriate sex roles. Family context has been the primary source of research on child sexual abuse as well as child abuse. Gordon (1989) examined the family environment of sexual abuse and found family stress factors including alcohol and drug abuse, marital problems and insufficient income positively associated with sexual abuse. Lawton-Speert and Wachtel (1982) examined family dynamics and family dysfunction. Other family-related theories focus on the role of the mother as a "collaborator" in the abuse by not protecting, or believing, the child (Health and Welfare, 1992:39). Erickson *et al* (1984) argue that social isolation of families can result in sexual involvements within the family. Power differentials and stress factors within families are other common explanations for child sexual abuse.

Female children are three times as likely as male children to be sexually abused. Finkelhor (1984) argues that child sexual abuse should be viewed within a social and cultural framework. He found social isolation and growing up with limited social contacts to be risk factors in child sexual abuse. Finkelhor also found step-daughters particularly vulnerable to sexual abuse, and step-fathers five times more likely than natural fathers to abuse daughters.

1.4 *Aboriginal Family Violence and Victimization*

1.4.a *Incidence*

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the documentation of violence in aboriginal communities and families. There is a recognition that aboriginal communities have a disproportionate level of violence in relation to non-aboriginal society (CCJS, 1991, 1993; La Prairie, 1991, 1992; Auger *et al.*, 1992).²³ There are a number of reasons for this, including historical, geographic, economic and social reasons. Durkheim notes that crime is a "normal, integral and inevitable part of social life" (in Fattah, 1993:21).

Data from the United States are similar. Carter and Parker (1991:106) found that 80% of Indian families in urban areas had a history of family violence including incest, sexual abuse and battering. A survey of United States federal agencies providing services to Indian children found 67% of the sample was abused or neglected -- more boys were neglected and girls abused (including sexually). These trends were similar to those found in the general non-aboriginal population. The difference between populations was the magnitude of the problem (Piasecki *et al.*, 1989).

No comprehensive aboriginal victimization surveys have been conducted in Canada. Comparing homicide in aboriginal and non-aboriginal populations found the former to be disproportionately high (Doob *et al.*, 1994; Moyer, 1992). Research in select Canadian cities on aboriginal and non-aboriginal crime found aboriginal females to be disproportionately victimized (CCJS, 1993). Research in James Bay Cree communities, using official police files, revealed females to be victims in 68% of the assaults, but interpersonal assaults were generally higher than in comparable non-aboriginal communities (La Prairie, 1991). Similar findings have emerged from studies in Inuit communities (Inuit Justice Task Force, 1994). Part I revealed that 76% of the inner-city group had been the adult victim of a violent offence and the more marginalized the group, the greater the degree of victimization.

1.4.b *Theories of family violence in aboriginal communities*

The aboriginal family violence literature generally adopts structural/political theory to explain family violence, although some reference is made to psychological and sociological theories. Structural-political theory involves a macro-level analysis of power and oppression, where the historical legacy of colonization and assimilation set the stage for contemporary problems (Frank, 1992; Tom, 1992). Politically, and within the

growing aboriginal social service industry, solutions to these problems are seen in the gaining of greater control and autonomy by aboriginal people within the Canadian State (Grant, 1991).²⁴

Colonization, culture conflict, loss of traditional practices, and change in aboriginal societies (Condon, 1993; Nahanee and McIvor, 1992) and in gender relations (Jamieson, 1988), provide the context for most research. Aboriginal family violence research is generally located within these historical processes. For example, the Indian and Inuit Nurses Association of Canada (Dumont-Smith and Sioui-Labelle, 1991) identified three factors contributing to family violence — alcohol and substance abuse, economic problems and generational violence — as emerging directly from colonization. Residential schools and the intrusion of the child welfare system are other legacies of colonialism that are considered to be linked to interpersonal and family violence in contemporary aboriginal life (Nahanee and McIvor, 1992; Dumont-Smith and Sioui-Labelle, 1991; McLeod, 1992).

While historical injustices are indisputable, macro-level explanations alone have limited utility in explaining contemporary problems. It is important to incorporate micro-level processes as well. The reserve system and treaty-making created sedentary, often artificial, communities where tensions and divisions over access to limited opportunities and resources are commonplace. Social and economic stratification, and the adoption of individualistic value-systems, are not unusual in contemporary communities. However, attention to social and economic stratification and the potential for abuse of power in aboriginal communities is limited. Some aboriginal women have raised concerns about the position of women in communities (Nahanee and McIvor, 1992) and about the power of leaders. These issues, however, must also be examined in relation to other forms of community power²⁵ and to the demographics of contemporary communities.²⁶ If viewed too narrowly, any analysis is severely restricted.²⁷

In closed societies such as reserves, competition over resources, and frustration at exclusion from the mainstream society and/or from community resources, creates a context for violence.²⁸ In urban areas, especially inner cities, marginalization, poverty, alcohol problems and personal dysfunctions are often synonymous with violence. In both settings the potential for violence to become generational, learned and normative behaviour, is high.

Summary

Psychological and sociological perspectives are prominent in explaining family violence, but power is a central notion in both the aboriginal and non-aboriginal family violence literature. The non-aboriginal approach (especially for explaining spousal and child

sexual abuse), focuses on power differentials between males and females, and adults and children; the aboriginal approach is more on power at the macro-level of oppression — i.e., of aboriginal people by the dominant society.

At the individual level, physical power may be the primary factor in actually committing the abuse (because of power differences, the perpetrator knows it is physically possible to commit the offence), but other factors may provide the actual setting for abuse. Explaining power and violence is not unlike explaining poverty and crime. Criminologists have long been challenged to explain why all high-risk people do not commit crimes. Similarly, family violence theorists could be challenged to explain why all powerful people do not commit violence against those weaker. We argue that power may be the common factor in violence (where the perpetrator knows he or she can physically commit the offence against someone less powerful), but it is not the principal predictor. Individual and family dysfunctions, stress, social and economic marginalization and isolation, and learned aggression may be more significant than power as causal factors in family violence.

Restricting the analysis to power suggests anyone weaker than another is at risk. This reinforces a belief in the equality of victimization. It also isolates the problem and ignores the context in which it occurs, or assumes one context (i.e., power differentials) explains all types of family violence.²⁹ Isolating problems (such as crime and delinquency, suicide, solvent abuse and family violence) and separating causality inhibits an understanding of the broader problem and of more effective solutions. There is mounting evidence that social problems are disproportionate in families where instability, social isolation, disruption, violence, poverty, unemployment, lack of skills and education, and high stress are common-place (Grobsmith, 1989; Farrington, 1992; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1993; Greene, 1993; Sampson, 1991; Fattah, 1993; Scott, 1993; National Research Council, 1992). The challenge is to discover the combination of factors that predict certain outcomes, and to devise new and more effective responses to long-standing social and structural problems.

1.5 *The Effects of Family Violence*

Mark Lepine as a small boy often witnessed his mother being beaten by his father. He was beaten himself. In his mother's testimony at her divorce proceedings, ... she described incidents of her husband's anger, of how he hit the little boy in the face, leaving marks that sometimes lasted for a week, of bloodying his nose and forcing him and his younger brother to stand at stiff attention against a wall for painfully long periods. The father later told a judge that the children's punishment was no different than what he received as a youth (Scott, 1993).

There is a growing body of literature that links exposure to family violence in childhood to problems in later life. Longitudinal studies of abused and/or neglected children show higher rates of juvenile delinquency (McCord, 1983; Howing *et al.*, 1989). Other research shows poor adjustment in children, after suffering child and child sexual abuse and witnessing abuse, including anxiety, depression and behaviour problems (Fischer, 1983; Hughes *et al.*, 1987). Jaffe *et al.* (1990), in examining the literature on family violence and child development, found that while behaviour varies, reactions of children who witness spousal violence include disturbed patterns of cognitive, emotional and/or behavioral adjustment. Age, gender, degree and severity of violence were related to the degree of reaction. Increased aggression among physically abused children, disturbances in sexual development and self-esteem among sexually abused children, and poor peer relationships among emotionally abused children, were also evident (Jaffe *et al.*, 1990:68).

There is a danger, however, in isolating outcomes such as those previously mentioned and attributing certain causes, such as exposure to family violence. Windom (1989), and Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981), argue that other events and realities in a child's life may mediate the effects of child abuse and neglect, and the "long-term consequences of such childhood victimization are difficult to determine and remain unclear" (Windom, 1989:356). However, when using specialized cohorts in a large sample and control groups from a variety of child abuse, juvenile and adult court records and school records, Windom (1989:364) concluded that males had a higher frequency of criminal records than females, and that "adult criminality may be the direct by-product or may reflect the interaction of a number of causal factors, early abuse being only one of them."

Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) found only modest association between marital conflict and children's behaviour (but admit their sample was small, which may have affected their findings), but their work confirmed a strong relationship between spouse abuse and child abuse. In their sample, "almost 82% of the husbands who witnessed parental spouse abuse were also the victims of child abuse at the hands of one or both parents, strongly supporting the contention that children of spouse-abusing couples may be unusually vulnerable to abuse" (Rosenbaum and O'Leary, 1981:698-699).

Repression is another response to family violence, especially to child abuse. During the inner-city interviews in this study, the lack of criticism of severely abusive parents was surprising.

Respondents often defended their parents on the grounds that they (the respondents) "deserved a lickin," or arguing "it was good for me." Maté (1993:A18) describes this rationalization:

To maintain his position in the family, he had to learn very early in life to safeguard his parents from feelings of hurt, anger and outrage, at the cost of suppressing his emotions. Thus he is deprived of all memory of how it felt for him, the little boy, to be set upon violently by adults whom he loved and on whose love and benevolence he had to depend.

The end result is that:

the psychological mechanisms that enable us to remain blind, deaf and insensate to our own pain is called repression. It is induced in childhood as a necessary survival technique. Later, it becomes our prison (Maté, 1993:A18).

The acceptance of violence against them, whether by a parent, relative, stranger, friend, or police officer, was characteristic of many inner-city respondents. So, however, was their own propensity for violent behaviour.

1.5.a Family violence and gender

Part I, *The Inner-city Sample, Social Strata and the Criminal Justice System*, revealed that childhood experiences of males and females were similar, but their later-life behaviours were different. Males, and especially those in the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups,³⁰ were involved in the criminal justice system to a much greater extent than females. One explanation is that, in response to childhood violence and victimization, males appear to act out, and females to internalize their behaviour. Other research supports this explanation.

Clinical research has demonstrated the negative impact of family violence on children's development, particularly in relation to behavioral disorders in boys. In research on children from violent and non-violent families, Jaffe *et al* (1986:75-76) found symptoms of high distress or maladjustment more frequent in children exposed to violence between parents. Boys displayed a higher degree of both externalizing and internalizing symptoms, as well as a lower level of social competence. The overall adjustment of boys was found to be significantly associated with the degree of violence to which they had been exposed. Girls from violent families showed more internalizing symptoms related to depression and anxiety. These findings support earlier research of Rosenbaum and O'Leary (1981) and Hughes (1986).

Clinical findings of the effects of child sexual abuse on females found commonplace guilt, depression, negative self-image and problems in interpersonal relationships associated with an underlying mistrust of men, inadequate social skills and difficulties

in sexual functioning (Tsai and Wagner, 1978). Naquin (1989), in studying 63 married adult women who self-identified as incest victims, found childhood incestuous relationships directly related to problems in interpersonal relationships in adulthood.³¹

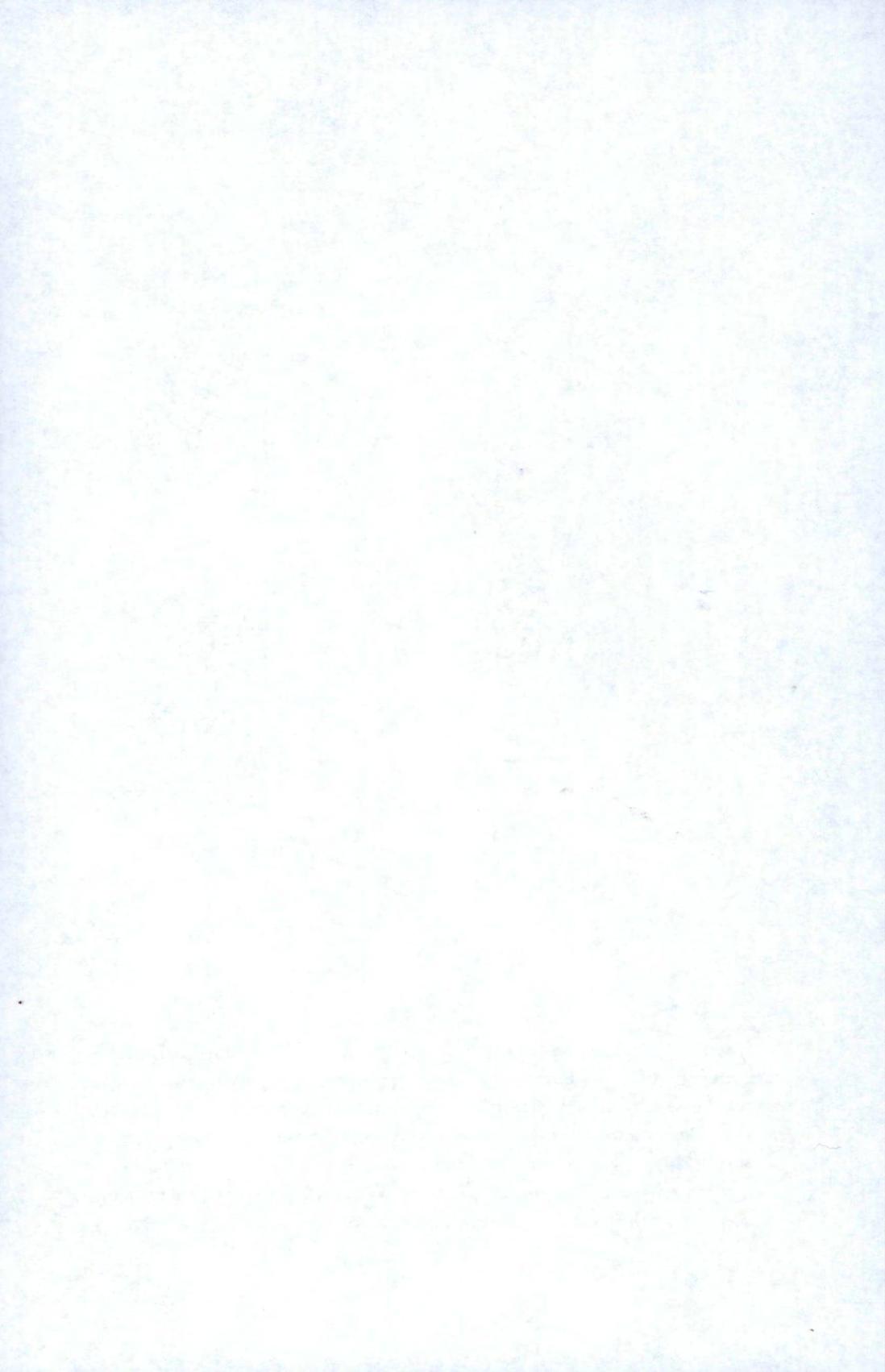
Recent research of the effects of sexual abuse on males and females, reported in the *Toronto Star* (Priest, 1993), revealed that men sexually abused as boys are more likely than females to suffer mental, drug or alcohol problems, but that both males and females were more likely than those not abused to suffer psychiatric or substance abuse problems. Abused males, however, showed greater extremes in behaviour than abused females. For example, abused males were 13 times more likely than non-abused males to experience a panic or anxiety disorder. Abused females were only twice as likely as non-abused females to exhibit these disorders. However, the rate of abuse of females is much higher than of males, which explains the attention paid to the child sexual abuse of the former.

Summary

This chapter of the third inner-city part describes theories of family violence — spouse, child and child sexual abuse. It describes the range of perspectives and reveals that no single theory adequately accounts for any type of violence. Social problems such as spouse, child and child sexual abuse should not be considered in isolation from related problems, or from the context in which they occur. Nor should equality of victimization be assumed.³² Maintaining the belief that family violence occurs proportionately in affluent and deprived communities and families, is to view the issue too narrowly. The possibility that spouse or other forms of family violence may have different explanations, depending on socio-economic level, has received inadequate research and theoretical attention. Too often, spouse abuse is perceived as a one-dimensional phenomenon where a single theory or set of assumptions explains the phenomenon for all victims and perpetrators.

The broader context of aboriginal community and family violence is political, where social, economic and historical processes have created contemporary conditions. The relegation of aboriginal people to marginalized positions in society, from which it is difficult to escape, provides the context for violence. The disproportionality of aboriginal crime and victimization suggests the strength of the historical-contemporary link. However, violence as learned and normative behaviour, altered relationships, diminished social controls, demographics and geography, and social and economic stratification best describe the contemporary situation.

There is a growing body of literature that links exposure to family violence to later problems in life, although the exact relationships are unclear. Some relationships have been identified between various types of family violence involving children and higher levels of delinquency, poor adjustment, poor peer relationships, disturbed patterns of cognitive, emotional and behavioural adjustments, repression and increased aggression. Males display higher levels of external and internal symptoms in response to violence. Females exhibit more depression and anxiety, so may exhibit behaviours, or have medical problems, related to these factors.



CHAPTER II

FAMILY VIOLENCE FINDINGS

Major findings in Parts I and II are reiterated here to contextualize the discussion about family violence and victimization. It is important to emphasize that family violence and victimization should not be regarded in isolation from their larger contexts.

The three groups—Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer—and males and females, showed differences in childhood and background factors, employment, education, custody of children and involvement in the criminal justice system. More females than males had custody of children, especially females in the Outer group. More females than males were involved in relationships and had more relationships over their lifetimes.³³ Individuals in the Inner 1 group (both males and females) were least likely to be employed and had the least education.

Eighty-eight percent (88%) of the entire sample were victims of childhood and/or adult violence. For many, and especially Inner 1 people, violence in both adulthood and childhood was a normal, everyday occurrence. Family life was often disrupted by violence and, for many, a stable family life was a remote dream. As one Inner 1 woman put it:

The majority of native people in ... don't have a clue what a normal family life is.

Violence is also a feature of inner-city life, especially in cities with clearly demarcated inner-city areas. One 40-year-old male in Edmonton explained the need for self-protection, and his own reaction to others who are violent or who bother people:

You have to keep up an act all the time to protect yourself but sometimes it's a pleasure to knock someone in the head when you watch someone bugging someone else.

In describing one of the more notorious parts of one inner city, a 35-year-old western woman said:

Near where I live there is a place called the "slaughter house" where lots of stabbings, fighting, drinking takes place.

The violent nature of many confrontations on the street was also described:

When people start fighting they start pulling shanks out. Native women on the streets are picking on new people and fighting with knives too.

One male described losing 15 friends in one year who died from alcohol and drugs, as well as stabbings and suicide.³⁴

The violence many respondents encountered in the inner city, and in their own lives in the inner city, approximated what they experienced in childhood. The continuation of violence through various stages of life provided some evidence for how violence was learned, generation to generation, and internalized as normative behaviour.

II.1 *General Family Violence Findings*³⁵

As mentioned previously, three quarters of the sample reported violence in their families.³⁶ More than one quarter of the family violence reported was of the most severe variety, 21% moderately severe and one half less severe. There was little difference in exposure to family violence for males and females - 70% of the males and 75% of the females reported family violence in childhood. More males than females were exposed to spousal assault and to child abuse. Males more often were victims of severe child abuse - of those experiencing child abuse, 63% of males and 37% of females experienced severe child abuse. More females than males were victims of child sexual abuse.

More Inner 1 males and females were subjected to the most severe family violence, and Outer respondents to the least. Only one quarter of the Inner 1 and 2 groups had no family violence, compared with 35% of those in the Outer group. Twenty-four percent (24%) of the Inner 1 group had experienced the most severe family violence as, compared with 20% of Inner 2 people and 13% of Outer respondents. Inner 1 people in the west, and Inner 2 people in the east, experienced the most family violence. Outer respondents in Regina experienced the least. Inner 1 respondents experienced the most severe child abuse, but Inner 1 and Inner 2 people both experienced the most severe spouse abuse. There were no significant differences in the three groups for child sexual abuse.³⁷

In remarking on the extent of violence in his own family, a 35-year-old Inner 1 male said:

My Dad hit my mother quite often — once he pushed her through a window. It was serious enough to go to a doctor but she never did. All of us were abused by my Dad — especially the older children. Once I was hit with an electrical cord when I was small but when we were older he hit us with his fists. An auntie sexually abused me when I was small but I never told anyone.

However, experiencing serious episodes of family violence was not restricted to those in the Inner I group, although it was more pronounced in this group. A 42-year-old Mohawk Outer female described the extent of violence in her childhood:

My Mom was beaten by my Dad when he was drinking, which was most of the time. Mom had her head split open with a telephone when she was calling the police. Most of us children were beaten by my Dad, especially my oldest brother who was full Mohawk - he got it because he was full Mohawk. My father kicked him all over the floor and he had to go to the hospital. A neighbour sexually abused me when I was five.

Another Outer female, a 44-year-old Blackfoot, said:

Once my father beat up my mother — he gave her a bloody nose. But us older children were hit at any time — we were beaten with a green switch, an electric cord, whatever he could find. Got sent into a dark basement for hours. We were used as punching bags. One of my uncles sexually abuse me from when I was about 3 to about 7. I think my step-sisters were abused by my father and my brothers. When I was 10 at a drinking party at my parent's house I was passed around and several men sexually abused me.

In describing more generalized violence in his family, a 17-year-old Inner I male remarked:

My brothers and my Dad fought a lot and hurt each other. Sometimes people went to the hospital. I was only small but it happened about every month. My Dad got beat up a lot and I tried to help him but I was too small. I had an auntie and she got murdered.

A 23-year-old Inner 2 Cree female said:

Dad beat Mom every week. She had to go into the hospital a couple of times. She had stitches on her head and bite marks all over her body. All us kids saw it. Mom beat me a lot with belts, brooms, mops, pails or whatever she got her hands on. My Mom's oldest son sexually abused me twice.

The older groups, those 45 years of age or more, experienced less family violence than those aged 15-44 (Table II.1 *Age Groups by Family Violence*).³⁸ Older respondents also reported less violence on reserves than did the younger ones. Situations involving foster, step-parent, and varied family arrangements were most likely to involve severe family violence. Where violence was present, 47% of varied, 39% of step-, and 37% of foster parents were perpetrators of severe violence, compared with 22% of biological and 17% of extended families. Inner I respondents were over-represented in being victims in foster and extended family situations.

As education of respondents increased, family violence decreased. Seventy-five percent (75%) of those with only some high school, or with grade six or less, experienced family violence, compared with 59% of those with high school. This was particularly true for males. There was no significant relationship, however, between severity of violence and education. One of the most interesting findings was the relationship between severity of violence and the presence of more than one type of violence in a family. Where there was only one type, violence was of the least severe variety; where two or three types were present, violence was usually more severe (Table II.2 *Number of Types of Family Violence by Severity of Violence*). Where child sexual abuse was present, it was more likely (than for child or spouse abuse) that other types of family violence were also present.

More severe violence was related to a number of variables. People who experienced severe family violence as children were more likely than those experiencing less severe violence to perceive reserve violence as involving spouse abuse. Violence was also more severe in the group that arrived in the city between 15 and 24 years of age — related perhaps to leaving home because of violence and other problems. Females from communities 500 or more kilometres away from the city experienced more violence than females from, or closer to, the city. There were no significant differences for males. The likelihood of being an adult victim of violence also increased with *severity* of family violence but the *number* of victimizations did not. Fear of victimization, perceptions of level of crime in neighbourhood, and experiences with crime, were not related to the severity of family violence. Females in Edmonton reported more severe family violence than males, but there were no significant differences in other cities.

II.2 *Childhood Factors and Family Violence*

There were no differences between family violence and where respondents spent their childhoods or their home communities. There were differences, however, in parental employment and severity of family violence (Table II.3 *Father's Employment by Family Violence*). Family violence was present in 60% of two-parent families, 79% of single-parent families, 78% of foster families and 82% of "varied" family situations (Table II.4 *Upbringing by Family Violence*). A 41-year-old Inner I Metis male said:

When I was about 11 years old my mother had a boyfriend who used to throw knives at us kids.

Severity of family violence was also related to upbringing. Severe family violence was disproportionately present where respondents were in foster-, step- and "varied" family situations. This was the case in all cities except Montreal. For Montreal respondents, there were no differences among the family-type groupings and severity of violence (Tables II.5, 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e *Perpetrator by Family Violence by Total Respondents - Edmonton, Regina, Toronto and Montreal*).

Stability and movement in childhood were also significantly related to family violence and to severity of violence — 38% of respondents who said their childhoods were "unstable" experienced severe family violence, as compared to 8% who said their childhoods were stable (Table II.6 *Childhood Stability by Severity of Family Violence*). Of respondents who moved frequently as children, 28% experienced severe family violence, compared with 14% who did not move a lot (Table II.7 *Childhood Movement by Severity of Family Violence*).

The relationship between family violence and parental drinking is very strong. Seventy-one percent (71%) of the respondents who experienced family violence also reported a parental drinking problem. Where both parents had a drinking problem, respondents were four times more likely to have suffered severe, and three times more likely to have suffered medium, family violence than those whose parents did not have an alcohol problem. Where father only had a problem, the comparable figures were three times for severe, and two times for medium family violence. Where mothers had a severe drinking problem, family violence was disproportionately severe (Table II.8 *Parental Drinking by Severity of Family Violence*). A 25-year-old Inner I male said:

I often went to school without food because Mom drank up the money. My Mom and my uncles drank and fought with each other.

Family violence often involved more than one type of violence and is much more generalized in families than usually imagined. For example, a 24-year-old Cree mother of four said that she was raped at 15 and had a child; her own mother is in a wheelchair because her husband threw her out of the house when the respondent was a child, and the mother froze her legs because she used her clothes to cover the children; the respondent was then physically punished by the father for being raped. A 28-year-old Inner 1 male spoke of his fear for his mother:

When I was about 12 or 13 there was a lot of drinking and fighting in the house. Lots of fights and people were beaten up — even Mom. Mom tried to commit suicide a few times — I was really scared.

For some, the family configurations in childhood were complex and changes often seemed to spell violence. A 29-year-old Inner 1 Metis female who was placed in foster homes at birth, and never knew the identity of her father, was adopted at two years of age. When the adoptive mother died the father began to abuse the respondent. However, when he remarried:

Then the problems really started for me. My step-mom hated us and mistreated us. I would run away all the time and my adopted dad would beat me. He hit my step-mom once too but she really deserved it.

In describing different forms of family violence and victimization in her biological family where her father was always the perpetrator, a 41-year-old Inner 2 female said:

My Dad used physical and verbal abuse at my Mom. He also beat one of my brothers. He sexually abused me when I was small.

Hospitalization for injuries suffered in family violence episodes often involved more than one family member. A 25-year-old Gitskan Inner 1 male said:

My parents fought all the time. It was bad and Mom was hospitalized a few times. I was beaten a lot by both my parents. Sometimes they hit me with things. I had to go to the hospital several times. My other brothers were also beaten and sometimes went to the hospital too.

II.2.a Child abuse

Nearly one-half (46%) of respondents reported being a victim of child abuse. More than one-half of the Inner 1 group was exposed to child abuse, compared with 43% of

Inner 2 and 42% of Outer respondents. Although these differences are not significant, the severity of abuse is — Inner 1 experienced more severe child abuse than the other groups — 45%, compared with 37% for Inner 2 people and 18% for Outer people. More males than females reported child abuse (Table II.9 *Incidence and Severity of Child Abuse by Gender*) and instability in childhood was related to the severity of abuse (Table II.10 *Childhood Instability by Severity of Child Abuse*).

Movement in childhood was directly related to the incidence of child abuse. An important finding was that the severity of maternal drinking was related to incidence of child abuse — 70% of respondents who said their mothers had a severe problem experienced child abuse, compared with 40% of mothers who had a moderate problem. The findings for fathers were similar — 61% who said their fathers had a severe drinking problem experienced child abuse, compared with 29% who had a moderate problem. The severity of child abuse was also related to severity of parental drinking, especially for fathers.³⁹ A 32-year-old male said⁴⁰:

My father always beat us — mostly when he was drunk but sometimes when he was sober too — he beat us every day.

A slightly younger Inner 1 Mohawk male related that:

My father would come home drunk and beat us with a hockey stick "to make us tough." We (the siblings) got so bad fighting each other too that sometimes the cops had to come and break it up.

One 39-year-old non-status Inner 1 male said he thought he would never live to adulthood:

My father broke my back when I was small. He tied me up with a dog leash and made me sleep in the dog house. Once when I couldn't remember something he broke my cat's neck. My father wasn't drinking. He gave us away to people who beat us and sold my sister when she was a baby. Two of my brothers are in jail now and two are in mental institutions.

A 32-year-old Inner female said her mother was abusive:

My mother beat me up a lot. Once she threw me from a second storey window. She banged my head against the wall and punched me. It happened nearly every day.

Fifty-nine percent (59%) of biological, 79% of step-, 87% of foster-, and 73% of varied family situations involved child abuse. In terms of the severity of child abuse, foster families inflicted significantly more severe abuse, followed by varied family situations and step-parents. A 38-year-old Inner 1 male experienced abuse at the hands of two sets of non-native foster families. He said:

They beat me with a stick. I was about nine but it went on until I was about 11. Sometimes I had to go to the hospital.

Another male respondent from the Inner 1 group was abused by both biological and foster parents:

When I was a small baby my father slapped me with a wet diaper and I'm deaf in one ear now. He beat me 'cause I was the oldest. I was in two foster homes also — both of them beat me too.

Extended and biological families inflicted the least severe abuse (Table II.11 *Perpetrators by Severity of Child Abuse*). Biological parents and extended family who were perpetrators of child abuse were over-represented on reserves; "varied" and foster parents were over-represented in rural areas/small towns, and step-parents in cities. Respondents in Montreal reported the most severe child abuse but figures were similar for the other three cities. However, Edmonton reported the highest proportion of "least severe" child abuse (Table II.12 *Child Abuse by Severity and City*).

There were no significant differences in the incidence of child abuse, or in gender and child abuse across the four cities, but there were when cross-tabulating gender by severity. While there were no differences in Toronto, Montreal and Regina, more males than females in Edmonton experienced severe child abuse.

II.2.b Spouse abuse

Fifty percent (50%) of respondents witnessed spouse abuse. More males than females said they witnessed spousal assault (usually against mothers), but there were no gender differences for severity of assault. Of those exposed to spouse abuse, 57% were male and 43% female. Of those who witnessed severe assault of a parent, 42% were from reserves, 45% from "varied" places, 20% from small towns and 29% from cities. Inner 1 respondents experienced the most severe and medium spousal abuse, while Outer people suffered the least. As with child abuse and family violence more generally, respondents who spent the majority of their childhoods in a number of places, had unstable childhoods and had parents with drinking problems, experienced more spouse abuse. A 33-year-old Inner 2 Inuit woman described her experiences:

My Dad really abused my Mom. I saw it from when I was five until about 16. It happened about every three months and sometimes Mom was really hurt and had to go to the hospital. I hated seeing my Dad beat on my Mom. All us kids tried to stop him and protect Mom.

Others spoke of seeing mothers beaten by boyfriends. A 32-year-old Inner 2 female said:

Mom was beaten up by her boyfriends. It always happened. Mom went from being pretty to appearing rough. She had so many stitches she looked like Frankenstein.

And others talked of trying to stop the severity of the violence, as related by an Inner 1 male:

We learned how to run and hide. Also learned how to hide the axe, the gun.

Respondents with one parent with a drinking problem were twice as likely as those with both parents without a problem to be victims of spouse abuse. Nearly three-quarters of respondents with a father who had a severe drinking problem witnessed spouse abuse, compared with 49% whose fathers had a moderate drinking problem. Interestingly, when both parents had a drinking problem, respondents were three times more likely to experience spouse abuse. Birth mother's drinking was not as highly correlated with spouse abuse as was birth father's drinking. However, there was more severe spouse abuse when both parents drank (Table II.13 *Parental Drinking by Severity of Spouse Abuse*). A 38-year-old Inner 1 male remembered his own childhood experiences:

It always happened between my parents when they drank. Dad would end up beating up my Mom. I was about five or six when I first remember it but it got worse. Mom was beaten real bad. I saw it. I used to hide in the room with the younger kids. Mom would dress us up and take us to my grandmother's until my dad sobered up. It happened about every two months.

Some respondents claimed that abuse occurred whether the father was drunk or sober. As one Inner 1 male said:

My father beat my mother until she was unconscious. He beat her whether he was drunk or sober. I think all the beatings killed my mother. She just died in her sleep one day.

Parents who had spent time in jail was another factor related to spouse abuse, particularly if it was the father. However, income of family and education of respondent were not significantly related to spouse abuse, but the income factor was in the direction of more severe abuse in families on welfare.⁴¹

There are significant differences among the four cities in the incidence and severity of spousal abuse. The most severe violence was experienced by respondents in Montreal and Regina, followed by those in Toronto and Edmonton (Table II.14 *Spouse Abuse by Severity and City*). More Inner 2 people in Montreal than other groups in all cities witnessed severe spouse abuse.⁴² However, across the cities there were no differences by gender.

II.2.c *Child sexual abuse*

One-fifth (20%) of all respondents (11% of the males and 30% of the females) experienced child sexual abuse. Of all child sexual abuse, 42% was of the most severe variety. Of the abuse experienced by males, 25% was severe; of that experienced by females, 42% was severe. While the numbers are too small for accurate city-by-city analysis, more female respondents in Regina and Montreal experienced abuse. In general, however, there were no significant differences in the incidence of child sexual abuse across cities when not controlling for gender (Table II.15 *Child Sexual Abuse by Severity and City*).

Interestingly, income of parents, education, and parents who had spent time in jail, unlike spouse and child abuse, did not distinguish respondents who had and had not experienced child sexual abuse. However, the four variables that best distinguish severity of child sexual abuse in order of significance are: severity of birth mother's drinking, being born on a reserve or off-reserve but in a rural area (as compared to an urban or semi-urban area), severity of birth father's drinking, and being in a foster, extended or varied family situation.⁴³

Many respondents, and particularly females, lamented the extent of child sexual abuse in their own lives and the lives of other native children. One 30-year-old mother of four said:

So many native children have been sexually assaulted by relatives and friends.

A 40-year-old Micmac woman related her own experience as a victim of child sexual abuse:

From when I was about eight my grandfather, brother and uncle abused me.

A 31-year-old Inner 1 Inuit woman spoke of her fear when at home as a teenager because:

When my brothers got drunk they tried to make love to me and I said, "My God, I'm your sister."

Another woman said angrily of her father:

My sister won't admit it but I'm sure my father did it to her - I know damn well he did it.

An 18-year-old Inner 2 male claimed his mother had a serious drinking problem, and an older cousin sexually abused him and his brothers and sisters when he (the respondent) was about nine and his mother was drunk.

Unlike child and spouse abuse, the severity of child sexual abuse is not related to stability or mobility in childhood, nor does it distinguish the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups. This suggests that moving around, or being in an unstable family situation, did not distinguish the severity of abuse. Nor did being in the Inner 1, Inner 2 or Outer group. There was, however, an interesting finding about the severity of birth parents' drinking and the severity of child sexual abuse. When the mother's drinking was severe, so was the abuse; however, when the father's drinking was severe, the abuse was less severe.⁴⁴ A 32-year-old Inner 2 female talked about drinking and abuse:

Everyone drank and some of the men who abused me were my mother's boyfriends. Some were family. It was really bad—I can't have children because of it.

Another of living in an extended family situation:

I was abused by my uncles and cousins - oh, I was about six when it first happened I guess. It stopped when I was about 10. I tried to keep my life a secret because they weren't my real parents. I left when I was about 13. I always wanted my own parents—I never felt I belonged there.

A 26-year-old Inner 1 male from the street said:

When I was first on the street, when I was 11, I was abused by the first person I ran into. I guess it goes with the territory if you are on the street. It happened to me about twice a week on the street. It happened until I was about 16.

II.3 *Family Violence and Involvement in the Criminal Justice System*

One of the central issues in the inner-city research was to determine connections between the events in people's lives. Two of the most critical are the relationships between family violence experiences and involvement in the criminal justice system. The discussion below sets out the findings. In selecting the general family violence variable and cross-tabulating it with the criminal justice system variables—juvenile and adult charges and detention—some interesting findings emerged.

Nearly three-quarters of respondents with a criminal charge had experienced family violence. For juvenile charges, there was a greater number of "one only" charges for males with no family violence. For females, there was no significant difference in numbers of charges and the presence of family violence. There was also a relationship between the severity of family violence and the number of juvenile charges. Whereas 42% of males with the least severe family violence had one juvenile charge, only 11% of those with the most severe family violence had one charge. This, however, was not the case for females, where there was no significant difference between the number of juvenile charges and the severity of family violence.

Respondents with less severe child and child sexual abuse also committed fewer juvenile offences, but for both males and females there was no relationship to the severity of spouse abuse. Males who experienced less severe family violence committed significantly more JDA and property offences, whereas those who experienced moderate or severe family violence committed significantly more person, or a combination of person and property, offences. There were no significant differences for females. This finding held for child abuse but not for child sexual abuse, where severity did not appear to be related to the type of juvenile offence.

When examining total *Criminal Code* charges, there were significant differences among respondents with family violence and severe family violence experiences and total charges. For example, 44% of those with no family violence had only one charge, compared with 25% with less severe violence, and 15% each for those who experienced medium and severe violence. More people with family violence experiences (and particularly if the violence was severe) had 21 or more charges (Table II.16 *Family Violence by Number of Charges*). Severity of violence and number of charges was

significant for males but not for females. There were also significant differences for total adult charges. Again, more respondents with no experiences of family violence had only one charge, compared with those with experiences (Table II.17 *Family Violence by Number of Adult Charges*).⁴⁵ Respondents, especially males, who experienced the most severe child abuse also had the most total charges. However, there was no clear relationship between the severity of spouse and child sexual abuse and total charges.

Having a charge was significantly related to family violence—75% of respondents with a charge had also been exposed to family violence. There were no significant differences for males, but there were for females, in the severity of violence and having a charge. For example, 26% of females who experienced severe family violence were charged, compared with 14% who experienced severe family violence and were not charged. Although not statistically significant, there were more male differences in the group that experienced no family violence. For example, of those who did not experience any family violence, 28% were charged and 43% were not charged.

There was a significant relationship between having a charge and severity of child abuse—those with the most severe child abuse had more charges and fewer of this group had no charge. There was no relationship, however, between the severity of child sexual abuse and having a charge. There was a weak relationship only between severity of spouse abuse and having a charge.⁴⁶

Respondents with no, or with less severe, family violence were more likely to have served no detention time or only a short period of time. This was consistent for both males and females (Table II.18 *Severity of Family Violence by Total Custody Time*).⁴⁷ Total custody time was significantly related to severity of child abuse—53% of the group who spent the most time in custody were also victims of severe child abuse, compared with 16% with the least severe child abuse. Severity of child abuse and total custody was significant for males but not for females. However, there was no significant relationship between severity of spouse, or child sexual abuse, and total custody time for the total sample, or for males and females (Tables II.19a, 19b, 19c *Total Custody Time by Severity of Child, Spouse and Child Sexual Abuse*).

More specifically, respondents with no family violence in their childhoods were less likely to have served juvenile,⁴⁸ provincial, pre-trial or federal detention than those with family violence, and especially moderate or severe family violence. As severity of child abuse increases, so does time in juvenile, provincial, pre-trial, and federal detention, but this finding does not appear to hold for spouse or child sexual abuse (Tables II.20, 21, 22 *Type of Detention by Severity of Child Abuse, Spouse Abuse and Child Sexual Abuse - provincial, juvenile, pre-trial*).

II.4 Family Violence and Other Outcomes

The age of first taking alcohol and drugs is significantly related to the incidence and severity of family violence—the more severe the violence, the younger the age of drinking. There is an interesting difference between males and females in this regard. Males with the most severe family violence began drinking at a younger age than females with similar experiences (Table II.23 *Age of Drinking by Severity of Family Violence and Gender*). The findings for drug use were similar—overall, 38% of respondents who experienced severe family violence first took drugs at 10 years or less, compared with 12% who started drugs at this age but did not experience any family violence. The differences were statistically significant.

Having an alcohol problem as an adult is positively related to experiencing family violence as a child. Eighty-three percent (83%) of those who said they drank “all the time” were victims of family violence, compared with 61% who said they had no drinking problem but were also victims. The relationship was significant for females but not for males. Whereas 80% of males with a serious alcohol problem experienced family violence, the comparable figure for females was 90%. While 22% of males with a serious drinking problem also experienced *severe* family violence, the comparable figure for females was 31% (Table II.24 *Alcohol Problem by Family Violence and Gender*). There was, however, no relationship between severity of family violence and severity of drug problem in adulthood.

An interesting finding was that having an alcohol problem as an adult was not related to the severity of child sexual abuse or child abuse, but it was related to the *severity* of spouse abuse. This would suggest that children may be more traumatized witnessing the severe abuse of a parent (and especially of the mother who probably appears to the child more helpless and in need of protection).⁴⁹ Interestingly, the age of first drinking was not significantly related to the severity of child sexual abuse or to the severity of child abuse. It was, however, somewhat related to the severity of spousal abuse—the more severe the violence witnessed by the child, the younger the age of drinking.

When controlling for home community (city, reserve, small town/rural, varied) by location group (Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer) and family violence, some differences emerge. Respondents who spent the majority of their lives in cities, and also experienced family violence, were more likely to be in the Inner 1 group. Inner 1 and Inner 2 respondents witnessed the most severe and Outer the least severe spouse abuse. Inner 1 males experienced the most severe child abuse.

Despite research showing that victims of child sexual abuse have more difficulty with adult relationships (Tsai and Wagner, 1978; Naquin, 1989), the number of relationships and child sexual abuse were not significantly related in the inner-city sample. Nor was severity of child sexual abuse related to the number of relationships. The number of relationships was also not significantly related to any other type of family violence.

The likelihood of being a victim in adulthood related to family violence and the severity of violence related to number of victimizations. Number of victimizations did not relate to severity of child or spouse abuse. There was, however, a relationship between the number of adult victimizations and the severity of child sexual abuse.⁵⁰

Summary

Findings from the inner-city research reveal the degree of violence most inner-city respondents were exposed to as children. The extent and severity of the violence is startling. It is not difficult to see how patterns of violence set in childhood are carried into adulthood. Nor is it difficult to understand how violence is learned and becomes normative.

Nearly three-quarters of the sample experienced family violence in childhood and one-quarter was of the most severe kind. Overall, there were few gender differences but males were generally exposed to more spouse and child abuse, and females to child sexual abuse. Males also tended to be exposed to more severe child abuse. Inner I males and females were the most victimized, and Outer respondents the least victimized as children. This, however, did not hold true for child sexual abuse where there were no location differences. Older respondents were exposed to less family violence than the middle-aged or younger group.

For inner-city respondents, the severity of family violence increases when more than one type of violence is present. Childhood factors related to family violence are parental unemployment, type of upbringing, stability and movement in childhood. However, the most significant and important factors of all are parental drinking and the severity of drinking.

The findings reveal the vulnerability of children in certain upbringing situations — particularly when in foster-, step- and varied family circumstances. However, this also varies by type of violence. For example, children are more at risk of sexual abuse in foster and extended families, but are more vulnerable to child abuse in foster-, step- and varied family circumstances. Biological and varied family situations are related to the most severe spouse abuse.

Nearly one half (46%) the sample experienced child abuse. Inner 1 respondents generally experienced the most child abuse and the most severe abuse. Males experienced more severe abuse than females. Instability, movement and severity of parental drinking, particularly of father's drinking, were most strongly related to child abuse. Foster families perpetrated the most severe child abuse, followed by "varied" upbringings. Montreal respondents generally experienced the most severe child abuse, and Edmonton males experienced more severe abuse than females.

Fully one half (50%) of the sample witnessed spouse abuse. Generally, more males than females witnessed spouse abuse but there were no gender differences by severity. Inner 1 respondents witnessed the most severe and moderate abuse, and those in the Outer group the least severe. Being from a reserve or "varied" places was related to spouse abuse and, like child abuse, instability and moving around in childhood were also related. Parental drinking, and especially the severity of father's drinking, was the most strongly related variable. Parental time in detention, especially if it was the father, was also significant. Montreal and Regina respondents witnessed the most severe spouse abuse. Inner 1 people growing up in the city experienced more family violence than Inner 2 or Outer people. Inner 1 and Inner 2 respondents witnessed the most severe spouse abuse.

One fifth (20%) of all respondents experienced child sexual abuse, but of that, two-thirds was experienced by females. Significantly more females than males experienced severe abuse. More respondents in Montreal and Regina experienced child sexual abuse. The four variables most strongly related to child sexual abuse, in order of significance, are: severity of birth mother's drinking; being in a foster, extended or "varied" family situation; being born on a reserve or an off-reserve rural area; and severity of birth father's drinking. Unlike child and spouse abuse, instability and movement in childhood, and parental time in detention, were not significantly related to child sexual abuse. Nor were education of respondent or employment of father. Of the three types of family violence, child sexual abuse appears most likely to cut across socio-economic (SES) lines. Child sexual abuse is commonly grouped within general family violence theory but these findings suggest it may be a somewhat different phenomenon.

Three quarters of respondents with a charge experienced family violence. Males who experienced family violence had more juvenile charges, and the number of charges increased with severity of violence. Severity of family violence, and especially child abuse, was related to the commission of more juvenile "person" offences. For total charges, the number of charges increased with severity of violence for males but not for

females. Respondents (especially males) with the most severe child abuse (but not spouse or child sexual abuse) also had the most charges. When examining adult charges only, severity of violence was not significant. The severity of child abuse was significantly related to having a charge, but this finding did not hold for spouse or child sexual abuse.

Total custody time was significantly related to severity of child abuse—more than one-half of the respondents with the most custody time were also victims of the most severe child abuse. This was so for males but not for females. As severity of child abuse increased so did time in juvenile, pre-trial, provincial and federal detention. This did not hold for spouse or child sexual abuse.

The age of first taking alcohol and drugs was related to the incidence and severity of family violence, especially for males. The more severe the violence, the younger the age of first taking alcohol and drugs. Age of first using alcohol and drugs was more strongly related to spouse, than to child or child sexual abuse. For females, having an alcohol problem in adulthood is significantly related to family violence in childhood. Number of relationships in adulthood was not related to any type or severity of family violence. The likelihood of being a victim in adulthood related to family violence, but the *number* of victimizations related to *severity* of violence.

In sum, there were a number of significant relationships between exposure to family violence and outcomes in later juvenile or adult life. Being a victim of child abuse is more likely to be related to involvement in the criminal justice system (as reflected in charges and detention), than witnessing spouse abuse or being the victim of child sexual abuse. The other important findings are the male-female differences in response to violence. Females do not appear to act out in the same way as males. Males seem to be more at risk than females in the severity of child abuse and their response to it, as measured by numbers of charges and time in detention.

It would appear that, for males, exposure to child abuse is more strongly related than it is for females to involvement in the criminal justice system. Exposure to spouse abuse is more strongly related to age at first drinking or taking drugs, and having an alcohol problem as an adult (especially for females), than is exposure to child abuse or child sexual abuse.



CHAPTER III

VICTIMIZATION

As discussed in Chapter I, respondents were asked questions about their victimization in cities and in home communities. Victimization included both property and personal victimization (the latter including robbery).⁵¹ People were also asked if they considered the victimization serious and if they reported it to police. They were asked questions about fear of crime and crime levels in their areas/neighbourhoods. Some of the general findings in response to these questions are discussed below.

III.1 *General Victimization Findings*

Of the total sample, 66% reported a person victimization. Overall, victimization was higher in Edmonton and Regina (Table III.1 *Total Person Victimization by City*).⁵² Only about one half of those interviewed reported only one victimization; more than one half of person victimizations resulted in serious injury.⁵³ An Inner 2 Cree female said:

Over a time of about five and a half years my common-law beat me up more times than I could count. Once I was eight months pregnant and I nearly lost the baby.

In slightly less than half (45%) of all victimizations, other natives were the offender; but in 41% it was non-natives and in 14% a combination of native and non-native. Not surprisingly given their degree of marginalization, the Inner 1 group had more victimizations than the Inner 2 and Outer groups. More females than males experienced person victimizations — 70%, compared with 60%, and especially in Edmonton and Regina (Table III.2 *Person Victimization by Gender and City*). Sixty-three percent (63%) of males had only one victimization, compared with only 37% of females. One 19-year-old Inner 1 female said:

I've been beaten up about 20 times — 18 times by my old man and a couple of times by a friend. I always had some kind of mark or bruise on me. Once I even had a broken eardrum. I never went to the police for any of them.

More females than males reported six or more person victimizations — 46% and 26%, respectively. The victimization of females was primarily by spouses, partners or boy-friends. A 28-year-old female who had recently regained her Indian status claimed that

all her victimizations were at the hands of partners:

I was always beaten up by my ex-husbands and my common-laws, no-one else. Too many to count. I could have gone to the hospital lots of times but I had my children to care for.

A 27-year-old Inner 1 Inuit female related that her boyfriend in her home community beat her when he was sober. He broke her nose when she was 19 and she had to leave the community and go south to have it treated.

Ten times as many females as males reported assaults by spouses, partners or boy-friends, but males experienced more assaults by relatives, friends and strangers (Table III.3 *Victim-Offender Relationship by Gender*). A 36-year-old Inner 1 male related a victimization when least expected:

My brother and I went for a walk (in the city). We saw a house with two natives drinking and they came out jumped us and beat us up. We kept our mouths shut and said nothin' bad.

Females were abused by more natives than were males, even though more males than females were married to native people. Females also reported more victimizations on reserve—43%, compared with 30% for males, and twice as many females as males had 11 or more assaults. On reserve/home communities, 36% of females and 2% of males reported their spouse as the perpetrator. The small percentage of females abused by partners or spouses is probably because many respondents left home communities/reserves at a relatively young age. Significantly more males were victimized by relatives or friends on reserve/home communities. Females in these communities also experienced more serious injury than males.

Nearly three quarters of the Inner 1 group were victims of person victimizations, compared with 62% of Inner 2 people and 58% of Outer people. A higher proportion of Inner 1 females were victimized, followed by Inner 2 females and Inner 1 males. More females in Edmonton and Regina had five or more victimizations (Table III.4 *Total Person Victimization by Gender and city*). A few respondents, especially those in the Inner 1 and Inner 2 groups, when asked about victimizations, claimed their most serious victimization was by police officers. One such experience was related by a 22-year-old Inner 2 male:

The police were polite and respectful to me until they saw my band card in my wallet. They called me a "savage," asked me if I thought I was tough. Three

cops came in and beat me in the holding cells. They had leather gloves on and I had handcuffs. They kept calling me "savage," hit me over the head with flashlights, broke my nose, cut my head open with the flashlights—I needed stitches in my head. They wanted to charge me with "assaulting a police officer" but my lawyer saw what they did to me and they reduced it to resisting arrest. I knew they were going to beat me because they were wearing leather gloves and when I was picked up before in... they wore leather gloves when they beat me.

A 25-year-old Inner 1 male said that when he was 14 or 15 he was seriously frightened by a police officer who threatened to kill him if he did not provide information. These incidents, however, were not restricted solely to males. A 45-year-old Inner 1 female related that when she was much younger she was taken to a particular spot, well known for being used by police to beat people, by two police officers who raped her.

Outer females and males generally had the least victimization. However, one 18-year-old, non-status, Outer male told of his experiences:

My common-law hit me once real bad. I had to get stitches and go to the hospital overnight for observation.

Inner 1 and Inner 2 females had the most multiple (five or more) victimizations. For males, Inner 1 had the most (two or four), Inner 2 the most (five or more), and Outer the most "one only" victimizations. Overall, only 28% of the Inner 1 group had just one victimization, compared with 37% of Inner 2 people and 55% of those in the Outer group. There were no significant differences in injury by city but there were by location. Inner 1 males and females had the most serious injuries—65% had serious injuries, compared with 45% of Inner 2 people and 46% of Outer respondents (Table III.5 *Injury in City Victimization by Location and Gender*).⁵⁴ One 20-year-old Inner 2 male said:

I was beaten up about five or six times I guess—by different people. I could have gone to a hospital and gotten treatment for all the injuries but I didn't.

There were no differences among age groups in their vulnerability to victimization. There were, however, significant differences in the number of serious victimizations. The 35-44 age group had the most, and those 25-34 the least serious victimizations. For females, the relationship between perceptions of crime and number of

victimizations was less strong than for males. One possible explanation is that females are most often victimized by husbands, partners or boyfriends, so may not see crime as external to their lives (i.e., committed by strangers). For victimized males, however, the assailant is more often a stranger.

Victimization in Edmonton and Regina was somewhat higher than in Toronto and Montreal. Victimization ranged from a high of 71% in Regina to a low of 58% in Toronto. There were also more multiple victimizations in Edmonton and Regina. The number of five or more victimizations ranged from a high of 45% in Edmonton to a low of 22% in Toronto. Toronto had the highest number of two to four victimizations (Table III.6 *Number Person Victimization by City*). More Inner 1 and Inner 2 people in Edmonton and Regina than in Toronto and Montreal had five or more victimizations (Table III.7 *Number Person Victimization by Location and City*). The people most likely to have been victims were Inner 1 respondents in Edmonton and Regina (Table III.8 *Person Victimization by City and Location*).

More spouses were perpetrators in Edmonton, more relatives and friends in Regina, and more strangers in Montreal and Toronto (Table III.9 *Victim-Offender Relationship by City*). More perpetrators were native in the west and non-native in the east (Table III.10 *Ethnicity of Victimizer by City*). There were no differences in seriousness of victimizations east and west. However, Inner 1 people in Edmonton experienced the most injury overall.

On reserves/home communities, only slightly more than one third of those not from cities reported victimizations (partly because many left these communities when young) but 64% of these were violent. Nearly one third reported five or more victimizations—there were more multiple victimizations on reserves than in cities, and 54% involved serious injury. Victimization on reserve was highest for Montreal, followed by Edmonton, Regina and Toronto respondents (Table III.11 *Victimization on Reserve by City*). Spouses were most often the perpetrators in reserve victimizations in Edmonton, friends in Montreal and relatives in Regina and Toronto (Table III.12 *Victim-Offender Relationship - Reserve Victimization*).

The variable that most strongly related to number of victimizations was the relationship between victim and offender (see Appendix VI for CHAID chart). This was true for the total sample and for Edmonton, Regina and Toronto respondents.⁵⁵ The second most strongly related variable to number of victimizations for the total sample was "gender," which suggests females experience more victimizations than males. The remaining variables that relate to number of victimizations, in order of significance,

were: educational attainment; being fearful of victimization; lack of movement in childhood; spending childhood on reserve, urban or varied places; having parents on welfare and with drinking problems; starting drinking at an early age; being a victim of severe family violence and of child sexual abuse; having multiple adult relationships; having a drug or alcohol problem in the city; and being unemployed.

There is some variation in the number of victimizations by city (see Appendix VI). As mentioned previously, the variable most strongly related to number of victimizations in Edmonton, Regina and Toronto is the relationship between victim and offender and, in Montreal, where respondents spent the majority of life. Gender and perpetrator of family violence were related in Edmonton and Regina but not in Toronto and Montreal. Exposure to cultural guidance and length of time in the city were related to the number of victimizations in Edmonton but not in the other cities; witnessing severe spouse abuse was significant in Regina but not in the other cities; and educational attainment was related only in Toronto and Edmonton. This variation shows the difficulty in assuming that, in all cities, respondents with multiple victimizations shared the same characteristics. At the same time, some variables were common across cities and for the total sample.

There were gender differences between childhood family violence and number of adult victimizations. Males who were victimized as children were more likely to be victimized as adults (Table III.13 *Number of Victimizations by Family Violence and Gender*). More than three-quarters (77%) of respondents with adult victimizations in the city experienced family violence in childhood. Respondents with alcohol problems were also more likely to be victims of multiple victimizations.

III.2 *Fear of Crime and Victimization*

Slightly less than one half (47%) of the total sample thought there was "a lot" of crime in their neighbourhoods. More people in the Inner 2 group than the other two groups thought there was "a lot" of crime but there were few gender differences (Table III.14 *Perception of Level of Crime by Location and Gender*). However, of those who thought there was crime in their areas, 58% thought it was "bad" crime and 66% believed people were injured. The more fearful respondents were of crime, the more they perceived "everyone" vulnerable to crime and victimization. Fear of crime was not related to age. More respondents in Toronto and Montreal than in Edmonton and Regina believed crime in their neighbourhood was serious (Table III.15 *Crime in Neighbourhood Serious by City*). More respondents in these same cities also believed people were injured during the commission of crime.

Only 47% of the Inner 1 group considered crime in their area "serious," compared with about 63% in each of the Inner 2 and Outer groups. More females than males also thought crime in their area was serious crime, even though there were no significant differences by gender or location in perceptions of the level of crime. There were, however, some differences when controlling for both gender and location—Outer females thought that the level of crime was higher than did females in the other groups.

Despite high levels of personal victimization, 55% of the total sample did not fear crime in their neighbourhoods and only 16% feared it all the time (Table III.16 *Fear Victimization - Total Sample*). However, twice as many females as males feared victimization and fear increased with location group—Inner 2 and Outer females were more fearful of crime than were Inner 1 females (Table III.17 *Fear Victimization by Location and Gender*). Only 41% of females never feared crime, compared with 71% of males. The variables that related to fear of crime for females were: having been a victim; perceptions of crime level in neighbourhood/area; number of previous victimizations and length of time in city (those in the city three to eight years were more afraid than those in the city either a shorter or longer period of time). Females who feared victimization also preferred to live in another part of the city. None of these variables was related to fear of crime for male respondents.

Fear of crime was higher in Toronto and Montreal but so were perceptions of "a lot" of crime. Fear of crime in all cities except Edmonton was generally related to having been a victim (Table III.18 *Fear Victimization by Number of Victimitizations*). It was also related to perceiving crime in the area to be "bad" and people being injured. For the total sample and for males and females, family violence, child abuse, child sexual abuse and spouse abuse were not related to fear of crime. Serious injury in previous victimizations was related more to "some" fear of crime than to being fearful all the time. Moderate injury was also related to fear of crime some of the time.

People who had spent a lot of time on reserves were also more fearful of crime than were people who spent a lot of time in cities, towns or in a variety of places (this, in part, explains the finding that more Montreal respondents were fearful of crime, as this group spent the longest time on reserves). Interestingly, having an alcohol problem was weakly related to not being fearful of crime.⁵⁶ More than two thirds of those who feared crime feared violent victimizations. More females feared rape and sexual assaults (although only 4% knew of any in their areas), and males of assaults, robberies and muggings. Male fear of violence was closer to what they knew of, or experienced, than was female fear. More females than males believed women were the group most vulnerable to victimization. More males believed "middle-class" people were most vulnerable.

Fear of victimization was more strongly related to perceptions of crime in neighbourhoods than to actual experiences of victimization.

Females in all four cities were more fearful of crime than were males. There were no differences across cities, however, in the level of fear among females. Respondents in Toronto and Montreal who had been victimized were more fearful than the same group in Edmonton and Regina. More people in Toronto than in other cities also thought crime was serious. Perception of injury during the commission of crime was highest in Toronto and lowest in Regina.

Fear of being a victim of a violent victimization was highest in Montreal and lowest in Regina (Table III.19 *Type Victimization Fear by City*). There was a relationship between fear of crime and perceptions of "a lot" of crime in the area in Regina and Toronto, but not in Edmonton and Montreal. However, in Edmonton fear of crime was related to wanting to live in another part of the city. There were no differences across cities in fear of crime and time spent in cities.

Respondents perceived street people/drunks (19%), non-whites (19%), old people (18%) and women (10%) as being the most vulnerable to victimization. More Inner 1 respondents perceived "drunks" most vulnerable to victimization. Inner 2 and Outer people were more inclined to believe that non-whites were most vulnerable. There were also some differences across cities in perceptions of who is most vulnerable to victimization. More respondents in Toronto and Montreal thought non-whites more vulnerable, whereas more people in Regina had a mixed response, and in Edmonton, old people were emphasized by respondents (Table III.20 *Target of Crime by City*).

III.3 Reporting Victimization to Police

Many people had serious physical injury but the majority of victims and especially Inner 1, did not report their victimizations to police. Nearly 30% thought the victimization not important enough to report to police, 18% "didn't want to rat" (one male said "I won't rat anybody out — you're bad — once you're a rat, you're a rat"), 16% preferred to settle their own scores, 13% were afraid of retribution and 12% did not think police would act on it. A 20-year-old Inner 1 Metis male said:

I didn't bother to go to the police — wouldn't be taken serious anyway.

Others feel no justification for reporting a victimization to police. A 26-year-old Lakota Inner 1 male from the United States said:

I didn't report to police because I got what I deserved.

There were no significant differences in reporting by Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer group but there were by gender. Females were more reluctant to report their victimizations for fear of retribution — a finding consistent with their relationship to the abuser. However, one 38-year-old Inner 1 female said she reported the first two assaults by her partner and police were not respectful, but they were the last time she reported an assault. She thought it was because she was older and police treat older people better because they (the police) think they might complain.

Some people did not report offences because they did not know where to go. A 30-year-old Inuit Inner 2 male said:

I've been hurt real bad by some friends. I didn't tell the police because I didn't know where the police station was.

A 41-year-old Inner 1 male insisted that:

Reporting to police doesn't get you anywhere. Most of my beatings being a victim were from police anyway.

A 17-year-old Outer female, while not a victim herself, offered the view that:

Native people don't report victimizations because they aren't taken seriously as victims and are always viewed with prejudice and suspicion.

In reporting crime in home communities/reserves the numbers were too small for an analysis. However, as mentioned in Part 1, the Outer group was least likely to report, probably because females were over-represented in the Outer group, and the majority were victimized by intimates. However, non-reporting was similar to cities — three quarters of victims did not report. Non-reporting of victimizations in cities was somewhat higher in Edmonton and Regina.

The major reason for not reporting in Edmonton and Regina was not wanting to “rat.” People in Regina also did not report because of fear of retribution and the desire to “settle scores” themselves. In Montreal, and less so in Toronto, people did not consider the victimization important enough to report (Table III.21 *Reason Not Reporting by City*).

Summary

Two-thirds of the sample had an adult person victimization. More than one-half of these resulted in serious injury. The most significant findings about victimization was that it varied by gender and location (Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer). Females generally were more likely to have been victimized than males — predominately by partners, spouses and boyfriends. Males were more likely to be abused by relatives, friends and strangers. Many respondents suffered multiple incidents of abuse but females had more victimizations than males. Females were more likely than males to be abused by other natives.

Inner 1 was the most, and Outer the least victimized group. However, variation in the female location group was less than for males. Inner 1 and Inner 2 females had the most multiple victimizations and Inner 1 males and females the most serious injury. Unlike the general population, where divorced and separated females are most vulnerable to person victimizations, native females living with partners appear most vulnerable. Victimization was somewhat higher in Edmonton and Regina. More perpetrators of victimizations in the city were native in the west and non-native in the east. More spouses and relatives were perpetrators in Edmonton, more relatives and friends in Regina, and more strangers in Montreal and Toronto. There were some differences for reserve victimizations for respondents in Montreal, where more friends were perpetrators. More than three-quarters of respondents with adult victimizations in the city experienced family violence in childhood.

Given the area of cities where the majority of respondents lived, it was surprising that less than one-half thought there was "a lot" of crime in their areas, and more than one-half did not fear victimization. Fear of crime was greatest among females even though the vast majority were victimized by spouses, partners and boyfriends. Fear of crime was slightly higher in Toronto and Montreal but so were perceptions of "a lot" of crime. The longer time spent on reserves the more fearful people were of crime in the city. Males and females also feared different kinds of crime. Females most feared rape and sexual assaults, males assaults, robberies and muggings. Male fear of violence was closer to actual experiences than was female fear.

More people in Toronto and Montreal thought non-whites most vulnerable to victimization, responses in Regina were mixed, and in Edmonton there was an emphasis on old people. More Inner 1 respondents thought drunks most vulnerable (probably because many Inner 1 people have serious alcohol problems and are the most victimized of all inner-city respondents), whereas Inner 2 and Outer respondents were more inclined to believe non-whites most vulnerable.

Despite serious injury in many of the victimizations, the majority of victims, and especially those in the Inner 1 group, did not report their victimization to police. The single most important reason for not reporting was because victims did not consider it serious enough. Other reasons were that people did not want to "rat" on offenders, were afraid of retribution (more characteristic of females than males), or did not believe police would believe them, or do anything about the victimization.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

IV.1 *Discussion*IV.1.a *Violence and inner-city respondents*

The most notable characteristic of the inner-city native sample was the extent of their exposure to violence in both childhood and adulthood. A related characteristic was how normalized and "everyday" violence had become. Within the inner city, violence was a constant for many people.⁵⁷ For some, especially Inner I males who had been severely abused as children, there was also a sense of deserving violence. Many respondents, from the Inner and Outer groups alike, spoke of the environment of violence in communities especially for people who were different.⁵⁸ Others spoke of the profound impact of violence on family members.

What can be extrapolated from these findings to the broader aboriginal, or to a similarly placed non-aboriginal population? Because of their degree of marginalization, violence in the lives of the inner-city sample might be viewed as the most extreme in society.⁵⁹ However, violence is simply greater for all inner-city marginalized people (whether aboriginal or non-aboriginal) than for the general population. This highlights the importance of developing theories to explain the nature, extent and impact of violence among different groups of people and of rejecting theories of universal application.

The inner-city findings demonstrate the error of viewing family and other violence as the same phenomenon for all native people or for all people in certain geographic or socio-economic situations. In analyzing research on American Indian criminality, Green (1993:114) argues the need to be cognizant of the diversity of the American Indian experience in the United States so that problems such as crime (or family violence) are not viewed as generic phenomena. Research and theory must accommodate situational and contextual factors and in Canada, as in the United States, there is a need to recognize the diversity of the aboriginal experience.

In tracing the roots of violence in the lives of the inner-city sample, it is important to examine violence in aboriginal communities, especially on reserves. There are three perspectives that may be useful in explaining violence on Canadian reserves. The first is

increasing male-female tensions in rapidly changing communities where traditional roles and responsibilities have diminished; the second is increased social and economic stratification, which generates conflict; and the third is the normalization and acceptance of violence.

Many aboriginal males have lost traditional roles and responsibilities whereas women are retaining their family roles, increasing their skills and becoming more employable. Employment may be more available for women in local band administrations. The end result is that adjustment in modern communities may be more difficult for males than for females. The abuse of women and children is one way men are able to exercise power. Within environments of extensive unemployment, lack of resources and a decline in traditional economic activities and social controls, alcohol may trigger episodes of abuse.⁶⁰

The second aspect of violence on reserves is an emerging social stratification, resulting from the unequal distribution of political and economic power. This creates differential access to power in some communities with resulting tensions over perceptions of unfair access to and distribution of scarce resources. Long-standing individual and family tensions may erupt into violence, particularly when alcohol is involved.

The third perspective is the acceptance of violence on reserves. The inner city and other research reveal the extent of interpersonal crime on reserves, primarily assaults (CCJS, 1991; La Prairie, 1992). Violence as normative behaviour was discussed in Chapter I, where it was suggested that chronic exposure to violence leads to the acceptance of the behaviour as a normal part of life. The stresses of life on many reserves — including isolation and exclusion from the mainstream, limited options and opportunities and growing tensions between people locked together in a non-traditional, sedentary, lifestyle — provide the context for violence.

It is important to recognize the community context of violence for the inner-city sample because, for many, this is where violence began even though most violence occurred within families. For many respondents, the more marginalized they were in communities and families, the greater the propensity to being a victim of violence. In order to redress victimization it is necessary to change the context in which violence occurs, including community, social and economic structures that create problems in the first place.

IV.1.b *Family violence*

In Chapter I, family violence was examined from three perspectives – witnessing spouse abuse, child abuse and child sexual abuse. It was found that, for the inner-city sample, severity of parental drinking was a major factor in family violence. Father's

drinking was principally related to child and spouse abuse, and mother's drinking to child sexual abuse. Child abuse was more likely to occur in non-biological situations and child sexual abuse in extended and non-biological families, such as foster-, step- and varied circumstances. Interestingly, stability and mobility in childhood were related to incidence of child and spouse abuse but not to child sexual abuse.

One of the most poignant findings was that, despite severe abuse by biological parents, many respondents still clung to a belief in parents. Having a parent and knowing the parent was to many an important feature of "belonging."⁶¹ However, some of the most severe violence in childhood was perpetrated by non-biological families. From these data it is clear that, as children, respondents were at serious risk in certain types of non-biological family situations.

IV.1.c *The effects of family violence*

Their abuse as children was extreme for many respondents, and stories of "life after childhood" attest to the long-lasting effects of violence, particularly for males who experienced severe child abuse.

The relationship between child abuse and future aggressive behaviour been documented elsewhere (Fattah, 1993:28-30). The inner-city research revealed that, more than any other form of family violence, severe child abuse was linked to juvenile delinquency for males in the sample but not for females. The link between juvenile delinquency and adult criminality is also well documented. Fattah (1993:28) explains the process:

Brutalization, desensitization, retaliation, learning, imitation, identification with the aggressor are all mechanisms that help explain the transformation of the victim into a victimizer.

Risks are not restricted to becoming a victimizer (CCJS, 1994a) or to involvement in the criminal justice system (although those appear the most common responses for males). Mullen (1990:34) points out that "those with a history of childhood sexual abuse have problems with self-esteem, trust and sexual adjustment."

Some specific conclusions can be drawn from the inner-city family and community violence findings. One is the lack of awareness in many families and communities about the impact of violence on children; another is the vulnerability of children to abuse in certain upbringing situations; a third is poor parenting; and the last is that the more marginalized the respondent in adult life, the more severe the abuse in childhood.

The extremity of violence in the lives of many of the inner-city sample suggests that theories that maintain violence is equally distributed among all women, or all aboriginal people trivializes the really serious victimization of some groups within these populations.

IV.1.d *Victimization*

There were a number of important adult victimization findings. The most important was the degree to which people experienced person victimizations. Recent findings show that approximately 10% of Canadians reported person victimizations (Statistics Section, 1994), compared with 66% of the inner-city sample. Only one half of the sample had only one victimization. The majority of victimizations resulted in serious injury. Inner 1 respondents were the most victimized group, especially females, who experienced the highest number of victimizations.

Women were most likely to be victims at the hands of intimates, i.e., husbands, partners, boyfriends. For the total sample and in all cities (except Montreal where it ranked second), being abused by an intimate was the variable most strongly related to the number of victimizations. Females in the west had more victimizations than females in the east, and were more likely to be victimized by another native.

But there are signs the situation is changing. One older woman said of the younger women:

The young girls are smarter now ... they don't take that shit from guys.

Respondents generally had less fear of crime than was expected, given their lifestyles. Females, however, were more fearful than males, and fear increased with class (as measured by membership in the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups). For females, fear of victimization was more generalized than for males, a finding that was more strongly related to actual experiences with victimization.

IV.1.e *Reporting victimizations*

Despite serious injury in many of the victimizations, the majority of victims, especially those in the Inner 1 group, did not report their victimization to police. The single most important reason for not reporting that victims did not consider it serious

enough. Other reasons were that people did not want to "rat" on others, were afraid of retribution (this was more characteristic of females than males), or did not think police would believe them or do anything about the victimization.

Policing the inner city

The findings about victimization and reporting victimizations to police raise an issue first discussed in Part I. It was suggested that a more appropriate policing model for the inner city would see police as only one component of a problem-solving puzzle. In such an approach, all groups and institutions with interests in the inner city would play a role in determining the nature and harm of crime and disorder problems, and the appropriate solutions. Reporting victimizations to, and making complaints against, police are discussed more fully below.

The finding that few inner-city victims, even those with serious injury, reported victimizations to police reveals the marginality many feel in their relations with police. This has implications for reporting victimizations and for complaints against police.⁶² For the inner-city group, especially Inner I males, being labelled by police and treated as an offender, whatever the circumstances, encourages them to have as little contact with police as possible. An alternative to the creation of a formal structure within the inner city⁶³ might be to reconsider the nature of policing, where inner-city people, merchants, businessmen, social service, and other groups and institutions (including police) with vested interests in the inner city, become partners in defining and solving their common crime and disorder problems.

The conference approach being adopted in New Zealand and Australia, where significant players in crime and disorder incidents collectively become the deciders of the outcome, and where a trained police officer co-ordinates the conference, is another approach to resolving some inner-city problems (see footnote 75). It also has the potential for bringing inner-city people into the decision-making process. This strategy provides police, when responding to offences, an option that does not include formal criminal justice processing. However, the cynicism and negativity many inner-city respondents feel toward the police would have to be reduced for police officers to have credibility as conference co-ordinators. A more useful approach might be for people with credibility in the inner city to be trained as co-ordinators for resolving some of the most common offences and disputes.⁶⁴ For many inner-city people, involvement in the criminal justice system is normalized, and to continue to use the formal system for the many of the kinds of incidents that occur between people seems futile at best, and harmful at worst.

IV.2 *Implications of Violence and Family Violence Findings*

What are the implications of these findings? Three needs come immediately to mind. The first is to better understand violence within the broader society; the second is to alter the structural factors that breed violence; and the third is to respond more effectively to incidents of violence within and outside the family. The degree of marginality of many inner-city native people underscores the need to identify and direct resources to particularly vulnerable groups of people. It is the extremity of violence that distinguishes the inner-city native respondents in this sample from other groups of Canadians.

Violence in the lives of the inner-city sample occurred within a variety of family constructs as children, and within relationships and social life as adults. Coupled with this is the social and economic disadvantage suffered by many in their childhood communities and in their cities of residence as adults. It is clear that childhood and adult circumstances must be redressed if any real changes are to occur. It is with this in mind that the implications of the findings are discussed below.

IV.2.a *The context of violence*

The links between social processes and violent crime are now well established. Low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility—which translate into concentrations of poor families in geographic areas, income inequality, transiency, family disruption, high percentage of single-parent families, housing and population density—are linked to increased levels of violence. These factors are often compounded by ineffective parenting, drug use, school failure and unemployment. For many in these circumstances⁶⁵, alcohol, stress, and isolation frame daily life and promote incidents of family violence.⁶⁶

Improved criminal justice and social service responses to violence are the primary activities directed to family violence and to violence more generally. As with crime, the focus is more often on responding to the behaviour than preventing it.⁶⁷ And there is a tendency to respond to interest-group pressures in deciding who receives the most attention and resources. The end result (supported by narrow theories and selective research) is that the interests of some groups take precedence over the interests of others. The inner-city data reveal the extent to which the most marginalized group of males were abused as children, and the long-term effect of this abuse. This group, however, has never garnered government policy attention. Similarly, child abuse must warrant the same attention and commitment of resources as spouse and child sexual

abuse. If government is serious about reducing the numbers of native people in correctional institutions, the problems of family and community violence among the most vulnerable aboriginal people must be addressed.

IV.2.b *Preventing violence*

The findings about family violence among inner-city respondents, when they were children, revealed several situations in which they were most vulnerable. In biological families, these included unstable family life where movement, parental drinking, unemployment and parental time in detention characterized the families most at risk of victimizing their children. However, children were most at risk of *severe* child abuse in foster-, step-, and "varied" family situations.

Some directions for preventing violence, especially spouse and child abuse, are suggested by these findings. Alcohol, stress and community isolation of individuals and families, and placement of children in dangerous upbringing situations, may trigger violence and these are alterable situational factors. Community supports to reduce isolation, nurturance of stronger extended family networks, financial and emotional assistance to single parents, education for marriage and parenting, and better placement of children requiring alternative living arrangements, are strategies with the potential to reduce family violence. Fattah (1993:33) argues that it is much easier to change situations than to change people and that "the primary objective of prevention policy should be to alter the conditions that create or aggravate the problem as well as the situations in which the behaviour is most likely to occur."

An examination of some prevention measures follows. These include altering childhood aggressive behaviour, education, parenting and family counselling, legislation and other approaches. The purpose in presenting these is to provide an overview of common approaches to reducing family violence.

Childhood aggressive behaviour

Research reveals that aggressive childhood behaviours correlate with increased potential for adult violent behaviour. Aggressive behaviour is also learned. Child abuse, harsh and erratic discipline, frequent television viewing of violence, lack of parental nurturance, large low-income families, criminal behaviour by family members, early grade-school failure, peer rejection, poor housing and growing up in a high-crime neighbourhood, are some of the factors identified with childhood aggressive behaviour. In reviewing possible interventions, the National Research Council (1992:8) found the following show some success for reducing aggressive behaviour in children:

-social learning and cognitive behavioral interventions, with elements that emphasize the undesirability of aggression, non-aggressive methods of solving interpersonal problems, social skills training, and watching television programs that emphasize pro-social behaviour; and

-interventions such as tutoring by peers, or by specially trained high school students to reduce early-grade school failure and frustration.

Education

Education about family life, whether school-based, in social agencies or as part of community programs, is the most widely used approach to the prevention of family violence. Webster and Hilton (1990:181) argue that information about abuse must be projected clearly and powerfully through the written word, by film and by videotape. Public awareness through the mass media, school-based education about male-female roles, and programs to meet the needs of students from violent homes, are among the most prevalent approaches to spouse abuse. However, it is also important to recognize the potential for differential access to, and use and effectiveness of, educational programs for marginalized groups, such as the inner-city group that experiences the most violence, but who may have the least ability to use these resources.⁶⁸

Findings from the inner-city research are stark reminders of the need for parent training. The often deplorable situations in which small children lived and were raised, and the quality of parenting to which many respondents were exposed, makes understandable their subsequent involvement in the juvenile and adult criminal justice and correctional systems.⁶⁹ Fattah (1993:32), in considering the paradox in western society between the heavy emphasis placed generally on education and training and the lack of training whatsoever for marriage and parenting, argues that:

This lack of education, training and preparation is undoubtedly responsible for the high rate of marriage breakdown, separation and divorce. It is also responsible for the attitudinal and behavioral problems of many young people. The significant impact early childhood experiences have on the development of the personality and on the future behaviour of the child is one of the few things on which there is unanimous agreement in psychology.⁷⁰

Community education courses on recognizing child abuse, child sexual abuse, personal safety programs for children, courses on appropriate parenting skills for children, especially boys, and courses on the role of children in society, are common approaches to prevention (Health and Welfare, Canada, 1992:47-48). However, the effectiveness

of these approaches in actually reducing child abuse and child sexual abuse does not appear to have been systematically evaluated.

As suggested in the inner-city findings, some circumstance pose greater risks for children than others. For example, children were most vulnerable to child abuse and to severe child abuse, in foster-, step- and varied family situations. Foster and extended families posed the greatest risks for child sexual abuse. Mullen (1990) argues that, "Sexual assaults on prepubertal children appear to be predominately committed by sexually deviant men. When it comes to prepubertal and sexually mature children and young women, a distressingly wide range of apparently normal men indulge in sexually inappropriate and assaultive behaviour. It is toward these men that public education should be directed."

Parent-Child and Family Counselling

Family life and child-rearing problems emerged repeatedly in the inner-city interviews. One 37-year-old Cree male with four children stated the problem succinctly:

Native people love their children but don't know how to show feelings to them or to nurture them in ways the children understand.

In response to a question in the recent Aboriginal People's Survey about what was needed in communities to make them healthier, respondents placed counselling (including family, marital and parent-child counselling) higher than self-government. Women often place more faith in counselling. In previous research (La Prairie, 1991, 1992), the lack of marital and family counselling was seen as a serious need in communities by many of the aboriginal women interviewed.⁷¹

Some aboriginal women and women's groups identify the need for parent-child and family counselling. However, they also recommend expanding the use of counselling to include mental health and anger management counselling, as well as more extensive alcohol and drug treatment (Nahanee and McIvor, 1992; Tom, 1992).

Legislation

Some argue that legislation (and especially punishment meted out by formal systems) is the growing response to most social problems, and there is a tendency to see social problems in legal terms and to legislate solutions. The most obvious example of this is the charging policy for spouse abuse, although victims may actually prefer counselling

for partners, particularly when still living with them. Reluctance on the part of many victims to charge offenders in these situations may discredit the use of the criminal law, regardless of intent. Fattah (1993:23) maintains that:

It is often argued that the criminalization process and the punishment response are necessary, not because of the deterrent effect, but because of their educational value, because they send a clear message that society does not tolerate the behaviour being punished. But when the law is hardly ever, or only infrequently enforced, when the punishment is rarely applied, could it be argued that much education is being achieved?

In the final analysis as Fattah (1993:24) notes, "we often forget that one of the negative consequences of the use of the criminal law and the criminal justice system to deal with violent disputes between parties who are related to each other is to lower the visibility of the conflict and to keep it hidden and outside of the system's reach." In support of this position, Zellerer (1994) argues that more alternatives to the current criminal justice system are needed for aboriginal men who batter.

Other prevention approaches

Visiting nurses programs appear to have some potential for reducing the incidence of child abuse, particularly when providing support to young, single, low-income mothers. For many young inner-city single mothers with several children, but with limited financial and emotional resources, this service might be particularly useful. Screening of mother-infant interaction—to determine if mother shows the appropriate acceptance of baby and of motherhood—immediately at birth is another approach to prevention (Health and Welfare, Canada, 1992:29).

Webster and Hilton (1990) argue that every effort should be made to intervene in the lives of victims and of perpetrators. These interventions might include anger management and alcohol abuse treatment for spouse abuse offenders, and practical assistance and training (including job training) in shelters for victims of spouse abuse, designed to help them become self-sufficient (National Research Council, 1992:11). Other approaches to prevention are: stress management workshops for parents and families, and life- and communication skills workshops. However, the willingness to use, and the effectiveness of, these approaches for people living in a variety of socio-economic and other circumstances (such as the inner-city respondents) must be explored.

There is also a need for communities to reach out to families in trouble. Many inner-city respondents spoke of being looked down upon in communities and/or of parents

with drinking problems who were shunned. The stigma attached to parents with drinking and various other problems was often transferred to children and family members. The end result is that dysfunctional families are often generational.

IV.2.c Responding to violence

Responses to violence have generally focused on improvements to the criminal justice and social service systems through enhancing reporting procedures (particularly in the case of child and child sexual abuse) or, in the case of the criminal justice system, responding more vigorously to the offence. Police charging policies, restraining orders, and a variety of incarcerative and non-incarcerative responses to spouse abuse are the most obvious examples of the latter.

Another response is the use of specialized criminal justice services to deal with cases of family violence. One example is the Family Violence Court in Winnipeg. A recent evaluation of this court found the rate of sentencing was higher for family violence cases, and more severe for child abuse than for spouse or senior abuse (CCJS, 1994a). There was also an increase in the use of incarceration. However, follow-up with offenders for whom carceral sentences were used — to determine the impact of incarceration on recidivism, and whether differences exist for spouse, child and child sexual abuse offences — is still lacking. The value of incarceration as a response to family violence, for a group such as inner-city respondents already heavily exposed to the correctional system, would also require careful examination.

In non-legislative terms, the shelter movement for victims has been the mainstay of the anti-spouse-abuse movement in Canada and elsewhere. One of the problems in rural and isolated communities is the lack of adequate shelters and refuge for battered women. While there is an absence of shelters in rural and northern areas, some communities have "safe houses," where police may take victims and children. However, the longer-term needs of couples and families are more difficult to address, given the lack of trained counsellors,⁷² programs for abusive men, and first- and second-stage housing. In rural Canadian areas, Milne (1992:7) argues that innovation is required in responding to spouse abuse.⁷³ In addition to the usual shelters and programs for abusers, she suggests the use of outreach programs, toll-free crisis lines and transportation networks, resource centres, and self-help and mutual aid options.⁷⁴

Treatment programs for men who batter are now widely used for responding to spouse abuse. While some evaluation data are available for general programs, little is known about treatment programs for aboriginal men, as this is an emerging field (Zellerer,

1994). Despite the lack of information, however, Zellerer believes aboriginal-specific family violence treatment programs for aboriginal men, and community-based programs, are required. At the same time, it will be important in the future to conduct evaluations of such programs to determine their impact on batterers living in the most marginalized social and economic circumstances, and with the most extreme violence in their lives.

Some aboriginal communities complain about the lack of adequate police response in family violence situations, particularly spouse assault. At the same time, however, there is the problem of a willingness on the part of victims to report, and the lack of options for police to respond. An innovative approach to responding to domestic violence is promoted by Braithwaite and Daly (1993), and modelled on the Family Conference presently used in Australia and New Zealand for youth and young adults for mainstream offences.⁷⁵

In a recent paper, Braithwaite and Daly (1993) argue that traditional practices among the Maori in New Zealand, where family group conferences⁷⁶ have been used for centuries in responding to sexual abuse and violence in families, as well as for a variety of more minor offences, could be adapted for non-aboriginal and urban use. They explain the universal appeal of the approach in the following way:

The theory of the FGC (family group conference) is that discussion of the harm and distress caused the victims and the offender's family will communicate shame to the offender. The assembling of people who care about and respect the offender fosters reintegration (or healing as it is termed by the Maori) of social relationships. In a successful conference, the offender is brought to experience remorse for the effects of the crime; to understand that he or she can count on the continuing support, love, and respect from family and friends; and to agree on a plan of action to prevent further harm. All conference participants are given the opportunity to explain how the offence affected them and to put forward proposals for the plan of action. The offender and his or her family members then propose a plan, which is discussed and modified until it is agreeable to all FGC participants, including the police (Braithwaite and Daly, 1993:4).

Braithwaite and Daly contend that in most cases imprisonment should be used only as a last resort to men's violence against women. They support a "more practical and more decent" approach (1993:10) and argue that, in many cases of violence against women, a number of interventions are available before the use of imprisonment. They conceptualize these interventions as a "pyramid." Most social control can occur

through self-sanctioning and pangs of conscience, which form the base of the pyramid, but, if this fails, community disapproval (through gossip) may be effective. If the offender is incapable of imagining the disapproval others feel, he or she must be confronted with that disapproval. If family members are too intimidated, public intervention is required. Police are then involved and a warrant of arrest issued.⁷⁷ The next rung of the pyramid is the family group conference. The warrant is not activated unless the offender refuses to participate in the conference. Braithwaite and Daly (1993:10) argue that, while the pyramid strategy represents a preference for solving problems at lower levels before escalating up the pyramid, this is not a rule. In appropriate contexts, it is necessary to jump levels to go straight to the peak of the pyramid.

IV.2.d *Research, theory and evaluation*

Research into the causes of family and other violence, and evaluations of approaches to determine their effectiveness and usefulness, are essential. There is a need to know more about the neurological, psychological and sociological underpinnings of violent behaviour; and the role of alcohol and other drugs as predisposing factors in violence. Webster and Hilton (1990) assert that more research attention should be devoted to basic measurement issues about the nature and extent of family violence. In examining the effects of family violence, Mullen (1990) argues that there are now a number of testable hypotheses about the link between, for example, child sexual abuse and later mental health.

Webster and Hilton (1990:175), among others, believe that programs to address family violence must be viewed in an historical and socio-political context, and the "experimental and demonstration programs are the crucibles wherein creativity can reign." The creation of effective programs depends on the development of theory. In this regard, there is the need to guard against explaining too much by too little (and particularly of incorporating groups like inner-city people into a single, uniform theory of violence or family violence). It was argued in Chapter I that the use of "power" as an explanatory factor in family violence and among the most powerless groups, must be more precisely delineated. Theories may also vary with social and economic status, and in the aboriginal context, with geographic, cultural and social and economic variation in communities. At the same time, however, as Webster and Hilton (1990:177) point out, abusers should not be able to "hide behind the screens of sickness, alcoholism, and the like."

The National Research Council (1992:19) argues that few systematic evaluations exist of strategies for reducing the level and harm of sexual violence against acquaintances, but promising approaches include socializing males about nonviolent, fulfilling

sex roles and responsibilities toward women, separating offenders and the intimates they repeatedly attack, and repairing the physical and psychological consequences of victimizations. The Council also recommends a systematic problem-solving strategy of innovation for responding to more general situations of violence, which includes the following activities: diagnosing specific violence problems and designing preventive interventions; evaluating them; using the results to refine the interventions; and replicating the evaluations. In specific terms, Webster and Hilton (1990:178) assert that programs of therapy and rehabilitation for assaultive men need to be thoroughly evaluated.

Summary

The inner-city native group is distinctive in the amount of violence people are exposed to in their lives, both as children and adults. However, this distinctiveness and disadvantage is not recognized or advanced in research, theory or government or social policy. The need of many of the inner-city group for protection from violence is great. To expect this group (and especially the most marginalized) to compete for scarce resources, or to respond similarly to family violence "solutions" designed for more affluent groups, is to ignore the extent of their need. If needs are to be better responded to, different perspectives of what constitutes violence and victimization among people in different social and economic circumstances must be recognized. What is commonly recommended for improving the responses to family violence (particularly for spouse abuse) may have little relevance for inner-city respondents. Threats of, or actual, incarceration for those already chronically involved with the criminal justice and correctional systems may be meaningless.

There are only two real options for responding to violence in the lives of inner-city native people. The first is to change the childhood conditions in which many live (especially children removed from biological families), and community conditions that create problems in the first place. The second is to reduce the social and economic marginality of this group as adults. The two are related and there are no short-cuts, quick fixes or simple solutions. At the same time, however, it is possible, as Braithwaite and Daly suggest, to develop more practical and decent approaches than incarceration. It is also possible, if the political will is present, to ensure better protection for those most at risk of abuse and violence.

ENDNOTES

PART III

- ¹ Although this research is focused on native people there is an implicit understanding that the issues would probably be similar to any equally marginalized group, regardless of race.
- ² In this, as in the first two parts, "class" is used to describe social stratification in the inner city, as measured by socio-economic status.
- ³ In discussing the reliability of self-report in criminal justice research, Grobsmith (1989:289) writes: "Self-report poses certain problems because of the difficulty of assessing the reliability of respondents' claims concerning their offence commission, family histories, alcoholism, etc. (However), in a 1985 study on the reliability of self-report in assessing family history of problem drinking, data on individuals' immediate family members' problem drinking were deemed extremely reliable."
- ⁴ Questions about family violence were difficult. People usually had one of two responses - an opportunity to reveal experiences they found it impossible to talk about with people they knew and would see again, or to become agitated and not talk. When the latter occurred, the researcher would wait to see if the person could speak after a pause. If not, that section of the questionnaire would be left blank. The questions about adult victimization evoked less emotion and there was less difficulty in eliciting responses.
- ⁵ Although people were asked for information about both property victimizations and victimizations against the person, we are reporting findings only in relation to the personal victimizations. Included in this are "rolling" and robbery, where theft was the major intent but where personal injury was often involved.
- ⁶ Because of its comprehensiveness, the first half of this chapter relies heavily on the report of the 1992 U.S. National Research Council on understanding and responding to violence. Although there are substantial differences in the degree of violence between the United States and Canada the theories that explain crime, and the recommendations for responding to it (as set out in Chapter IV), have relevance for Canada as well as for the United States.
- ⁷ A recent publication of Statistics Canada (Gartner and Doob, June 13, 1994) on victimization showing no increase in violent crime between 1988 and 1994, was strongly attacked by police forces and the media. One of the authors was castigated in a Toronto newspaper, even though the data he reported were provided by a random sample of Canadians. The response to this publication shows how deeply entrenched in their positions are those who play the greatest role in shaping perceptions of crime - police and the media.
- ⁸ Some interesting findings have emerged from an analysis of the most recent Canadian victimization survey. Gartner and Doob (1994) found that, in 1993, women had more personal victimizations than men but that the differences were largely accounted for by sexual assaults against women. They also found that there is no difference in victimization between married males and females, but that

divorced or separated females are the most vulnerable group, followed by single women. The rates were also highest for females 15-24, and for urban dwellers. There are no comparable aboriginal data but the fact that divorce and separation are probably lower on reserves would suggest a different victimization profile.

- ⁹ Findings about "person" violence for males and females are difficult data from which to extrapolate rates. The reason for this is because the "person" category also includes robberies, which would include purse-snatching for females.
- ¹⁰ There are very real problems involved in including together physical and sexual assault, intimidation, mental or emotional abuse, neglect, deprivation and financial exploitation categories as "family violence," and not cross-tabulating each category by educational and socio-economic levels. This does not appear to have been done in the recent CCJS (1994a) research on family violence. Without more refined analysis, findings can be misleading, and suggest that all women have the same degree of risk for incidence and seriousness of family violence.
- ¹¹ If not actually ignored, they are given much less prominence in the media and by the sponsors of the research when results are released.
- ¹² For a full description see Chapter IV and Appendix V of Part II, where the CHAID program was used to distinguish relationships between predictor and outcome variables.
- ¹³ Finkelhor (1983) is one of the few theorists to argue for integration within the discipline of family violence, because of the limitations of the splintered approach to understanding spousal, child and child sexual abuse. Webster and Hilton (1990:174) suggest that integration of family violence theory is particularly desirable, to avoid the "ghettoizing" of issues.
- ¹⁴ The isolation of problems also results in a decrease in interest in other problems. For example, when child sexual abuse became an issue of importance, some people working in the field complained that child abuse was relegated to a "back burner."
- ¹⁵ The lack of attention to more precise formulations of the problem may have come about for the same reasons as ignoring race and crime. As discussed in the second report, Sampson and Wilson (1993) argue that criminologists have been reluctant to explore race and crime issues for fear of being labelled "racist." Although somewhat different, because there are not the same advocacy groups for low-income people, there is also a hesitancy to ascribe negative characteristics to certain groups, particularly if they are also members of certain racial groups. The reality, however, is that regardless of race, poverty creates stresses that are escaped by those at higher socio-economic levels. Disregarding these stresses ignores the impact on individuals and families of poverty, lack of education and skills, and access to opportunities. To continue to pretend there is no difference in levels of violence in certain segments of society, is to continue to ignore the problem. Without more attention to differential risk levels, resources may continue to elude the most needy or victimized.
- ¹⁶ Difference in perceptions of violence was brought home most sharply during the inner city field work when people were asked about their victimizations. While people at different levels of society might perceive a shove or a simple assault as a victimization, this was not the case for most inner city native

people. Because violence is a part of daily life for so many in this group, victimization was considered victimization only when it resulted in actual and often serious injury.

- ¹⁷ Some differentiation is made between the age of children and the impact of TV violence, but socio-economic status and/or family structure are generally excluded from analyses.
- ¹⁸ The importance of understanding interaction effects and violent crime is also emphasized by the National Research Council (1992). For example, at low SES levels, blacks in the United States are more likely to be homicide victims than whites but that at higher SES level these differences disappear. Sociological theories suggest that three structural factors explain the difference - low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility. Income inequality, transiency, family disruption, population density and opportunities associated with violence (drug trade, etc.) compounded by ineffective parenting, school failure, and unemployment provide the context in which violence emerges. The reason violence is higher in black neighbourhoods in the United States, for example, is because black low-income areas are considerably worse off than comparable white areas (Sampson and Wilson, 1993). The same analogy could probably be made of many native and non-native lower income areas in Canadian cities.
- ¹⁹ In exploring the cultural differences in alcohol use and violence, Westermeyer and Brantner (1972) found that one possible explanation for the high rate of violent deaths and alcohol abuse among native Americans is the use of alcohol as a coping strategy to deal with problems of acculturation into white society. Other studies suggest that the alcohol-violence connection in any culture depends on the stresses placed on that culture by the social structure. Or, the effects of alcohol on behaviour may be modified by social expectations -- for example, young male adolescents may be quiet and deferential when drinking with elders around them but more aggressive in other surroundings (National Research Council, 1992:199).
- ²⁰ Bland and Orn (1986), in interviewing 1200 randomly selected residents in a large Canadian city, found a relationship between family violence and psychiatric disorders.
- ²¹ There is some evidence that depressed people may be more prone to commit family violence, particularly spousal and child abuse. Social isolation, personality, childhood victimization, normalized context and acceptance of violence are also related to violence.
- ²² Smith (1990) found in a survey of Toronto women that low income and marital dissolution are strongly and consistently related to abuse. Crossman *et al* (1990) found that sex role egalitarianism may be a meaningful indicator for spouse abuse.
- ²³ A 1989 report of the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA) found aboriginal women and children to be disproportionately victims of family violence; aboriginal women in the N.W.T., Nova Scotia and B.C., have higher risks than non-aboriginal women for family violence victimization (Task Force on Spousal Assault in the N.W.T., 1985; Thomas, 1985; McLeod, 1992). The N.W.T. study revealed that one in four Dene women had been a victim of spousal assault; a survey of Micmac women in Nova Scotia showed that seven out of ten married women had been assaulted by their husbands. This compares to about one out of every ten non-aboriginal women (McLeod, 1992). The incidence of sexual abuse and child sexual abuse is also a problem identified by aboriginal women's

groups and in special government reports (LaRocque, 1993; Rogers, 1988; Pasquali, 1991, WMC Research Associates, 1986).

- ²⁴ An interesting anomaly, however, is findings in the recent (1993) Aboriginal People's Survey (APS). A large sample of people who identified themselves as aboriginal were asked what was required to make their communities better. Self-government was identified by less than 3%. The majority of responses included: more family counselling, better policing, shelters for women, better education, more employment, etc.
- ²⁵ There has been a tendency to treat gender issues in an either/or manner. Not all males are powerful any more than all females are powerless in aboriginal or any other communities. Understanding how power is located in families, and in local political bodies, may be more useful than gender in analyzing interpersonal conflict and violence. Understanding the stratification of power may also account for the have-nots in communities, and for the dysfunction in some families.
- ²⁶ One of the most visible characteristics of many aboriginal communities is the large number of youth and young people. The levels are disproportionate to non-aboriginal society. This, coupled with limited resources, options and geographic exclusion from the mainstream, has the potential to create new sources of frustration and anger among the young. The impact of television and videos, the primary source of information in communities, in conjunction with isolation from the mainstream, may be important factors in understanding some of the tensions in contemporary communities.
- ²⁷ The response to family violence and other kinds of abuse and violence has in some aboriginal communities taken the form of "healing." For example, the Red Gut reserve in Fort Frances has set up a healing centre where people can come together and share their experiences. In Hollow Water, Manitoba, victims and abusers and the community are part of a "circle of healing" where the abuser is given a healing contract with the community (McLeod, 1992).
- ²⁸ Some research identified geographic isolation as an important variable in the incidence of violence and the inability of women to find help (Tom, 1992; A.R.A. 1985). Kennedy and Dutton (1989), however, found the incidence of family violence to be generally higher in urban areas, although more resources are also available.
- ²⁹ This point refers to the fact that spousal, child and child sexual abuse are often portrayed together under the heading "Family Violence." The inner city data discussed in Chapter II reveals, however, quite a different context for child sexual abuse than for spousal and child abuse.
- ³⁰ As identified in the two previous parts, Inner 1 group comprises people selected on the street or in street-level agencies. Inner 2 people were selected in social and criminal justice agencies, and Outer people are those whose address is outside the boundaries of the inner city.
- ³¹ One difficulty with findings such as these is the lack of control groups.
- ³² The primary literature is contradictory. On the one hand, the Health and Welfare, Canada review of the theoretical and clinical literature on family violence, emphasize that violence, and especially spouse

assault, cut across class lines. On the other hand, the U.S. National Research Council report, on understanding and preventing violence emphasises that family violence, like crime and disorder, is *disproportionate* in families and communities with concentrations of poverty, residential instability, transiency, social disorganization, and disruption.

- ³³ Taken together, the number of relationships and custody of children factors are important findings. The child abuse findings reveal that children are at greater risk when not in biological families and particularly when in foster- or step-parent situations. Multiple relationships would seem to increase the risk to children.
- ³⁴ Violence and the street lifestyle did not often involve only the respondent but rippled throughout an entire family. For example, two Inner 1 respondents described the depth of loss in their own families. One lost a brother from malnutrition as a result of extensive alcohol consumption, a wife who was run over, one cousin who was stabbed to death and two cousins who shot themselves. Another 41-year-old with an extensive offence history lost the following members of his family: a 20-year-old sister was stabbed to death, a 23-year-old sister over-dosed; and uncle and a sister and brother both died from cirrhosis of the liver - the sister and brother from drinking Chinese wine; and another brother in a car accident while drinking.
- ³⁵ See Appendix II for variables related to family violence and the severity of violence for the total population and city by city, using the CHAID program. The CHAID analysis segmentation, showing variables that relate to certain degrees of risk, is also in Appendix II. This Part, unlike Part I, breaks down the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groups by gender in order to discern differences in the incidence and severity of family violence.
- ³⁶ For some respondents, violence was not restricted to the categories of spouse, child or child sexual abuse but had a much wider connotation. For example, a 36-year-old male who spent much of his adult life in jail saw his father hang himself when he was about five years old. He himself ended up in hospital at 16 years of age from drinking so much he nearly froze to death. As children, many respondents witnessed a close relative, a friend, a parent who was murdered, over dosed or committed suicide. A 24-year-old man with multiple juvenile and adult offences, said when he was 11 he tried to shoot two men who were beating his father.
- ³⁷ As in Parts I and 2, the term "significance" refers to statistical significance.
- ³⁸ One explanation for the differences in ages may be attributed to differences in childhood communities. Those 45 or more were probably raised in aboriginal communities with more traditional lifestyles and before the advent of television and intense involvement with the non-aboriginal world. Those aged 25-44 would have experienced the most community change and disruption, as well as the introduction of television. Those younger (15-24) are more acculturated as a result of having grown up in, or been exposed more to, urban areas.
- ³⁹ Using the CHAID program to determine variables which best distinguished respondents who were victims of severe child abuse, revealed the two most significant variables were degree of birth father's drinking and perpetrator of child abuse. The severity of birth father's drinking was significantly related to severity of abuse, as were foster-, step- and varied family situations. The CHAID segmenta-

tion process in Appendix III shows the variables that present the greatest risk of severe child abuse. Severity of birth father's drinking is a variable in the two highest risk segments.

⁴⁰ The experiences related here tend to be among the most extreme in the dataset. It is important, however, to document the degree of adversity that faced many respondents as children, especially those in the Inner 1 group.

⁴¹ Using CHAID to isolate the variables that best distinguish respondents who witnessed the most severe spouse abuse, revealed the following: the severity of birth father's drinking was the most significant distinguishing variable, followed by being from a reserve where spouse violence was perceived by respondent to be the most prevalent violence, severity of birth mother's drinking, birth parents drinking, moving around a lot as a child, and parental time in detention. When using the same process, but breaking the variables into segments of risk, the degree of birth father's drinking, and high mobility during childhood, were the variables most consistently associated with higher risk of spouse abuse in families (see Appendix IV).

⁴² The fact that there were more females than males in the Inner 2 group in Montreal probably explains the finding in Part II of less involvement of this group in the criminal justice system.

⁴³ The CHAID program, used to distinguish segment showing levels of risk, revealed that the severity of birth mother's drinking was present in the two highest risk groups, and that being born on a reserve was a higher risk than being born in an urban area (see Appendix V).

⁴⁴ The finding of the relationship between severity of birth mother's drinking and severity of abuse is more understandable than the finding that severity of birth father's drinking is related to less severe abuse. When the mother is a heavy drinker she may be unable to protect the child, or may put the child in situations where he or she is vulnerable to abuse by others. The vulnerability of people at parties in the inner city was described by one 52-year-old western male respondent who said:

In the inner city you have to drink with people you know. If you go to a house party where you don't know people you get beaten up.

⁴⁵ The number of places in which charges occurred was also related to the severity of family violence.

⁴⁶ There was no clear relationship generally, or for males and females, between type of charge and existence or severity of family violence. However, for child abuse, respondents with severe child abuse were over-represented in Types 2-6, and those with less severe violence were over-represented in Type 1 (see Appendix VIII for Types of offences). For spouse abuse, the pattern was similar except for Types 4 and 6, where respondents with less severe violence were over-represented. There was no significant relationship between child sexual abuse and type of charge.

⁴⁷ Because of small cell sizes, it was not possible to analyze detention by family violence and type of family violence data, by location (Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer) group. This would have been possible only with a larger sample.

⁴⁸ One interesting finding was that family violence and severity of child abuse were related to juvenile custody and time in juvenile custody for males, but not for females.

- ⁴⁹ This was borne out in the interviews. Respondents related their experiences of watching their mother's beaten with considerably more emotion than when relating their own abuse as children. For males in particular, the sense was strong of being unable to protect the mother and of wanting revenge against the father.
- ⁵⁰ One explanation may be that, as adults, females tend to remain in the same type of relationships as experienced when children, i.e., with people who are abusive to them.
- ⁵¹ For purposes of analysis, only "person" victimizations are included in this chapter. These include assaults, sexual assaults, robbery, muggings, rolling.
- ⁵² As discussed earlier, a definition of a "violent victimization" can take on different meanings, depending on the exposure to violence and how "normalized" violence is in one's life. To inner city people and especially to the Inner 1 group, violence is a part of everyday life. For this reason it is difficult to compare levels of violent victimization among people in various socio-economic and other circumstances.
- ⁵³ The seriousness of injury was calculated by actual physical injury. For example, a bruise or black eye was not considered serious injury. However, broken bones, stab and other wounds, and concussions were considered serious.
- ⁵⁴ The similarity between the Inner 2 and Outer groups is probably due to the fact that more females are in the Outer group, and females generally had more victimizations than males. Female victimization was somewhat more evenly distributed across classes (as reflected by the Inner 1, Inner 2 and Outer groupings) than was male victimization.
- ⁵⁵ These findings were determined through the use of the CHAID program (see Appendix VI). For Montreal respondents, where the respondent spent the majority of life was slightly more strongly related to number of victimizations than was the relationship of victim and offender.
- ⁵⁶ It may be that people with alcohol problems, and particularly serious problems, are more indifferent about their own well-being than those without problems. For drinkers, most activities involve drinking and the potential for violence in these situations is high. Like violence, victimization may also become normalized.
- ⁵⁷ During an interview with a young Inuit male he received a phone call that interrupted the interview. When he returned from taking the call, he said in an off-hand manner that the call was someone threatening to beat him up.
- ⁵⁸ A young Cree male who is gay said that all his gay friends were beaten up on reserves. Another young male, who now identifies himself as a "traditionalist," said, "As a kid I felt like an animal ... as a kid I was treated like an animal."
- ⁵⁹ The colonization, disrupted and diminished social relations, and relegation to reserves have sown the seeds for violence in the lives of aboriginal people. As a result, aboriginal people undoubtedly experience more violence than non-aboriginal people. But this does not mean there is the same

exposure to violence for all aboriginal people. As in non-aboriginal society, the most marginalized are probably subjected to disproportionate levels of violence.

- ⁶⁰ The National Research Council (1992:13) notes that, "Long-term alcohol use is a predisposing factor for violent behaviour at least for adults who showed both chronic aggressive behaviour and alcohol abuse in childhood or early adolescence. Adult problem drinkers are more likely to have histories of violent behaviour; but alcoholics are not more prevalent among violent offenders than among other offenders." They add that the role of alcohol and drugs in violence also depends on the situational and social context in which they are used.
- ⁶¹ Respondents who had been raised in circumstances other than with biological parents often lamented the absence of their real parents and of not knowing them. A search for unknown parents constituted an important part of the lives of many respondents.
- ⁶² The normal procedure for complaints against police are to the Public Complaints Commissioner or to the police themselves. Police investigate the complaint in the first instance, regardless of how the complaint is made, and the investigation and findings are reviewed by the Public Complaints Commissioner.
- ⁶³ Reporting might be encouraged by creating an advocacy body or agency to support inner city people in reporting victimizations, or making complaints against police. However, if the body is perceived to exist only to launch complaints against police, it would run the risk of losing credibility with both police and the public.
- ⁶⁴ Parts I and II revealed the "disorder" and minor nature of many of the offences for which inner city people are formally processed by the criminal justice system. To deal with these and with more serious offences using a conference approach, when deemed appropriate, would be less intrusive and potentially more useful and less harmful to inner city people.
- ⁶⁵ It is also essential to better understand the different contexts of violence. There is a tendency to treat some groups and their "problems" as homogenous, or unique to that group. For example, Green (1993), in exploring the contextual nature of American Indian criminality through a review of criminological research, found little support for the culture conflict argument but did find support for several indicators of social disorganization. Indicators of familial disorganization, such as problems with marital adjustment and relative marital happiness, were significant predictors of self-reported arrests among American Indian respondents. By the same token, it is clear that, while women and children in rural and isolated communities have fewer resources available to them (Milne, 1992), not all women or families in these communities are equally disadvantaged.
- ⁶⁶ As mentioned in Chapter I, the factors that promote violence in families are not restricted to any particular class but are more *disproportionate* in the most marginalized socio-economic groups.
- ⁶⁷ The attention paid to responding to crime is because of the search (often by government) for easy and quick solutions to difficult problems. Building jails is easier, faster and more visible than analyzing the conditions in which crime and disorder are generated.

- ⁶⁸ When developing and implementing responses to violence, such as educational programs, there is often an assumption that all people will understand, use and have equal access to them. The first report revealed that all native inner city people did not use inner city services in the same way. There is little reason to believe this finding would be different for crime prevention and other programs as well. New approaches to designing and delivering programs to different groups of people with different socio-economic profiles, seems imperative. An aboriginal-specific program does not necessarily mean all aboriginal people have the same access to or understanding of it, nor that it has the same impact on everyone.
- ⁶⁹ Western societies seem to be more interested in promoting and supporting a "war on crime" rather than a "war on parenting" or a "war on poverty." The connections between parenting, poverty and crime do not seem to attract government policy attention in the way social science research findings on the subject would suggest it should.
- ⁷⁰ However, parental education will have little impact without corresponding attention to the social, economic and community conditions under which many of the families of inner city respondents lived. Preventing family violence and reducing crime will not occur in the absence of more fundamental structural and community change.
- ⁷¹ During interviews, the lack of attention by either the offending or non-offending parent to the impact on children of violence by one parent (usually the father) against the other (usually the mother), was surprising. The perception prevailed that, so long as violence was not directed against the child, there was no damage. Spouse abuse was the most prevalent family violence behaviour but most victims did not want to pursue formal charges and called police only to stop the immediate problem. A recurring recommendation by women interviewed was the need for counselling - either for spouses or partners, or for couples in a marriage counselling setting.
- ⁷² One concern about seeking marriage counselling from locally trained people in small communities are fears about breaches of confidentiality. There is also the belief that "everyone knows your business." As a result, people are often reluctant to be seen going into a counselling office.
- ⁷³ Edelson and Frank (1991) relate how Minnesota has developed over the past two decades a statewide network of battered women's programs in low population density areas such as towns, rural areas and Indian reservations. These programs face greater obstacles than in urban areas (which receive the most attention and resources), because of fewer resources, restricted access to services due to geographic and social isolation, limited employment, child care and housing opportunities for women who have left husbands, lack of anonymity, and cultural norms encouraging self-reliance, family and group loyalty, and relatively rigid family and gender roles. In all, 31 programs are offered. A third of the programs provide shelter to women and children. Other programs included a crisis hotline, legal advocacy and outreach, community education and an effort to change the response of the system to spouse abuse. Safety for victims, rather than batterers' treatment, counselling, children's support systems, job training and transitional housing, is the focus of most. The authors conclude that, to develop similar approaches, rural communities should assess community needs, maintain a high visibility, develop co-operative relationships and expect change to be slow.

⁷⁴ As stated previously, Fattah (1993:33) argues that changing the situational factors in family violence such as alcohol, stress and individual and family isolation problems (which may be exacerbated by living in rural and isolated geographic areas), would be a more fruitful avenue to pursue than changing people.

⁷⁵ Family and Community Conferences have been instituted in some parts of New Zealand and Australia for juvenile and young adult offenders, but are being considered for other offences such as domestic violence. This is a sophisticated type of mediation based on a number of principles, which provides police in Australia (and social services in New Zealand) another option for dealing with offenders and offences. These principles include:

- using the definition of community sparingly;
- recognizing that emotion is part of the process of responding to offences;
- allowing reintegration of offenders into immediate community of interest and of broader community;
- giving conflict back to those directly affected;
- recognizing that basic rules of conferences are those of social, and not legal, justice where police act as co-ordinators of a social justice system;
- considering the family group conference to be the most effective way to identify the causes of failure in the family and in community control and to begin the complex process of restoring social bonds;
- understanding that traditional informal methods (such as restitution, mediation, probation orders, etc.,) may achieve material restitution for victims, but are not designed to repair the most significant symbolic and emotional damage;
- encouraging offenders to face consequences of behaviour (Moore 1992). offering victims the opportunity to deal with this resentment and anger, to overcome their sense of degradation and restore their self-respect;
- protecting individual rights of offenders; and
- recognizing that family conferences co-ordinators are umpire, not players.

Evaluations of using this approach are underway but from available information compliance seems to be high and offenders, victims and communities more satisfied than with the formal court process.

⁷⁶ In Maori thinking, it is members of extended families who are in a better position to intervene against abuse of family power than the social workers or police officers (Braithwaite and Daly, 1993:5).

⁷⁷ The authors relate recent findings of the Minneapolis police field experiment on arrest, separation and mediation of violent men. For one subset of these men, white and employed, arrest seemed to have a shaming effect that reduced subsequent violence. However, for another subset, black and unemployed, arrest seemed to promote rage or defiance rather than shame. For this group, arrest was another stigmatic encounter with the justice system, which increased their violence and anger. For this reason, the authors favour arrest warrants as the first State intervention (Braithwaite and Daly, 1993:9).

REFERENCES

- Angus Reid Group Inc. (1994). *The National Angus Reid/Southam News Poll: Public Opinion of Crime*, June 9, 1994.
- A.R.A. Consultants. (1985). *Wife Battering Among Rural, Native and Immigrant Women*, Final Report, Ottawa, March.
- Auger, Donald J., Anthony N. Doob, Raymond P. Auger and Paul Driben. (1992). "Crime and control in three Nishnawbe-Aski Nation communities", in *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, July-October, 34(3-4):317-339.
- Bland, Roger and Helene Orn. (1986). "Family Violence and Psychiatric Disorder", *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, March, 31(2):129-137.
- Bowker, Lee. H. (1985). "The Effects of National Development on the Position of Married Women in the Third World: The Case of Wife-Beating", *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, Spring, 9(1):1-13.
- Braithwaite, John and Kathleen Daly. (1993). "Masculinities, Violence, and Communitarian Control", in *Just Boys Doing Business: Men, Masculinity and Crime*, Tim Newburn and Betsy Stanko (eds). Routledge, London (forthcoming).
- Breines, W. and L. Gordon. (1984). "The New Scholarship on Family Violence", *Family Violence: A Selective Bibliography*, Ontario Teachers' Federation, Status of Women Committee.
- Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (1994a). *Family Violence in Canada*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- (1994b). *Juristat, Homicide in Canada - 1993*, 14(15), Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- (1993). *Police-Reported Aboriginal Crime in Calgary, Regina and Saskatoon*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- (1991). *Crime in Aboriginal Communities, Saskatchewan 1989*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Carter, I. and Lawrence J. Parker. (1991). "Intrafamilial Sexual Abuse in American Indian Families", in *Family Sexual Abuse*, P. Quinnin (ed). Sage Publications, Newbury Park, California.

Clark, Lorenne M.G. (1989/90). "Feminist Perspectives on Violence Against Women and Children: Psychological, Social Service and Criminal Justice Concerns", *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law*, 3 (2):420-431.

Collins, James J. and Robert L. Flewelling. (1991). "Interpersonal Violence and Normative Conduct", Research Triangle Institute.

Condon, Richard G. (1992). "Changing Patterns in Conflict Management and Aggression among Inuit Youth in the Canadian Arctic: Longitudinal Ethnographic Observations", *Native Studies Review*, 8(2).

Crossman, Rita K., Sandra M. Stith, and Mary M. Bender. (1990). "Sex Role Egalitarianism and Marital Violence", *Sex Roles*, March, 22(5\6):293-304.

Doob, Anthony N., Michelle G. Grossman, and Raymond P. Auger. (1994). "Aboriginal Homicides in Ontario", *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, January, 1994.

Dumont-Smith, Claudette and Pauline Sioui-Labelle. (1991). *National Family Violence Survey, Phase 1*, Inuit and Indian Nurses of Canada, August.

Edelson, Jeffrey L., and Marilyn D. Frank. (1991). "Rural Interventions in Woman Battering: One State's Strategies", *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, Family Service America.

Ellis, Desmond and Walter DeKeseredy. (1989). "Marital Status and Women Abuse: The DAD Model", *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, Autumn, 19(2):67-87.

Erickson, E.L., A.W. McEvoy and N.D. Colucci. (1984). *Child Abuse and Neglect: A Guidebook for Educators and Community Leaders*, Florida: Learning Publications.

Farrington, David. (1992). "Criminal Career Research in the United Kingdom", *British Journal of Criminology*, 32(4):453-472.

Fattah, Ezzat A. (1993). "Some Reflections on Crime, Our Response to Crime and the Prevention of Family Violence", Directors' Research Workshop on Crime Prevention, Ottawa: Department of Justice, January 26-27.

Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child Sexual Abuse*, London: The Free Press.

(1983). "Common Features of Family Abuse" in *The Dark Side of Families: Current Family Violence Research*, ed. David Finkelhor, Richard G. Gelles, Gerald T. Hotaling and Murray A. Straus, pp. 17-28.

Fischer, Margaret. (1983). "Adolescent adjustment after adolescence", *School Psychology*, 4(4):217-222, Oct.-Dec.

Fischler, Ronald S. (1985). "Child Abuse and Neglect in American Indian Communities", *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 9(1):95-106.

Frank, Sharlene. (1992). *Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities: A First Nations Report*, B.C. Ministry of Women's Equality.

Garbarino, J. and Gillian, G. (1980). *Understanding abusive families*, Toronto: Lexington.

Garbarino, J. (1977). "The Human Ecology of Child Maltreatment: A Conceptual Model for Research" *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, November: 39(4):721-735.

Gartner, Rosemary and Anthony N. Doob. (1994). "Trends in Criminal Victimization: 1988-1993", *Juristat*, Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, June, 14(13).

Gelles, R.J. (1976). *The Violent Home*, Newbury Park, Ca: Sage Publications.

Gordon, Michael A. (1989). "The Family Environment of Sexual Abuse: A Comparison of Natal and Stepfather Abuse", *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 13:121-130.

Grant, Alan. (1991). "Native People Need Own Laws and Justice", *Canadian Speeches/Issues, Informed Thought*, 4(9):9-21.

Greene, Donald E. (1993). "The Contextual Nature of American Indian Criminality", *American Indian Culture and Research*, 17(2):99-119.

Green, M. R. (1980). *Violence and the Family*, Colorado: Westview Press.

Greene, Michael B. (1993). "Chronic Exposure to Violence and Poverty", *Crime and Delinquency*, January, 39(1):106-124.

- Grobsmith, Elizabeth S. (1989). "The Relationship between Substance Abuse and Crime Among Native American Inmates in Nebraska Department of Corrections", *Human Organization*, 48(4):285-298.
- Health and Welfare, Canada. (1992). *Family Violence: A Review of Theoretical and Clinical Literature*. Ottawa: Policy, Communications and Information Branch.
- Hodgson, Maggie. (1990). "Shattering the Silence: Working with Violence in Native Communities", in *Healing Voices: Feminist Approaches to Therapy with Women*, Toni A. Laidlaw and Cheryl Maimo (eds), San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., pp. 34-44.
- Honore M., Donna Parkinson and Michael Vargo. (1989). "Witnessing Spouse Abuse and Experiencing Physical Abuse: A Double Whammy?", *Journal of Family Violence*, 4(2):197-209.
- Howing, Phyllis T., John S. Wodarski, David P Kurtz, James M. Gaudin and Emily Neligan Herbst. (1989). "Child Abuse and Delinquency: The Empirical and Theoretical Links", *Social Work*, September, pp. 244-249.
- Hughes, H.M., D.L. Parkinson and M.C. Vargo. (1987). "Witnessing Spouse Abuse and Experiencing Child Abuse: A Double Whammy", paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, New York.
- Inuit Justice Task Force. (1994). *Profile of Crime in Nunavik*, May. Unpublished.
- Jaffe, Peter G., David A. Wolfe and Susan Kaye Wilson. (1990). *Children of Battered Women*, Sage Publications.
- Jaffe, Peter G., David Wolfe, Susan Kaye Wilson and Lydia Zak. (1986). "Family Violence and Child Adjustment: A Comparative Analysis of Girls' and Boys' Behavioural Symptoms", *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 143(1):74-77, January.
- Jamieson, Wanda. (1988). *Aboriginal Male Violence Against Aboriginal Women in Canada*, Master's Thesis, University of Ottawa.
- Kalmuss, Debra and Judith A. Seltzer. (1989). "A Framework for Studying Family Organization over the Life Cycle: The Case of Family Violence", *Journal of Family Issues*, September, 10(3):339-358.

Kantor, Glenda Kaufman. (1993). "Violent Families and Alcohol Abusing Families: Examining the Consequences for Children", paper presented at the meetings of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, November.

Kaufman Kantor, Glenda and Murray A. Straus. (1989). "Substance Abuse as a Precipitant of Wife Abuse Victimizations", *American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*, 15 (2):173-189.

Kennedy, Leslie W. and Donald G. Dutton. (1989). "The Incidence of Wife Assault in Alberta", *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, January, 21(1):40-54.

Kurz, Ronald S. (1989). "Adult Male Report of Childhood Sexual Abuse by Mothers: Case Descriptions, Motivations and Long-term Consequences", *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 13:111-119.

La Prairie, Carol. (1991). *Justice for the Crees: Communities, Crime and Order*, Cree Regional Authority, Nemaska, Quebec.

(1992). Dimensions of Aboriginal Over-representation in Correctional Institutions and Implications for Crime Prevention, User Report, Ministry of the Solicitor General.

(1994). *Seen But Not Heard: Native People in the Inner City, Part I: The Inner City Sample, Social Strata and the Criminal Justice System*, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

(1994). *Seen But Not Heard: Native People in the Inner City, Part II: City-by-City Differences - The Inner City and the Criminal Justice System*, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Lawton-Speert, Sarah and Andy Wachtel. (1982). *Child Sexual Abuse in the Family: A Review of the Trends in the Literature with an Addendum on The Incest Taboo- Some Theories*. Vancouver: Social Planning and Research, Child Abuse Project, Working Paper Two.

LaRocque, Emma D. (1993). "Violence in Aboriginal Communities", in *The Path to Healing, Report of the National Roundtable on Aboriginal Health and Social Issues*, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

- Lenton, Rhonda. (1990). "Techniques of Child Discipline and Abuse by Parents", *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 27(2):157-184.
- Martin, Del. (1976). *Battered Wives*, San Francisco, California: Glide Publications.
- Mate, Gabor. (1993). "Repressed emotions can cause all manner of problems", *The Globe and Mail*, October, 25, 1993:A18.
- Mazerolle, Paul. (1992). "An Evaluation of the Research Literature Investigating the Link Between Community Characteristics and Rates of Child Maltreatment", paper presented at the 1992 Annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, New Orleans, November.
- McCord, J. (1983). "A Forty Year Perspective on Effects of Child Abuse and Neglect", *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 7:265-270.
- McLeod, Linda. (1989). "Wife Battering and the Web of Hope: Progress, Dilemmas and Visions of Prevention", Health and Welfare Canada: Family Violence Prevention Division.
- (1992). "Wife Assault: A Fact Sheet Prepared for The National Panel on Violence Against Women", Ottawa, January.
- Milne, Wendy. (1992). "Violence Against Women in Rural Settings", August.
- Moore, D.B. (1992). "Facing the Consequences: Conferences and Juvenile Justice", Australian Institutes of Criminology Paper Presented at *National Conference on Juvenile Justice*, Adelaide, September, 1992.
- Moore, D.B. and T.A. O'Connell. (n.d.). "Family Conferencing in Wagga Wagga: A Communitarian Model of Justice", Australia, source unknown.
- Morgan, Kathryn D. (1994). "Factors Associated with Probation Outcome", *Journal of Human Justice*, 22(4):341-353.
- Moyer, Sharon. (1992). "Race, gender and homicide: Comparisons between aboriginal and other Canadians", *Canadian Journal of Criminology*, July-October, 34(3-4):387-403.

Mullen, Paul E. (1990). "The Prevalence of Sexual Abuse of Female Children and Adolescents" and "The Impact of Childhood Sexual Abuse on Adult Mental Health", in *Family Violence: Perspectives on Treatment, Research and Policy*, Ronald Roesch, Donald G. Dutton, and Vincent F. Sacco, (eds.), British Columbia Institute on Family Violence, pp. 21-37.

Nahanee, Theresa and Sharon McIvor. (1992). "Violence Against Native Women", prepared for the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women.

Naquin, Patricia Elizabeth. (1989). "The Relationship Between Adult Women Survivors of Incest and Marital Satisfaction", Dissertation Abstracts International, October, 50(4).

National Research Council. (1992). *Understanding and Preventing Violence*, Washington: National Academy Press.

Ontario Native Women's Association. (1989). *Breaking Free: A Proposal for Change to Aboriginal Family Violence*, Thunder bay, Ontario.

Pasquali, Paula E. (1991). *Sexual Assault Sentencing in the Yukon*, Whitehorse, Yukon Territory.

Piasecki, Joan, Spero M. Manson, Michael P. Biernoff and Albert B. Hiat. (1989). "Abuse and Neglect of American Indian Children: Findings from a Survey of Federal Providers", *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, 3 (2):43-62, Fall.

Priest, Lisa. (1993). "Boys more affected by sexual abuse, study finds", *The Toronto Star*, December 18, 1993:j11.

Roesch, Ronald, Donald G. Dutton and Vincent F. Sacco (eds.). (1990). *Family Violence: Perspectives on Treatment, Research and Policy*, Vancouver: British Columbia Institute on Family Violence.

Rogers, Rix. (1988). *Reaching For Solutions: The Summary Report of The Special Advisor to the Minister of Health and Welfare on Child Sexual Abuse in Canada*, Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

Rosenbaum, Alan, and Daniel O'Leary. (1981). "Children: the Unintended Victims of Marital Violence", *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 51(4), October.

Sacco, Vincent F. and Holly Johnson. (1990). *Patterns of Criminal Victimization in Canada*, Statistics Canada, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Sampson, Robert. (1991). "Linking the Micro-and-Macro Level Dimensions of Community Social Organization", *Social Forces*, 70:43-64.

Sampson, Robert and William Wilson. (1993). "Toward a Theory of Race, Crime and Urban Inequality", in John Hagan and Ruth Peterson (eds.) *Crime and Inequality*, Stanford University Press.

Schwendinger, Herman and Julie Schwendinger. (1993). "Giving Crime Prevention Top Priority", *Crime and Delinquency*, October, 39(4):425-447.

Scott, Lois. (1993). "To remember the women, remember the child", *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, December 6, 1993.

Smith, Michael D. (1990). "Woman Abuse: The Case for Surveys by Telephone", Working Paper No. 3, May.

Statistics Canada. (1993). *Language, Tradition, Health, Lifestyle and Social Issues, Aboriginal Peoples Survey*. Ottawa, Catalogue 89-533.

Statistics Section. (1994). "1993 General Social Survey on Criminal Victimization", *Statistics Briefing Note*, Statistics Section, Ottawa: Department of Justice.

Task Force on Spousal Assault. (1985). *Report by the Task Force on Spousal Assault*, Government of the N.W.T.

Thomas, Elizabeth. (1985). "Brief from the Society Against Family Abuse, N.W.T., Appendix II", *Spouse Abuse Task Force*, February 18, 1985.

Tom, Sophie. (1992). "Inuit Women: The Realities and Issues Surrounding Violence Against Women", A paper prepared for the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women.

Tsai, Mavis and Nathaniel N. Wagner. (1978). "Therapy Groups for Women Sexually Abused as Children", *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 7(5):417-427.

WCM Research Associates (Manitoba) Ltd. (1986). *Child Sexual Abuse, Native Canadians and the Multidisciplinary Team: A Selected Literature Review*.

Webster, Christopher D. and N. Zoe Hilton. (1990). "Violence in the Family Institution: The Future of Research and Practice", in *Family Violence: Perspectives on Treatment, Research and Policy*, Ronald Roesch, Donald G. Dutton and Vincent F. Sacco, (eds.), British Columbia Institute on Family Violence, pp. 173-182.

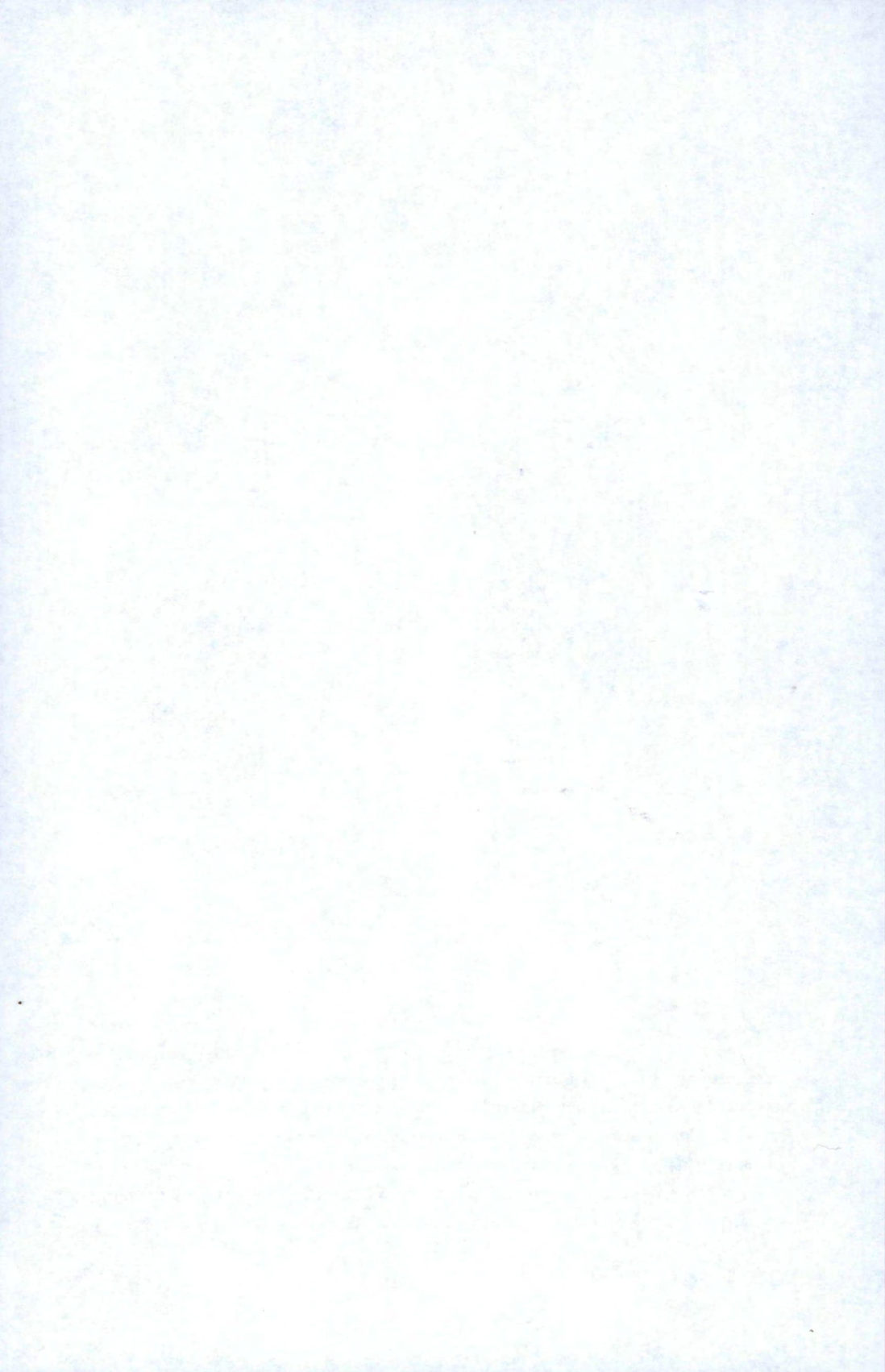
Westermeyer, J. and J. Brantner. (1972). "Violent death and alcohol use among the Chippewas in Minnesota", *Minnesota Medicine*, 55:749-752.

Widom, Cathy Spatz. (1989). "Child Abuse, Neglect and Adult Behaviour: Research Design and Findings on Criminality, Violence and Child Abuse", *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59(3), July.

Wolfe, David A. (1985). "Child Abusive Parents: An Empirical Review and Analysis", *Psychological Bulletin*, 97(3).

Woods, Theresa. (1994). *Final Report: Family Violence - Northern Partnership Model*, Aboriginal Women's Council of Saskatchewan.

Zellerer, Evelyn. (1994). *A Review of Aboriginal Family Violence Treatment Programs for Men*, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.



APPENDIX I

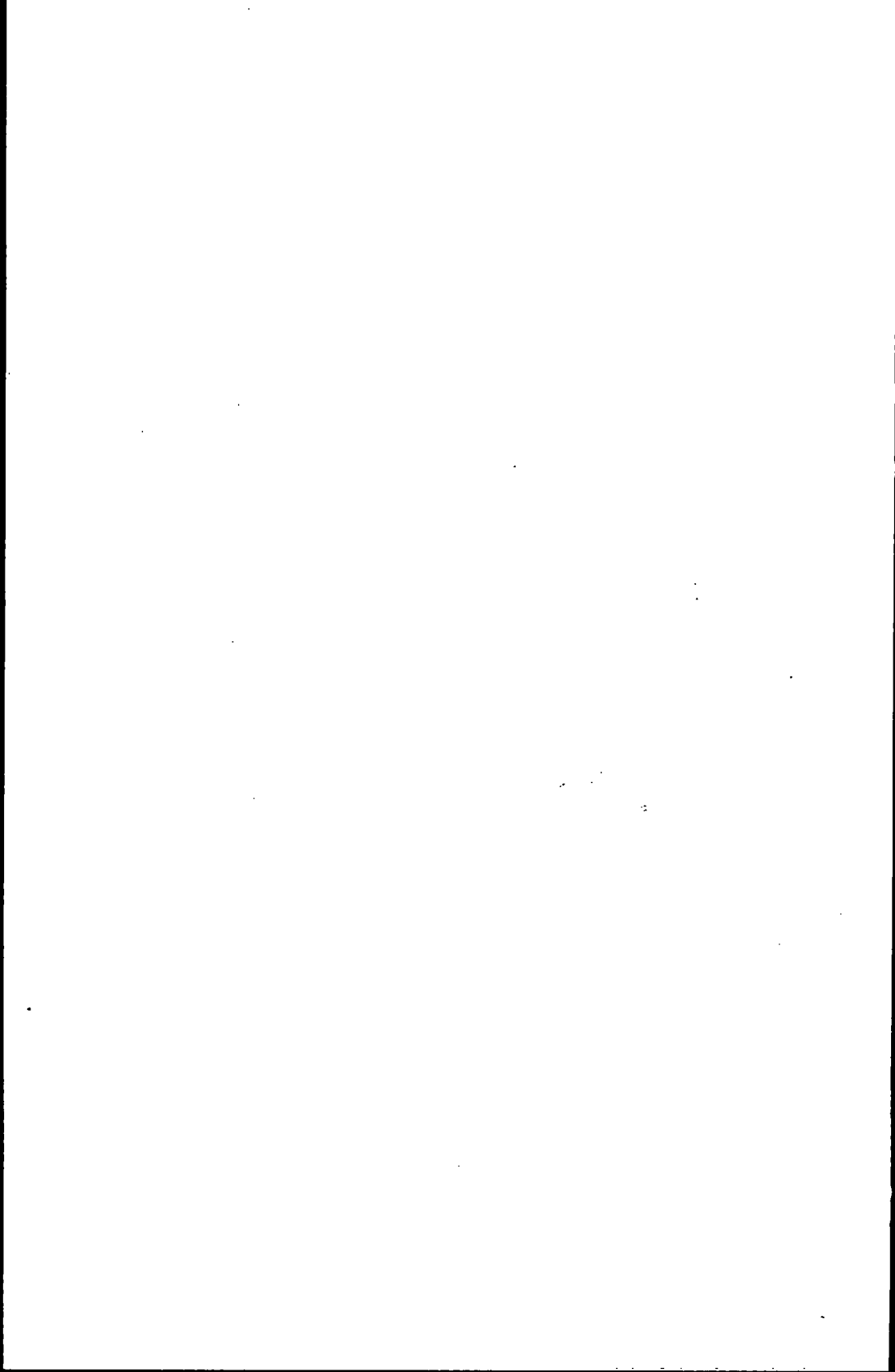
FAMILY VIOLENCE SCALE

The family violence scale was constructed on the basis of three primary measures - frequency and severity of violence, and the number of types of violence present in the family. The following scale was used for coding purposes where 1 is the least and 5 the most severe rating. Only actual physical violence was coded and only one coder completed the family violence categories for all interviews. In the final analysis, 1 and 2 were collapsed to the "less", 3 remained as "moderate", and 4 and 5 were collapsed to the "severe" category. The scale was used for the general family violence variable as well as for the individual child abuse, spouse abuse and child sexual abuse variables. When coding the last three, only frequency and severity were used as measures.

1. Least (a) - occasional - not more frequent than once a year with no injury, usually of one type only.
2. Least (b) - not more frequent than two or three times a year - may be one other type of family violence but no injury.
3. Moderate - eight to twelve times a year; more than one type of violence may be present and some non-serious injury such as black eye, bruises.
4. Severe (b) - two to four times a month, may be one or more types which inflicts injuries such as cuts, some broken bones such as a broken nose.
5. Severe (a) - may be every day, every few days or once a week, several types may be present and serious injury inflicted, such as broken limbs and backs, serious burns, concussions, wounds.

APPENDIX II

FAMILY VIOLENCE VARIABLES — CHAID



Family Violence

- * gender
- * birth place of respondent
- * where respondent spent their childhood
- * respondent was brought up by
- * father's source of income
- * mother's source of income
- * parent's source of income
- * did respondent move alot during childhood
- * respondents parent served detention time
- * parental drinking problem
- * severity of birth mothers drinking problem
- * severity of birth fathers drinking problem
- * perpetrator of family violence
- * respondent attended residential school
- * respondent received cultural guidance
- * distance to nearest urban centre during childhood
- * level of violence on reserve
- * type of violence on reserve was spousal
- * type of violence of reserve was family non-spousal
- * type of violence on reserve was non-family

FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR TOTAL POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				P.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Did Birth Parents Have a Drinking Problem	None	54	31	7	7	1.8e-18
	Father / Mother / missing	26	37	16	20	
	Both Parents	10	43	19	28	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	11	38	20	31	6.5e-16
	Moderate / missing	39	38	11	12	
Severity of Birth Mothers Drinking Problem	Severe	10	39	20	31	8.3e-14
	Moderate	22	52	13	13	
	missing	40	33	13	14	
Did Birth Parents Serve Detention Time	Both Parents / Mother / missing	22	36	16	29	1.1e-8
	No	37	39	12	13	
	Father	9	39	13	29	
Did Respondent Move A lot During Their Childhood	Yes / missing	17	37	18	28	3.8e-7
	No	35	38	13	14	
Who Respondent was Brought Up By	Single Parent / Other	20	44	17	19	4.3e-6
	Both Parents	40	37	9	15	
	Foster Parents / missing	22	28	21	29	
Source of Income For Birth Parents	Welfare / missing	17	41	19	23	2.5e-5
	Employment / Traditional	36	35	12	17	
Violence on Reserve is Spousal	Yes	16	40	29	43	4.5e-5
	No / missing	33	37	15	16	
Birth Fathers Source of Income	Wage / Traditional	33	36	13	17	0.00024
	Unemployed	15	41	19	25	
Type of Violence on Reserves is Family Non/Spousal	Yes	14	36	20	30	0.0023
	No / Missing	30	38	14	18	

FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR EDMONTON'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				p.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Did Respondent Move A lot During Their Childhood	Yes / Missing	9	39	24	29	1.3e-6
	No	42	41	12	5	
Birth Parents Source of Income	Welfare /missing	12	39	22	28	0.00020
	Employment / Traditional	40	40	13	6	
Type of Violence on Reserve is Spousal Violence	Yes	13	38	21	28	0.024
	No / missing	34	40	15	11	
Level of Violence on the Reserve	High / missing	17	35	26	22	0.040
	Medium / Low / Not Aware of Any	35	43	10	12	

FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR REGINA'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				p.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Who Respondent Was Brought Up By	Single / Both Parents / Missing	38	41	9	12	0.00010
	Other / Foster	15	24	12	49	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	15	39	11	35	0.00069
	Moderate / missing	43	35	10	12	

FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR TORONTO'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	FAMILY VIOLENCE (Row %)				p.
		None	Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	11	33	28	28	6.2e-5
	Moderate / missing	31	48	8	12	

**FAMILY VIOLENCE FOR MONTREAL'S POPULATION THE NUMBERS
ARE TOO SMALL**

Each person interviewed was coded as having one of four categories of *Family Violence*. These categories, and the percent of persons in the total sample that fell within each category (and category, "the missing"), were as follows:

1. none	27%	3. moderate severe	15%
2. less severe	38%	4. most severe	20%

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 6 distinct segments. Two of these segments had a relatively high (i.e. compared to other segments) proportion of persons with an *severe family violence*; two segments had relatively *high or moderate severe family violence*

Persons within each of these four segments had the following characteristics:

Most Severe Family Violence		Moderate Severe Family Violence	
Segment 1 risk = 29% ¹	Segment 3 risk = 42%	Segment 1 risk = 48%	Segment 2 risk = 73%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respondent had birth father with a severe drinking problem • perpetrator of family violence was a biological parent or from extended family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • perpetrator of family violence was foster-parent/step-parent/varied 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respondent had birth father with a severe drinking problem • perpetrator of family violence was a biological parent or from extended family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respondent had birth father with a moderate drinking problem • perpetrator of family violence was a biological parent or from extended family

¹ Percents in this table refer to the percent of all persons in the segment who had an *severe family violence*.



APPENDIX III

CHILD ABUSE VARIABLES — CHAID



Child Abuse Variables

- * gender
- * birth place of respondent
- * where respondent spent their childhood
- * respondent was brought up by
- * father's source of income
- * mother's source of income
- * parent's source of income
- * did respondent move alot during childhood
- * respondents parent served detention time
- * parental drinking problem
- * severity of birth mothers drinking problem
- * severity of birth fathers drinking problem
- * perpetrator of family violence
- * respondent attended residential school
- * respondent received cultural guidance
- * distance to nearest urban centre during childhood
- * level of violence on reserve
- * type of violence on reserve was spousal
- * type of violence of reserve was family non-spousal
- * type of violence on reserve was non- family

CHILD ABUSE - TOTAL POPULATION

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	CHILD ABUSE (Row %)			p.
		Less	Moderate	Severe	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	32	20	48	0.0074
	Moderate / missing	46	24	30	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological / Extended / missing	45	24	32	0.033
	Foster / Step / Varied	27	19	54	

Each person who had child abuse was coded as having one of three categories. These categories, and the percent of persons in the total sample that fell within each category (and category, "the missing"), were as follows:

- 1. less severe 38%
- 2. moderate severe 22%
- 3. most severe 40%

The CHAID analysis divided the sample of persons interviewed into 9 distinct segments. Three of these segments had a relatively high (i.e. compared to other segments) proportion of persons with an *severe child abuse*.

Persons within each of these three segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 1 risk = 63% ¹	Segment 4 risk = 62%	Segment 9 risk = 54%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● grew up on reserve where family spouse abuse occurred ● birth father had a severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● father or mother served detention time ● parents source of income was employment or traditional ● had no spousal family violence on reserve ● birth father had a severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● birth father had a moderate drinking problem ● perpetrator of family violence was foster or step-parent

¹ Percents in this table refer to the percent of all persons in the segment who had an *severe/moderate child abuse*.

APPENDIX IV

SPOUSE ABUSE VARIABLES – CHAID



Spousal Abuse Variables	
*	gender
*	birth place of respondent
*	where respondent spent their childhood
*	respondent was brought up by
*	father's source of income
*	mother's source of income
*	parent's source of income
*	did respondent move alot during childhood
*	respondents parent served detention time
*	parental drinking problem
*	severity of birth mothers drinking problem
*	severity of birth fathers drinking problem
*	perpetrator of family violence
*	respondent attended residential school
*	respondent received cultural guidance
*	distance to nearest urban centre during childhood
*	level of violence on reserve
*	type of violence on reserve was spousal
*	type of violence of reserve was family/non-spousal
*	type of violence on reserve was non- family

SPOUSAL ABUSE - TOTAL POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	SPOUSE ABUSE			P.
		Less Severe	Moderate Severe	Most Severe	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe	35	22	43	1.4e-6
	Moderate / missing	64	19	18	
Violence of Reserve was Spouse Violence	Yes	33	31	46	0.00034
	No / Moderate	56	20	24	
Severity of Birth Mothers Drinking Problem	Severe	35	26	39	0.0018
	Moderate / missing	57	16	27	
Did Respondent Birth Parents Have a Drinking Problem	None / Father / Mother / missing	58	18	24	0.031
	Both Parents	38	23	39	
Did Respondent Move Alot During Their Childhood	Yes	41	17	41	0.0084
	No / missing	53	23	23	
Did Your Parents Have Custody Time	Both Parents / Mother / Father	36	22	42	0.049
	No / missing	55	19	26	

Each person who had spouse abuse was coded as having one of three categories. These categories, and the percent of persons in the total sample that fell within each category (and category, "the missing"), were as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----|
| 1. less severe | 48% |
| 2. moderate severe | 20% |
| 3. most severe | 32% |

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 10 distinct segments. Four of these segments had a relatively high (i.e. compared to other segments) proportion of persons with an *severe spouse abuse*.

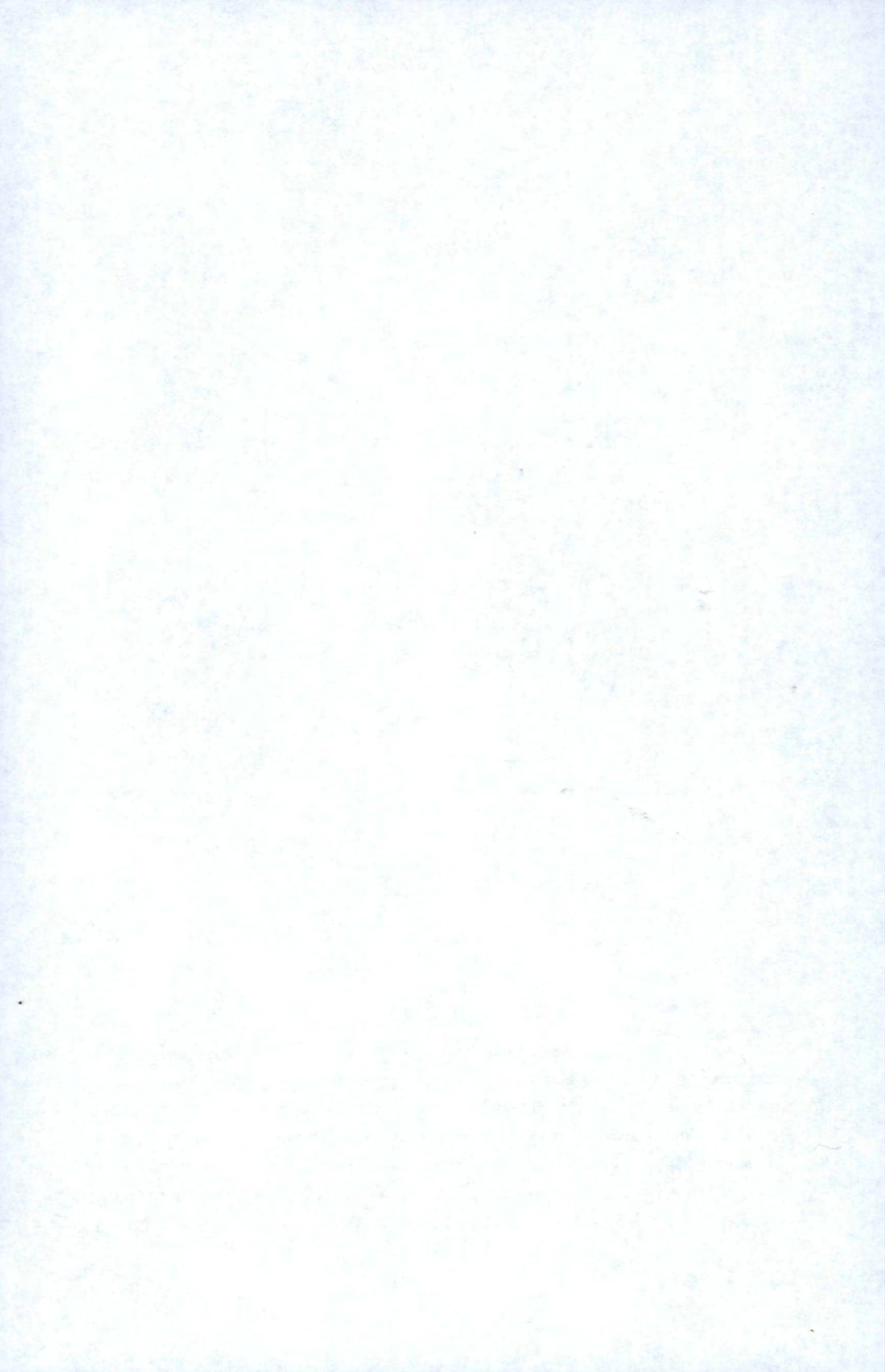
Persons within each of these four segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 1 risk = 71% ¹	Segment 2 risk = 67%	Segment 3 risk = 63%	Segment 6 risk = 64%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● respondent had alot or some cultural guidance ● had spouse family violence on reserve ● had high mobility during their childhood ● birth father had a severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● respondent had no cultural guidance ● had spouse family violence on reserve ● had high mobility during their childhood ● birth father had a severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● both parent had served detention time ● there was no spousal family violence on the reserve ● had high mobility during their childhood ● birth father had a severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● had high mobility during childhood ● level of violence on reserve was high ● birth father had a moderate drinking problem

¹ Percents in this table refer to the percent of all persons in the segment who had an *severe spouse abuse*.

APPENDIX V

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE VARIABLES – CHAID



Child Sexual Abuse Variables	
*	gender
*	birth place of respondent
*	where respondent spent their childhood
*	respondent was brought up by
*	father's source of income
*	mother's source of income
*	parent's source of income
*	did respondent move alot during childhood
*	respondents parent served detention time
*	parental drinking problem
*	severity of birth mothers drinking problem
*	severity of birth fathers drinking problem
*	perpetrator of family violence
*	respondent attended residential school
*	respondent received cultural guidance
*	distance to nearest urban centre during childhood
*	level of violence on reserve
*	type of violence on reserve was spousal
*	type of violence of reserve was family non-spousal
*	type of violence on reserve was non- family

CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE - TOTAL POPULATION

VARIABLE	VARIABLE GROUPING	CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE (Row %)			P.
		Less	Moderate	Severe	
Severity of Birth Mother's Drinking Problem	Severe / missing	39	19	42	0.014
	Moderate	80	13	7	
Birth Place of Respondent	Reserve / Off Reserve Rural	51	9	40	0.020
	Off Reserve Urban/missing	33	35	33	
Severity of Birth Fathers Drinking Problem	Severe / missing	40	18	42	0.031
	Moderate	73	20	7	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological / missing	60	22	18	0.055
	Foster	38	0	63	
	Extended / Step / Varied	33	21	46	

Each person who had child sexual abuse was coded as having one of three categories. These categories, and the percent of persons in the total sample that fell within each category (and category, "the missing"), were as follows:

- 1. less severe 44%
- 2. moderate severe 19%
- 3. most severe 38%

The CHAID analysis divided the total sample of persons interviewed into 3 distinct segments. Two of these segments had a relatively high (i.e. compared to other segments) proportion of persons with an *severe child sexual abuse*.

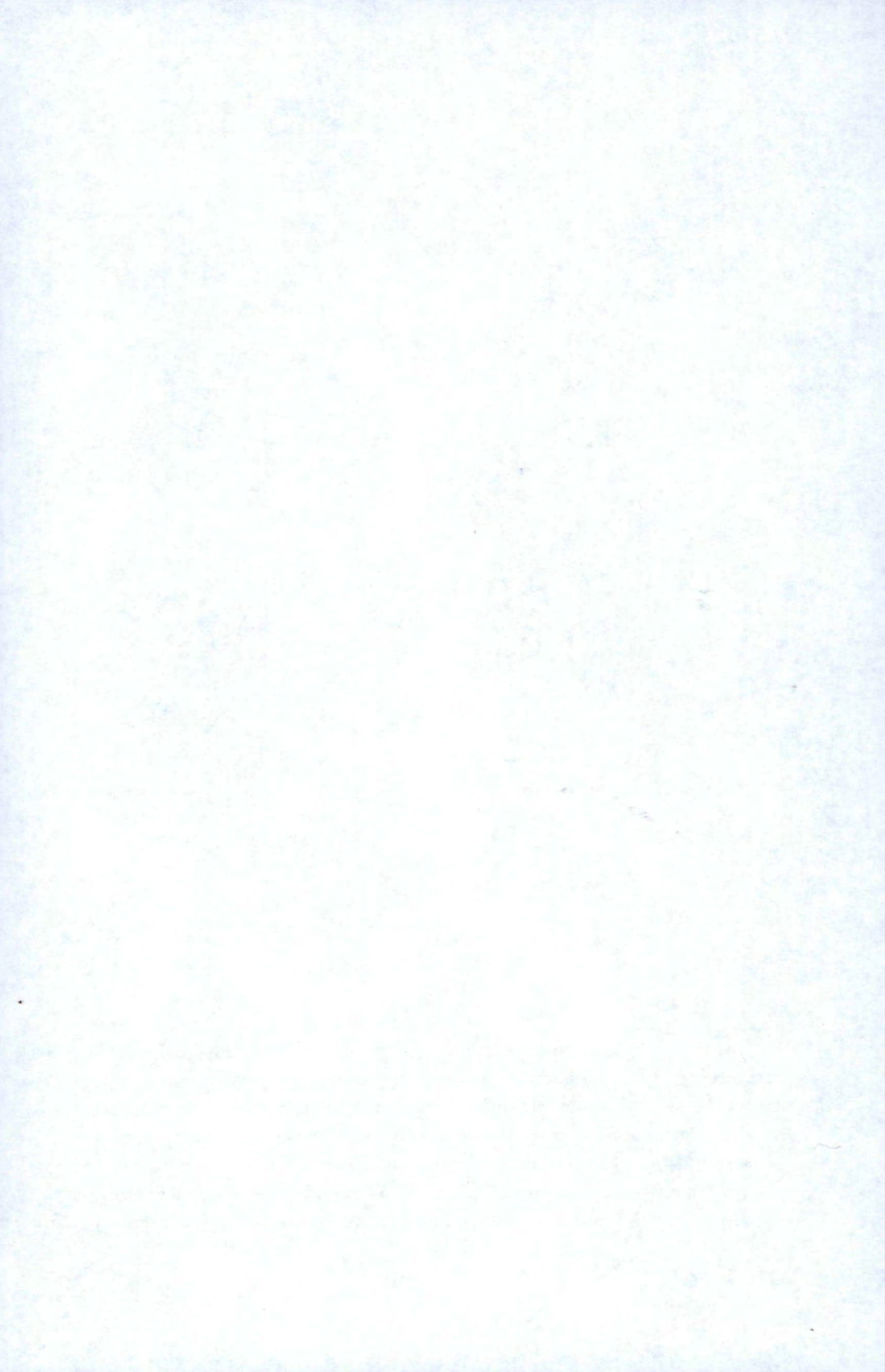
Persons within each of these two segments had the following characteristics:

Segment 1 risk = 45% ¹	Segment 2 risk = 36%
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respondent was born on reserve or in rural area • birth mother had severe drinking problem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • respondent was born in a urban centre • birth mother had severe drinking problem

¹ Percents in this table refer to the percent of all persons in the segment who had an *severe child sexual abuse*.

APPENDIX VI

NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATION VARIABLES – CHAID



Total Victimization

- * respondent present location
- * gender
- * length of time in current city
- * where respondent spent majority of their life
- * respondent considers city home
- * frequency of visits to reserve/home community
- * city live up to expectations
- * main problem when arriving in city
- * comfortable in city
- * present problem in the city
- * level of crime in surrounding area
- * respondent fears victimization
- * present source of income
- * number of relationships
- * number of charges in the city
- * age at first charge
- * respondent relationship to victimizer
- * where respondent was born
- * where respondent spent their childhood
- * who respondent was brought up by
- * number of siblings
- * father's source of income
- * parents source of income
- * mobility during respondents childhood
- * childhood stability
- * respondent parents served detention time
- * birth parents had a drinking problem
- * severity of birth mothers drinking problem
- * severity of birth fathers drinking problem
- * severity of family violence
- * perpetrator of family violence
- * respondent attended residential school
- * age respondent started regular drinking
- * respondent received cultural guidance
- * source of cultural guidance
- * where people looked down on the reserve
- * age of first detention
- * number of detentions
- * level of violence on the reserve
- * severity of spouse family violence
- * severity of child family violence
- * severity of sexual family violence
- * total juvenile charges
- * main type of juvenile charge
- * total juvenile detention time
- * total charges
- * total adult charges
- * educational attainment

VICTIMIZATION FOR WHOLE POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS (Row %)				p.
		1	2-4	5-10	11+	
Relationship to Offender	Spouse / Varied	9	23	23	44	1.0e-17
	Relative / Friend / Stranger	38	37	15	10	
Gender	Males	34	37	17	13	1.2e-5
	Females	22	26	19	33	
Educational Attainment	Less than Grade 9 / missing	24	28	19	13	0.00072
	Some High School / Graduate High School	34	36	16	13	
Fear of Victimization	Yes / missing	26	24	13	37	0.0034
	Some / No	29	34	19	18	
Did Respondent Move Alot During Their Childhood	Yes	22	40	20	17	0.0057
	No / missing	33	27	16	24	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Childhood	Reserve / Off Reserve Urban / Varied	25	31	18	26	0.0057
	Off Reserve Rural / missing	36	34	17	12	
Income of Birth Parents	Welfare	23	28	25	24	0.0071
	Employment / missing	32	35	13	20	
Were some People Looked Down on the Reserve	Yes / missing	27	32	17	24	0.013
	No	38	31	22	8	
Did Birth Parents Have a Drinking Problem	None / missing	35	35	13	27	0.015
	Father / Mother / Both Father and Mother	26	36	20	19	
Age Respondent Started Regular Drinking	1-15 years of age	23	34	19	24	0.021
	16+ years of age / missing	37	30	16	17	

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS (Row %)				P.
		1	2-4	5-10	11+	
Child Sexual Abuse	Less Severe / Moderate Severe / missing	30	33	18	20	0.022
	Most Severe	18	27	12	42	
Main Type of Juvenile Offenses	Person / Other / Both Person and Property / Other / JDA / missing	27	30	17	25	0.024
	Property	32	37	20	11	
Number of Relationships	0-3 relationships / missing	32	34	19	16	0.036
	4+ relationships	26	30	17	28	
Respondents Arrival Problem When Coming to City	None / Housing / Employment / Lonely / Lonely / Violence / Racism / Other	26	36	18	20	0.040
	Drugs and Alcohol /missing	35	23	17	25	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe	33	31	18	18	0.041
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe / Missing	23	34	17	27	
Present Source of Income	Welfare / Education / Other / missing	28	31	18	23	0.044
	Employment	35	47	12	6	

VICTIMIZATION FOR EDMONTON'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS (Row %)				p.
		1	2-4	5-10	11+	
Relationship to Offender	Spouse / Varied	2	20	27	51	1.2e-7
	Relative / Friend / Stranger / missing	38	33	21	8	
Fear Victimization	Yes / missing	30	13	9	48	0.0068
	Some / No	23	32	27	18	
Gender	Males	33	33	22	13	0.014
	Females	15	23	25	37	
Respondent Received Cultural Guidance	Alot / Some / missing	27	40	20	13	0.022
	No	22	19	25	34	
Educational Attainment	Less than Grade 9 / missing	17	26	26	31	0.025
	Some High School / Graduated High School	38	32	20	11	
Total Juvenile Custody Time	1 day to 4 months	29	31	13	27	0.027
	4+ months / missing	18	24	38	20	
Did Respondent Visit Reserve	Often / Little	23	30	34	13	0.032
	No / missing	25	27	15	33	
Length of Time in Present City	0-3 years	19	52	19	10	0.039
	3+ years / missing	26	22	24	28	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological / Extended / missing	26	23	29	23	0.040
	Foster Parent / Step Parent / Varied	19	44	8	30	

VICTIMIZATION FOR REGINA'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS (Row %)				p.
		1	2-4	5-10	11+	
Relationship to Offender	Spouse / Varied	14	20	29	37	0.00011
	Relative Friend / Stranger	40	40	13	8	
Gender	Males	35	39	19	7	0.0079
	Females	24	24	17	34	
Present Problem in the City	None / Employment / Housing	51	26	9	14	0.0079
	Health / Alcohol and Drugs / Other / Racism / Crime / missing	19	37	24	21	
Spouse Abuse	Less Severe / Moderate Severe / missing	36	30	20	14	0.011
	Most Severe	6	44	11	39	
Family Violence	None / Less Severe / missing	39	27	22	13	0.011
	Moderate Severe / Most Severe	15	44	12	29	
Total Adult Offenses	1 offense / missing	37	29	29	5	0.014
	2+ offenses	27	35	12	27	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological Parent / Foster Parent / Varied	20	43	18	20	0.024
	Extended Family / Step Family / missing	45	19	19	17	
Did Respondent Visit Reserve	Often / missing	39	14	25	22	0.026
	Little / No	26	44	15	16	
Respondents Arrival Problem When Coming to the City	None / Drugs and Alcohol	50	35	15	0	0.048
	Housing / Employment / Lonely / Violence / Racism / Other / missing	26	32	19	23	
Level of Crime	Alot / Missing	38	21	25	17	0.048
	Some / None	24	44	12	20	

VICTIMIZATION FOR TORONTO'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS (Row %)				p.
		1	2-4	5-10	11+	
Relationship to Offender	Spouse / Relative / Varied	9	35	13	43	7.0e-5
	Friend / Stranger /missing	42	38	14	6	
Respondent's Problem When Arriving to City	None / Violence / Drugs and Alcohol / Racism / Other / missing	39	20	20	22	0.0050
	Housing / Employment / Lonely	28	54	9	9	
Respondent Present Source of Income	Welfare / Education	30	31	19	19	0.012
	Employment / Other / missing	44	52	0	4	
Perpetrator of Family Violence	Biological Parent / Extended Family / Step Parent / missing	31	31	20	18	0.020
	Foster / missing	41	52	0	7	
Were People Looked Down on the Reserve	Yes	18	46	13	23	0.025
	No / missing	45	30	15	9	
Educational Attainment	Less than Grade 9 / missing	24	33	17	26	0.030
	Some High School / Graduated High School	42	40	12	6	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Childhood	Reserve / Off Reserve Urban / missing	43	34	14	9	0.031
	Off Reserve Rural / Varied	17	41	15	26	
Type of Income for Birth Father	Wage	47	37	7	11	0.032
	Unemployment / Traditional / missing	22	37	22	20	
Respondents Present Problem in the City	None / Other / Racism / missing	17	61	13	9	0.045
	Health / Employment / Alcohol and Drugs / Housing / Crime	39	29	14	17	

VICTIMIZATION FOR MONTREAL'S POPULATION

VARIABLES	VARIABLE GROUPING	NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS (Row %)				p.
		1	2-4	5-10	11+	
Where Respondent Spent Majority of Their Life	Reserve / Small City / Missing	16	29	20	36	0.0091
	City / Varied	40	36	7	17	
Relationship to Offender	Spouse / Relative / Varied	13	22	22	45	0.0098
	Friend / Stranger / missing	33	37	11	20	
Respondent Was Brought Up by	Single Parent / Both Parents / Other / missing	19	36	15	29	0.013
	Foster Parent	55	15	10	20	
Where Respondent Majority of Their Childhood	Reserve / Off Reserve Rural / Varied / missing	21	31	16	32	0.018
	Off Reserve Urban	53	35	6	6	
Length of Time in Present City	0-8 years / missing	21	31	16	32	0.018
	8+ years	56	22	11	11	
Respondent Now Comfortable in the City	Yes	32	23	13	32	0.022
	No / missing	14	52	17	17	
Did Birth Parent Serve Detention Time	No / Mother / missing	45	5	20	30	0.023
	Father /Both	22	38	13	27	
Respondent Present Problem in the City	None / Employment / Alcohol and Drugs / Racism / missing	35	32	16	18	0.030
	Health / Other / Housing / Crime	15	32	12	41	
Respondent Present Source of Income	Welfare / Education	34	26	13	27	0.035
	Employment / Other / missing	7	46	18	29	
Present Crime Level	Alot / Some	31	36	13	21	0.038
	None / missing	15	19	19	46	



APPENDIX VII

TABLES

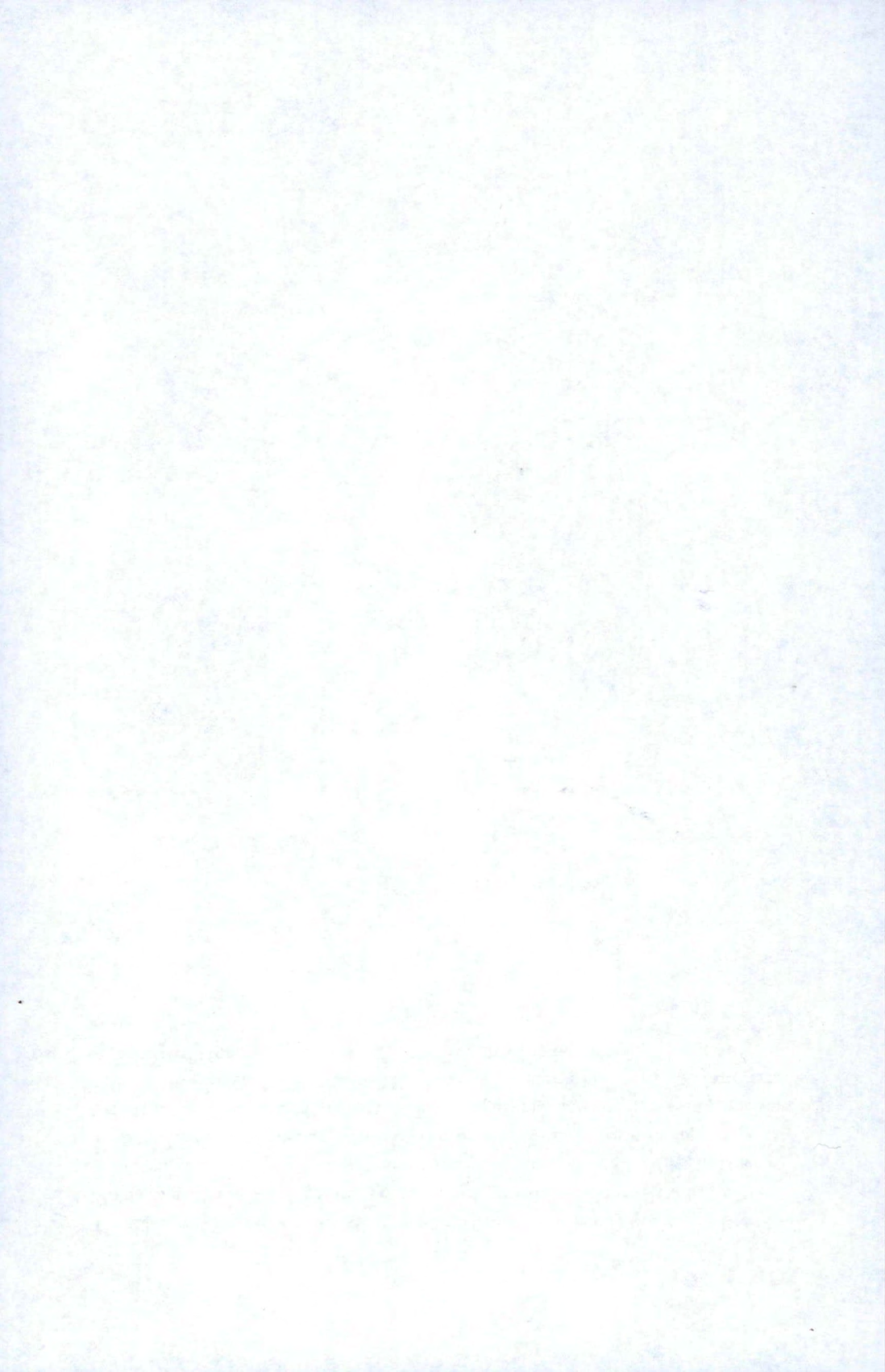


TABLE II.1 - AGE GROUPS BY FAMILY VIOLENCE

AGE OF RESPONDENT	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
15-24	46	29	59	38	22	14	30	19	157	100	0.005
25-34	52	23	90	39	39	17	48	21	229	100	
35-44	38	24	60	38	24	16	37	23	159	100	
45+	35	49	23	32	7	10	6	8	71	100	

TABLE II.2 - NUMBER OF TYPES OF FAMILY VIOLENCE BY SEVERITY OF VIOLENCE

NUMBER OF TYPES							TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
One Type	170	79	36	17	9	4	215	100	0.000
Two Types	38	28	39	28	61	44	138	100	
Three Types	9	12	15	20	50	68	74	100	
Total	217	51	90	21	120	28	427	100	

TABLE II.3 - FATHER'S EMPLOYMENT BY FAMILY VIOLENCE

FATHER'S EMPLOYMENT HISTORY	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Usually Wage Labour	106	30	130	37	47	13	67	19	350	100	0.009
Usually Unemployed	12	18	26	38	10	15	20	29	68	100	
Usually Traditional Labour	39	44	29	33	11	13	93	10	88	100	

TABLE II.4 - UPBRINGING BY FAMILY VIOLENCE

UPBRINGING	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Single Parent	35	21	72	43	33	20	27	16	167	100	0.000
Both Parents	90	40	83	37	21	9	33	15	227	100	
Extended Family Other Family	17	18	41	45	11	12	23	25	92	100	
Foster	28	22	36	28	26	20	37	29	127	100	
TOTAL	170	28	232	38	91	15	120	20	613	100	

TABLE II.5 - PERPETRATOR BY FAMILY VIOLENCE BY TOTAL RESPONDENTS

PERPETRATOR	FAMILY VIOLENCE						p.
	Less Severe		Moderate Severe		Most Severe		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Biological Parent	156	59	49	19	59	22	0.000
Foster Parents	15	33	14	30	17	37	
Extended Family	33	69	7	15	17	8	
Step-Family	11	33	9	27	13	39	
Varied	14	29	12	24	23	47	

TABLE II.5a - PERPETRATOR BY FAMILY VIOLENCE BY TOTAL RESPONDENTS

Perpetrator of Family Violence by Family Violence for Edmonton's Population

PERPETRATOR	FAMILY VIOLENCE						p.
	Less Severe		Moderate Severe		Most Severe		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Biological Parent / Extended Family	51	67	14	18	11	14	0.000
Foster / Step-Family / Varied	9	26	12	35	13	38	

TABLE II.5b - PERPETRATOR BY FAMILY VIOLENCE BY TOTAL RESPONDENTS

Perpetrator of Family Violence by Family Violence for Regina's Population

PERPETRATOR	FAMILY VIOLENCE						p.
	Less Severe		Moderate Severe		Most Severe		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Biological Parent / Extended Family	55	64	10	12	20	24	cells too small
Foster / Step-Family / Varied	3	14	5	23	14	64	

TABLE II.5c - PERPETRATOR BY FAMILY VIOLENCE BY TOTAL RESPONDENTS

Perpetrator of Family Violence by Family Violence for Toronto's Population

PERPETRATOR	FAMILY VIOLENCE						p.
	Less Severe		Moderate Severe		Most Severe		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Biological Parent / Extended Family	52	63	15	18	15	18	0.025
Foster / Step-Family / Varied	15	37	11	27	15	37	

TABLE II.5d - PERPETRATOR BY FAMILY VIOLENCE BY TOTAL RESPONDENTS

Perpetrator of Family Violence by Family Violence for Montreal's Population

PERPETRATOR	FAMILY VIOLENCE						p.
	Less Severe		Moderate Severe		Most Severe		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Biological Parent / Extended Family / Foster / Step-Family / Varied	44	44	24	24	32	32	no difference between groups

TABLE II.5e - PERPETRATOR OF FAMILY VIOLENCE BY CITY

CITY	PERPETRATOR										TOTAL	
	BIOLOGICAL		FOSTER		EXTENDED FAMILY		STEP-FAMILY		VARIED			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Edmonton	64	58	12	11	12	11	9	8	13	12	110	100
Regina	67	63	6	6	18	17	4	4	12	11	107	100
Toronto	74	60	18	15	8	7	17	14	6	5	123	100
Montreal	59	59	10	10	3	3	10	10	18	18	100	100

TABLE II.6 - CHILDHOOD STABILITY BY SEVERITY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

STABILITY OF RESPONDENT LIFE	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		P.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Stable	126	44	110	38	28	10	24	8	288	100	0.000
Unstable	13	7	64	33	43	22	72	38	192	100	
Bit of Both	25	20	55	44	21	17	24	19	125	100	

TABLE II.7 - CHILDHOOD MOVEMENT BY SEVERITY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

MOVEMENT OF RESPONDENT'S FAMILY	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		P.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Alot	40	16	94	39	42	17	68	28	244	100	0.000
No Movement	127	35	135	37	46	13	50	14	361	100	

TABLE II.8 - PARENTAL DRINKING BY SEVERITY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

BIRTH PARENTS HISTORY OF DRINKING PROBLEMS	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
None	90	54	52	31	12	7	12	7	166	100	0.000
Father Only	34	27	43	34	22	17	27	21	126	100	
Mother Only	14	23	30	49	9	15	8	13	61	100	
Both	21	10	94	43	42	20	62	29	216	100	

TABLE II.9 - INCIDENCE AND SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE BY GENDER

CITY BY GENDER	CHILD ABUSE						TOTAL	
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
EDMONTON								
Males	14	35	10	25	16	40	40	100
Female	23	70	2	6	8	24	33	100
REGINA								
Males	18	47	6	16	14	37	38	100
Females	7	28	8	32	10	40	25	100
TORONTO								
Males	14	29	15	31	19	40	48	100
Females	16	50	6	19	10	31	32	100
MONTREAL								
Males	13	30	8	19	22	51	43	100
Females	4	16	7	28	14	56	25	100

TABLE II.10 - CHILDHOOD INSTABILITY BY SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE

STABILITY DURING RESPONDENT'S UPBRINGING	SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Stable	40	49	24	38	18	16	82	100	0.001
Unstable	41	30	26	19	69	51	136	100	
Bit of Both	26	41	12	19	25	40	63	100	

TABLE II.11 - PERPETRATORS BY SEVERITY OF CHILDHOOD ABUSE

PERPETRATOR OF CHILDHOOD VIOLENCE	SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Biological Parent	65	42	38	24	53	34	156	100	n.s.
Foster Parent	8	20	7	18	25	63	40	100	
Extended Family	9	50	4	22	5	28	18	100	
Step Family	8	31	6	23	12	47	26	100	
Varied	12	33	6	17	18	50	36	100	

TABLE II.12 - CHILD ABUSE BY SEVERITY AND CITY

CITY	SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Edmonton	37	51	12	16	24	33	73	100	n.s.
Regina	25	40	14	22	24	38	63	100	
Toronto	30	28	21	34	29	36	80	100	
Montreal	17	25	15	22	36	53	68	100	

TABLE II.13 - PARENTAL DRINKING BY SEVERITY OF SPOUSE ABUSE

BIRTH PARENTS HISTORY OF DRINKING PROBLEMS	SEVERITY OF SPOUSE ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
None	28	67	6	14	8	19	42	100	0.05
Father Only	35	51	14	20	20	29	69	100	
Mother Only	14	52	7	26	6	22	27	100	
Both	63	38	37	23	64	40	164	100	

TABLE II.14 - SPOUSE ABUSE BY SEVERITY AND CITY

CITY	SEVERITY OF SPOUSE ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Edmonton	41	49	22	27	20	24	83	100	0.042
Regina	42	52	11	14	28	35	81	100	
Toronto	44	53	12	14	28	33	84	100	
Montreal	22	34	19	29	24	37	65	100	

TABLE II.15 - CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE BY SEVERITY AND CITY

CITY	SEVERITY OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Edmonton	16	57	4	14	8	29	28	100	n.s.
Regina	9	35	5	19	12	46	26	100	
Toronto	11	38	8	28	10	35	29	100	
Montreal	16	46	5	14	14	40	35	100	

TABLE II.16 - FAMILY VIOLENCE BY NUMBER OF CHARGES

NUMBER OF CHARGES	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1	26	44	15	25	9	15	9	15	59	100	0.001
2-4	28	27	40	38	24	23	13	12	105	100	
5-10	25	22	46	40	16	14	27	24	114	100	
11-20	25	28	35	39	6	7	24	27	90	100	
21+	18	18	31	31	23	23	27	27	99	100	

TABLE II.17 - FAMILY VIOLENCE BY NUMBER OF ADULT CHARGES

TOTAL ADULT CHARGES	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1	29	43	20	29	12	18	7	10	68	100	0.038
2-4	33	23	52	37	20	14	34	24	139	100	
5-10	27	20	46	34	28	21	33	25	134	100	
11-20	26	30	32	37	10	12	18	21	86	100	
21+	8	16	18	37	9	18	14	29	49	100	

TABLE II.18 - SEVERITY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE BY TOTAL CUSTODY TIME

TOTAL CUSTODY TIME	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less		Moderate		Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
0	46	38	47	39	16	13	11	9	120	100	
1 Day to 3 Months	25	26	41	42	16	16	16	16	98	100	
3.1 to 6 Months	5	17	9	30	10	33	6	20	30	100	
6.1 to 18 Months	15	23	21	33	6	9	21	33	64	100	
18.1 to 36 Months	12	21	19	34	10	18	15	27	56	100	
36.1 to 60 Months	11	22	15	31	8	16	15	31	49	100	
60.1 +	22	24	28	30	15	16	27	29	92	100	
TOTAL	136	27	181	35	81	16	111	22	510	100	

TABLE II.19a - TOTAL CUSTODY TIME BY SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE

TOTAL CUSTODY TIME	SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less		Moderate		Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
0	28	65	6	14	9	21	43	100	0.000
1 Day to 3 Months	26	50	6	12	20	38	52	100	
3 to 12 Months	9	26	8	23	18	51	35	100	
12 to 24 Months	12	38	6	19	14	44	32	100	
24+ Months	14	17	24	29	44	54	82	100	
TOTAL	89	36	50	20	105	43	244	100	

TABLE II.19b - TOTAL CUSTODY TIME BY SEVERITY OF SPOUSE ABUSE

TOTAL CUSTODY TIME	SEVERITY OF SPOUSE ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less		Moderate		Severe		n		
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
0	30	59	5	10	16	31	51	100	n.s.
1 Day to 3 Months	22	43	10	20	19	37	51	100	
3 to 12 Months	15	38	13	32	12	30	40	100	
12 to 24 Months	8	29	8	29	12	43	28	100	
24+ Months	43	46	20	22	30	32	93	100	
TOTAL	118	49	56	21	89	34	203	100	

TABLE II.19c - TOTAL CUSTODY TIME BY SEVERITY OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

TOTAL CUSTODY TIME	SEVERITY OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE						TOTAL		p.
	Less		Moderate		Severe		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%			
0	9	43	4	19	8	38	21	100	cells too small
1 Day to 3 Months	17	65	2	8	7	27	26	100	
3 to 12 Months	5	31	5	31	6	38	16	100	
12 to 24 Months	3	33	2	22	4	44	9	100	
24+ Months	7	30	4	17	12	52	23	100	
TOTAL	41	43	17	18	37	39	95	100	

TABLE II.20 - TYPE OF DETENTION BY SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE, SPOUSE ABUSE AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

TOTAL PROVINCIAL CUSTODY		LENGTH OF DETENTION										TOTAL	
		0		1 day - 6 months		6.1 months to 12 months		18 months to 36 months		36 +			
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
CHILD ABUSE	Less	46	42	24	49	6	19	6	26	7	23	89	36
	Mod.	20	18	9	18	6	19	4	17	11	37	50	20
	Sev.	44	40	16	32	20	63	13	57	12	40	105	43
	Total*	110	45	49	20	32	13	23	9	30	12	244	100
SPOUSE ABUSE	Less	58	49	21	41	13	37	16	55	10	33	118	45
	Mod.	19	16	18	35	7	20	4	14	8	27	56	21
	Sev.	40	39	12	23	15	43	9	31	12	40	89	34
	Total*	117	45	51	19	35	13	29	11	30	11	263	100
CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE	Less	26	45	8	44	3	33	2	33	2	50	41	43
	Mod.	10	17	4	22	1	11	2	33	0	-	17	18
	Sev.	22	38	6	33	5	55	2	33	2	50	37	39
	Total*	58	61	18	19	9	9	6	6	4	4	95	100
Child Abuse p.=.04				Spouse Abuse p.=n.s.				Child Sexual Abuse (cells too small)					
* Totals for % refer to row %													

TABLE II.21 - TYPE OF DETENTION BY SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE, SPOUSE ABUSE AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

TOTAL JUVENILE CUSTODY		LENGTH OF DETENTION								TOTAL		p.
		0		1 day - 6 months		6.1 months to 12 months		18 months to 36 months				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
CHILD ABUSE	Less	66	44	14	38	6	32	3	8	89	36	.03
	Mod.	26	17	7	19	6	32	11	29	50	20	
	Sev.	59	39	16	43	7	37	23	62	105	43	
	Total	151	62	37	16	19	8	37	15	244	100	
SPOUSE ABUSE	Less	77	46	16	42	8	38	17	49	118	45	n.s.
	Mod.	28	17	14	37	7	33	7	20	56	21	
	Sev.	64	38	8	21	6	29	11	31	89	34	
	Total	169	64	38	14	21	8	35	13	263	100	
CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE	Less	26	45	9	60	3	33	3	23	41	43	cells too small
	Mod.	9	16	3	20	3	33	2	15	17	18	
	Sev.	23	40	3	20	3	33	8	62	37	39	
	Total	58	61	15	16	9	9	13	14	95	100	

TABLE II.22 - TYPE OF DETENTION BY SEVERITY OF CHILD ABUSE, SPOUSE ABUSE AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

TOTAL PRE-TRIAL CUSTODY		LENGTH OF DETENTION								TOTAL		p.
		0		1 day - 6 months		6.1 months to 12 months		18 months to 36 months				
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
CHILD ABUSE	Less	47	51	34	35	6	15	2	13	89	36	.000
	Mod.	14	15	23	23	7	18	6	40	50	20	
	Sev.	31	34	41	42	26	66	7	47	105	43	
	Total	92	38	98	40	39	16	15	6	244	100	
SPOUSE ABUSE	Less	49	49	46	44	15	41	8	38	118	45	n.s.
	Mod.	19	19	23	22	7	19	7	33	56	21	
	Sev.	33	33	35	34	15	41	6	29	89	34	
	Total	101	38	104	40	37	14	21	8	263	100	
CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE	Less	22	51	16	39	3	33	0	-	41	43	cells too small
	Mod.	9	21	6	15	1	11	1	50	17	18	
	Sev.	12	28	19	20	5	55	1	50	37	39	
	Total	43	45	41	43	9	9	2	2	95	100	

TABLE II.23 - AGE OF DRINKING BY SEVERITY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE AND GENDER

AGE RESPONDENT STARTED REGULAR USE OF ALCOHOL	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe		Most Severe				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
MALE											
1-10	8	15	16	29	13	24	18	33	55	100	0.000
11-12	7	21	11	33	51	15	10	30	33	100	
13-15	37	33	39	35	18	16	19	17	113	100	
16-17	27	31	32	37	14	16	13	15	86	100	
18+	22	39	22	39	6	11	7	12	57	100	
FEMALE											
1-10	0	0	3	27	3	10	5	17	30	100	cells too small
11-12	10	18	21	38	12	23	12	21	56	100	
13-15	8	24	12	35	6	18	8	23	34	100	
16-17	3	15	8	40	0	0	9	45	20	100	
18+	3	20	4	27	2	13	6	40	15	100	

TABLE II.24 - ALCOHOL PROBLEM BY FAMILY VIOLENCE AND GENDER

RESPONDENT'S ALCOHOL PROBLEMS	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL		p.
	None		Less Severe		Medium Severe,		Most Severe				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
MALE											
All the Time	18	20	37	41	15	17	20	22	90	100	n.s.
Sometimes	23	29	26	33	13	15	17	21	79	100	
In the Past	29	30	32	33	16	16	20	21	97	100	
No Problem	39	40	33	34	15	15	11	11	98	100	
FEMALE											
All the Time	4	10	17	44	6	15	12	31	39	100	.002
Sometimes	5	14	17	47	6	17	8	22	36	100	
In the Past	13	19	25	36	13	19	18	26	69	100	
No Problem	39	37	43	41	8	8	15	14	105	100	

TABLE III.1 - TOTAL PERSON VICTIMIZATIONS BY CITY

Crime Victim	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Yes	103	70	111	71	94	58	95	66	403	66	
No	45	30	46	29	68	42	48	34	207	34	
Total	148	100	157	100	162	100	143	100	610	100	
	p = .07										

TABLE III.2 - PERSON VICTIMIZATION BY GENDER AND CITY

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Victim	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Yes	63	57	81	46	67	62	75	49	58	58	58	36	63	51	37	44
No	37	34	19	11	33	30	25	16	42	42	42	26	71	30	29	18
	p = .02				n.s.				n.s.				n.s.			
	N = 148				N = 157				N = 162				N = 143			

TABLE III.3 - VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP BY GENDER

Gender	VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP										TOTAL		p.
	Spouse		Relative		Friend		Stranger		Varied		n	%	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%			
Males	9	9	13	72	42	76	114	78	21	58	199	55	0.00
Females	88	91	5	28	13	24	33	22	22	42	161	45	
Total (Row %)	97	27	18	5	55	15	147	41	43	12	360	100	

TABLE III.4 - TOTAL PERSON VICTIMIZATIONS BY GENDER AND CITY

City	Edmonton				Regina				Toronto				Montreal			
Gender	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
Number	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1	38	19	21	9	38	20	29	10	40	19	38	12	44	18	37	13
2 - 4	28	14	21	9	38	20	20	7	42	20	34	11	29	12	20	7
5+	34	17	58	25	25	13	51	18	19	9	28	9	27	11	43	13
	p=.05				p=.03				n.s.				n.s.			
	N=93				N=88				N=80				N=76			

TABLE III.5 - INJURY IN CITY VICTIMIZATIONS BY LOCATION AND GENDER

	Male				Female				p.
Injury	Yes		No		Yes		No		
Location	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Inner 1	61	40	39	26	70	39	30	17	
Inner 2	40	34	59	50	50	26	50	26	
Outer	48	16	52	17	44	18	56	23	
Total (Row %)	49	90	51	93	56	83	44	66	
	p=.05				p=.03				.001
	N=332								

TABLE III.6 - NUMBER PERSON VICTIMIZATIONS BY CITY

Number of Victimizations	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
one	28	30	30	34	31	39	31	41	120	36
two to four	23	25	27	31	31	39	19	25	100	30
five or more	42	45	31	35	18	22	26	34	117	35
Total	93	100	88	100	80	100	76	100	337	100
	p=.07									

TABLE III.7 - NUMBER PERSON VICTIMIZATIONS BY LOCATION AND CITY

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Number	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
1	19	6	29	11	45	9	17	7	36	12	79	11	25	7	39	12	57	12	32	11	48	11	47	9
2-4	26	8	24	9	25	5	43	17	24	8	7	1	46	13	39	12	29	6	35	12	26	6	5	1
5+	53	17	47	18	30	6	40	16	39	13	14	2	29	8	23	7	14	3	32	11	26	6	47	9

TABLE III.8 - PERSON VICTIMIZATION BY CITY AND LOCATION

City	Edmonton						Regina						Toronto						Montreal					
Location	Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer		Inner 1		Inner 2		Outer	
Victimization	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Yes	78	36	64	43	65	20	81	46	68	46	67	18	65	34	63	36	42	24	71	39	66	31	61	25
No	22	10	36	24	35	11	19	11	32	22	33	9	35	19	37	21	53	27	29	16	34	16	39	16

TABLE III.9 - VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP BY CITY

Relationship to Offender	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mainly spouse	30	33	31	30	16	18	22	27	99	27
Mainly relative	7	8	10	10	0	0	1	1	18	5
Mainly friend(s)	8	9	16	16	15	17	16	19	55	15
Mainly stranger	34	38	33	32	49	56	32	39	148	41
Various	11	12	12	12	8	9	12	14	43	12
Total	90	100	102	100	88	100	83	100	363	100
	cells too small									

TABLE III.10 - ETHNICITY OF VICTIMIZER BY CITY

Ethnicity	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mainly native	55	60	59	66	20	24	23	27	157	45
Mainly other	16	18	17	19	55	65	55	65	143	41
Both	20	22	14	16	10	12	6	7	50	14
Total	91	100	90	100	85	100	84	100	350	100
	p=.000									

TABLE III.11 - VICTIMIZATION ON RESERVE BY CITY

Victimization	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	18	38	20	30	22	29	45	49	105	37
No	30	62	47	70	55	71	46	51	178	63
Total	48	100	67	100	77	100	91	100	283	100
	p= .02									

TABLE III.12 - VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP - RESERVE VICTIMIZATIONS

Relationship to Offender	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Spouse	5	33	3	17	1	5	10	23	19	19
Relative	2	13	6	33	9	41	7	16	24	24
Friend	2	13	3	17	4	18	18	42	27	28
Stranger	3	20	2	11	3	14	2	5	10	10
Varied	3	20	4	22	5	23	5	12	17	17
Total	15	100	18	100	22	100	42	100	97	100
	cells too small									

TABLE III.13 - NUMBER VICTIMIZATIONS BY FAMILY VIOLENCE AND GENDER

NUMBER VICTIMIZATIONS AND GENDER	FAMILY VIOLENCE								TOTAL	
	None		Less Severe		Moderate Severe		Severe			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
MALES										
1	23	49	30	37	12	29	10	19	75	34
2-4	15	31	30	37	14	34	23	56	82	37
5-10	7	15	13	16	5	12	12	29	37	17
11 +	2	5	8	10	10	24	8	20	28	13
Total (Row %)	47	21	81	36	41	18	53	24	222	100
FEMALES										
1	6	17	18	25	4	15	10	26	38	22
2-4	10	29	18	25	7	27	10	26	45	26
5-10	6	17	17	24	6	23	3	8	32	19
11 +	13	35	18	25	9	35	16	41	56	33
Total (Row %)	35	20	71	42	26	15	39	23	171	100

TABLE III.14 - PERCEPTION OF LEVEL OF CRIME BY LOCATION AND GENDER

Perception	Male						Female						p=.01
	A lot		Some		None		A lot		Some		None		
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	
Inner 1	40	49	29	36	31	39	41	28	32	22	28	19	
Inner 2	52	79	25	38	23	35	55	45	16	13	29	24	
Outer	42	30	28	20	30	21	49	38	26	20	26	20	
Total	45	158	27	94	28	95	48	111	25	55	28	63	
N=576													

TABLE III.15 - CRIME IN NEIGHBOURHOOD SERIOUS BY CITY

Crime is Serious	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	73	58	50	38	103	71	67	64	293	58
No	16	13	48	36	20	14	14	13	98	19
Some	36	29	34	26	23	16	24	23	117	23
Total	125	100	132	100	146	100	105	100	508	100
p=.000										

TABLE III.16 - FEAR VICTIMIZATION - TOTAL SAMPLE

Fear	%	N
Yes	16	94
Some	30	163
Not really	55	346

TABLE III.17 - FEAR VICTIMIZATION BY LOCATION AND GENDER

Fear	Male						Female					
	Yes		Some		Not Really		Yes		Some		Not Really	
Location	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Inner 1	13	17	14	18	73	96	15	11	29	32	56	42
Inner 2	13	20	25	39	63	99	28	24	44	38	29	25
Outer	7	5	18	13	75	54	21	17	41	33	38	30
Total	11	42	22	70	71	249	21	52	38	93	41	97
	n.s.						p. = .05					

TABLE III.18 - FEAR VICTIMIZATION BY NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS

NUMBER OF VICTIMIZATIONS	FEAR OF VICTIMIZATION						TOTAL	
	Always		Sometimes		No			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	18	16	28	25	65	59	111	29
2-4	18	14	42	33	67	53	127	33
5-10	9	13	24	35	36	52	69	18
11 +	25	30	15	18	42	51	82	21
Total (Row %)	70	18	109	28	210	54	389	100
p. = .04								

TABLE III.19 - TYPE VICTIMIZATION FEAR BY CITY

Victimization	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
None	13	10	13	9	11	7	8	7	45	8	
Drug traffic/use	21	15	10	7	50	33	30	26	111	21	
B & E/theft	37	27	63	46	28	19	20	17	148	28	
Shooting/stabbing	11	8	11	8	17	11	16	14	55	10	
Assault/violence	21	15	20	15	13	9	24	21	78	14	
Rape/sex assault	1	1	2	1	4	3	4	3	11	2	
Robbery/mugging	16	12	5	4	21	14	13	11	55	10	
Prostitution	16	12	13	9	6	4	0	0	35	7	
Total	136	100	137	100	150	100	115	100	538	100	
	cells too small										

TABLE III.20 - TARGET OF CRIME BY CITY

Target Group	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Children	4	3	10	11	4	3	1	1	19	4
Non White	5	4	13	14	36	29	28	31	82	19
Naive people	14	12	6	6	12	10	7	8	39	9
Drunks	24	21	15	16	22	18	21	23	82	19
Old people	32	28	13	14	16	13	15	16	76	18
Rich people	11	10	9	9	2	2	1	1	23	5
Women	11	10	12	13	8	7	11	12	42	10
Everyone	14	12	17	18	23	19	7	8	61	14
Total	115	100	95	100	123	100	91	21	424	100
	cells too small									

TABLE III.21 - REASON NOT REPORTING BY CITY

Reason	Edmonton		Regina		Toronto		Montreal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Did not want to rat	13	25	13	25	4	12	2	5	32	18	
Settle own scores	6	12	10	19	7	21	6	16	29	16	
Police do not act on it	11	21	5	9	4	12	1	3	21	12	
Afraid of retribution	6	12	9	17	3	9	5	13	23	13	
Not important	11	21	11	21	11	32	20	53	53	30	
Other	5	10	5	9	5	15	4	11	19	11	
Total	52	100	53	100	34	100	38	100	177	100	
	cells too small										

APPENDIX VIII

OFFENCE TYPES FROM
MOST TO LEAST SERIOUS

- Type 1* HOMICIDE, SERIOUS AGGRAVATED ASSAULT, SERIOUS SEXUAL ASSAULT (attempted murder; aggravated assault, sexual assault with a weapon, sexual assault, assault with a weapon)
- Type 2* ASSAULTS, TRAFFICKING OFFENCES (common assault, robbery, assault police officer; trafficking)
- Type 3* IMPAIRED DRIVING, BREAK AND ENTER (theft of motor vehicle, possession for the purpose of trafficking, pimping)
- Type 4* THEFT, SHOPLIFTING, POSSESSION OF MARIJUANA (fraud, forgery, mischief, soliciting, obstructing a police officer)
- Type 5* ADMINISTRATIVE OFFENCES (fail to comply - order; fail to appear; breach of probation)
- Type 6* NON-CRIMINAL CODE DRUNK CHARGES (public drinking)
- Type 7* JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ACT (JDA) OFFENCES

DEPT OF JUSTICE
MIN DE LA JUSTICE

JAN 26 1998

BIBLIOTHÈQUE

Canada