An Examination of the Effectiveness of Tupiq: A Culturally Specific Program for Inuit Sex Offenders

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Executive Summary

This research examined the effectiveness of the Tupiq program, a culturally specific high intensity program for moderate to high risk Inuit sex offenders designed to adhere to the principles of effective correctional programs and provide teachings based on traditional Inuit knowledge and cultural ceremonies led by Inuit healers and facilitators. The principle goal of the program is to reduce violent and sexual recidivism. A long-term goal of the program is to work with other agencies as part of a national and regional effort to reduce the inter-generational transmission of physical and sexual abuse in Inuit communities and to promote the prevention of abuse in Inuit communities.

The present research consisted of an examination of the profile of the 71 offenders who participated in the Tupiq program from 2001-2008 and an analysis of the program's impact on program completion and post-release recidivism rates. For the purpose of this study, recidivism was defined as the commission of a new offence; violent recidivism was defined as the commission of an ew violent offence including a sexual offence and sexual recidivism was defined as commission of any offence with a sexual component. Analyses compared the release outcomes of 61 Tupiq participants with 114 Inuit sex offenders incarcerated during the same time period as the Tupiq participants who had not taken Tupiq. This comparison group included Inuit sex offenders who were referred to an alternative sex offender program and Inuit sex offenders who had no referrals to a sex offender program. Through a series of analyses (t-tests and Chi-squares), results indicated that the comparison group did not differ from the Tupiq participants on key variables related to outcome: age, follow up period, risk and need ratings, previous criminality, substance abuse or previous program participation.

The profile of the Tupiq offenders confirms the findings of an earlier report that Tupiq participants cope with significant problems that contribute to criminal recidivism and pose barriers to reintegration. They have high rates of unemployment, low educational achievement, significant substance abuse problems and substantial histories of criminality. In addition to current and prior sex offences, the majority also admit to high rates of intimate partner violence. The participants themselves have been exposed to traumatic experiences such as physical and sexual abuse and violent loss of family members through murder or suicide. Most of the Tupiq participants spoke Inuktituk as a first language and seven were unilingual Inuktituk speakers. Most of the offenders had victims who were adult females but also had offended against female children.

Results show that a completion rate of 97% for the Tupiq program was higher than the 73% completion rate of the Inuit offenders in the comparison group who had attended alternative sex offender programs and higher than the 63% completion rate in the national sex offender programs.

An examination of the impact of Tupiq program participation on revocation and recidivism using Chi Square procedures showed no difference in revocation rates but significantly lower rates of general recidivism and violent recidivism than the comparison group. This translated into 45% reduction in general criminal recidivism and a 48% reduction in violent recidivism. Although the sexual recidivism rate for the Tupiq participants was less than half of that of the comparison group, this did not reach a level of significance because of reduced statistical power.

Overall, the present study provides evidence that the Tupiq program is an effective intervention for reducing general and violent recidivism among moderate to high-risk Inuit sex offenders and there is an indication that it may also reduce sexual reoffending. However, given logistical problems in treating dispersed offenders so far from their communities, the costs of providing a specialised service, and the high needs of these offenders in multiple domains, it is recommended that strategies should be explored to create a multimodal program that would address the high rates of domestic violence and substance abuse as well as sexual offending among the federally sentenced Inuit population.

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Introduction

The provision of programs to reduce criminal recidivism and aid offenders in their rehabilitation as law-abiding citizens is imbedded in the legal mandate of the Correctional Service of Canada (CSC). Within this general mandate is a requirement to provide programs adapted to Aboriginal offenders. Sections 79-84 of the Correctional and Conditional Release Act (CCRA) (Department of Justice Canada, 1992) requires CSC to make available to Aboriginal offenders Aboriginal-specific programs and services. Commissioner's Directive 702 on Aboriginal programming recognizes that "differences in cultural approaches to learning require different techniques" and stipulates the requirement for regions to provide Aboriginal offenders with culturally-specific programs, activities and Elder services (CSC, CD 702). Furthermore, Sections 81 and 84 of the CCRA provide for the direct involvement of Aboriginal communities in supporting timely conditional release. In 2008-2009, CSC set one of the five strategic priorities to provide enhanced capacities to deliver effective interventions for First Nations, Métis and Inuit offenders.

Aboriginal offenders are over represented in the federal prison relative to their presence in the Canadian population. While approximately 19% of federal offenders are Aboriginal (CSC, August 15, 2009), only 3.8% of the Canadian population identify themselves as Aboriginal (Statistics Canada, 2006). The proportions are even more notable among Inuit offenders who in 2006 represented 0.2% of the Canadian population, but account for about 1% of the federal inmate population (CSC, August 15 2009). In August 2009 there were 177 Inuit offenders under warrant in CSC. Of these, 132 were incarcerated and 45 were in the community on conditional release. Seven of the 177 were women. Critics have called for CSC to take steps to reduce the high rates of incarceration of Inuit and other Aboriginal offenders (e.g., Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2008). Aboriginal community leaders and victims' advocates have also highlighted the need to address the alarmingly high rates of violent and sexual offending against women and children in Aboriginal communities (e.g., Pauktuutit, 2006). Based on police reports, rates of sexual offences were higher in the northern territories than in the provinces: 2–3 times higher in the Yukon, 3–6 times higher in the Northwest Territories, and 7–14 times higher in Nunavut (Statistics Canada, 2005). Other research has confirmed that Inuit women are

particularly vulnerable to sexual assault. The rate of reported sexual assault in Nunavut in 2004 was almost 13 times that of Canada as a whole with a rate of 941 reported sexual assaults per 100,000 people, compared to 74 for the rest of Canada. In 2004, 279 sexual assaults crimes were reported to police in Nunavut, or one assault report for every 106 people. In the rest of Canada, there was one reported assault for approximately every 1,357 person (Sauvé, 2004). Reports on the rates of child sexual abuse in Aboriginal populations vary but a recent paper estimates that after discarding misquoted research and studies conducted with at-risk populations, the rate is between 25–50% (Collin-Vézina, Dion and Trocmé, 2009). Domestic abuse, including both sexual assault and violence assault on intimate partners, is particularly high among Aboriginal populations with the rates in some northern communities being cited as upwards of 80% (Johnson, 2006). The perpetrators are most often Aboriginal men.

The impact of these high rates of victimisation on Inuit communities is devastating. The general research on domestic violence has demonstrated the link between child sexual and physical abuse and substance abuse, psychological disorders, school drop out and childhood delinquency (Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson and Zak, 1986). Childhood exposure to violence and violent role models has been linked to a higher risk for adult criminality and violence (Wisdom, 1989). Recent research has made a similar link in predominately Aboriginal communities. Paletta (2008) collected data on family violence and sexual assault offences from the files of the crown prosecutor in the Northwest Territories, Yukon and Nunavut from 1999 to 2004. She found that approximately three-quarters (77%) of those accused of a family violence offence suffered at least one form of abuse (in their histories), as did just over two-thirds (66%) of those accused of a sexual assault offence. There is a clear need for a co-ordinated effort of intervention that would include treatment for the perpetrators, services to victims and strategies to promote violence prevention.

Several previous reports on Inuit offenders have been completed in CSC. Among them, Trevethan, Moore, Naqitarvik, Watson and Saunders' (2004) report profiles the needs of Inuit offenders in CSC drawing attention to the uniqueness of this population relative to other Aboriginal groups. Based on interviews with Inuit offenders, their families and staff in federal correctional facilities, this project pointed to the need for targeted services and programs that are Inuit specific rather than the more generic Aboriginal programs that are not part of Inuit culture

or way of life. The authors noted several important differences between the general Aboriginal population and the Inuit group that had implications for service delivery: a much larger percentage of Inuit were serving a sentence for a sexual offence; most were from, and returning to, small Arctic communities; and most spoke Inuktituk as their first language. Because of the remoteness of their communities from the federal penitentiaries, Inuit offenders received limited community and family support during their incarceration. These conclusions were consistent with previous research by Moore and Trevethan (2002) that profiled and compared First Nations, Métis and Inuit offenders within CSC. They found that Inuit offenders were more likely to be incarcerated for sexual offences, had less extensive criminal histories outside of these sex offences but were assessed as higher risk and were likely to be assessed as having a considerable need on the family and marital domain of the needs assessment because of issues of domestic abuse.

The largest group of Inuit sex offenders in CSC is incarcerated at Fenbrook Institution, a medium secure prison in the Ontario region. Recognising that this group of offenders needed a culturally appropriate intervention, staff and contractors at Fenbrook developed and implemented the Tupiq program for Inuit sex offenders in 2001. Tupiq is a high intensity program for moderate to high risk offenders designed to adhere to the principles of effective correctional programs but at the same time respect the cultural background of the participants by providing teachings based on traditional Inuit knowledge and cultural ceremonies led by Inuit healers and facilitators in their own language. Trevethan, Moore and Naqitarvik's report (2004) provided a preliminary review of the Tupiq program. The authors profiled the 34 offenders who had attended the program and reviewed the impact of the program based on outcomes such as completion rates, granting of discretionary release, lifting of detention orders and measures of recidivism. They found preliminary evidence for the effectiveness of the Tupiq program in its high completion rates, positive changes in offender attitude and, for the 11 offenders who had been released in the community at that time, low reoffending rates.

Purpose

This report will extend the follow up period of the Trevethan et al report and will present the demographic information on all of the 71 offenders who participated in the program since its implementation and compare their program completion rates, detention rates and reconviction rates to that of a sample of Inuit sex offenders who did not participate in the program.

Method

Participants

The treatment sample consists of the total number of 71 Inuit offenders who have participated in the Tupiq program since it began in 2001. Program referral criteria require participants to be Inuk and to be moderate to moderate-high risk for sexual offending. Offenders with low cognitive function were excluded from attending the program. All offenders in this sample committed at least one sex offence although a sex offence may not be the extant offence. The two offenders who dropped out of the program (one of whom eventually returned to complete the program) were included as part of the treatment sample. A comparison group composed of all 146 Inuit sex offenders who were serving a sentence during the same time period as the Tupiq group but did not take the Tupiq program was used to assess the efficacy of the Tupiq program. Included in this group were 53 offenders who had participated in an alternative sex offender program. Statistical procedures demonstrated that this comparison group was matched to the treatment group on key variables theoretically related to outcome on release (see the Results section).

The analyses include descriptive statistics on the Tupiq participants and comparative statistical procedures to assess differences between demographic information and outcome variables between Tupiq and the comparison group. Information on the participants and comparative sample was extracted from components of the Offender Management System (OMS, the official electronic record on all federally sentenced offenders). Demographic variables and risk variables were drawn from the Offender Intake Assessment (OIA) and Correctional Planning results. The OIA is a comprehensive evaluation conducted on all incoming offenders in CSC since 1994. It examines a broad range of demographic and risk factors. Where supplementary information on the offenders' background was supplied by the program's clinical director it is indicated in the report. The Dynamic Factors Identification and Analysis (DFIA) component of the OIA assesses a wide variety of dynamic risk factors grouped into seven domains, with each domain consisting of multiple indicators. The DFIA yields need levels for each domain, as well as an overall level of dynamic need. The overall need level ranges from low to medium to high. The overall level of dynamic need was used in this study. The tool used

for assessing risk level in federal male offenders is usually based on the Statistical Information on Recidivism (SIR) Scale which is a core component of the Static Factors Assessment (SFA). The SFA provides comprehensive information pertaining to the criminal history and risk factors of each offender yielding an overall level of low, medium, or high static risk assigned to offenders at their time of admission. The SIR is included as part of the SFA but CSC policy does not allow its use for Aboriginal offenders. This study therefore used the overall static risk rating that did not include the SIR. Information on previous criminal history was obtained from the Canadian Police Information Centre (CPIC) files managed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police that record criminal charges and convictions for all offenders in Canada. Data on participation in other correctional programs were extracted from the corporate reporting system and OMS. Data from the OMS and CPIC files were coded based on a coding manual prepared for the study (**Appendix A**). Inter-rater reliability estimates conducted on 10% of the files produced an 88% agreement between the two raters.

Measures of Outcome

In this study outcome measures of recidivism were grouped using a nested model that included: new convictions after the first release to the community following participation in the Tupiq program for any crime (includes property crime, violent crime and sexual crime), reconviction for a violent crime (includes all violent offences and sex offences) and reconviction for a sexual offence only. These offences included offences committed after warrant expiry. Time-at-risk was defined as the number of days an offender was in the community following release. Time-at-risk began on the release date of the offender and ended at the date of a new offence, or, for offenders who did not fail, on August 15, 2009 when the data were drawn. The average time at risk for the Tupiq participants was 4 years (mean [M] days =1472), and 4.3 years for the comparison group (M days = 1535).

The Tupic Program

In this study the treatment and comparison groups differed only in that the Tupiq group participated in a unique sex offender program. The following describes the program in some detail.

The Tupiq Sex Offender Treatment Program (Tupiq) provides culturally relevant and linguistically sensitive intervention to federal Inuit sexual offenders at moderate to moderate-high risk to sexually reoffend. Tupiq works towards the reduction of thinking and behaviours associated with sexual abuse and focuses on helping offenders to accept responsibility for their criminal behaviour. Inuit culture and Inuktitut are incorporated in every component of the program. The program is bilingual, delivered in both Inuktitut and English in order to meet the linguistic needs of Inuit offenders. The program is co-facilitated by skilled and experienced Inuit program officers who are provided with training and supervision by clinical and adult education experts. The Inuit community is reflected in program content, through the Community Links component that connects the offender-participant to a counsellor in his home community, and through the Inuit Healing component, an Inuit-specific therapeutic approach delivered by an Inuit elder.

The overall treatment approach is holistic, incorporating Inuit culture and interrelated criminogenic needs. The duration of this high-intensity program is 18 weeks providing approximately 290 contact hours per participant and delivering content in parallel processes of group therapy, cognitive skill development and individual counselling. Tupiq is complex and multi-faceted, utilizing group therapy, individual support and motivational techniques to involve participants in a self-management plan that assists them to change problem behaviours and develop prosocial skills. While the focus is on the prevention of sexual abuse, the program also deals with interrelated issues including values, problem solving, abuse dynamics, social and communications skills, family violence, substance abuse and emotion management. Program content is adapted from recognized correctional models, in particular the standards and practices of *CSC's National Sex Offender Treatment Program and the National High Intensity Family Violence Program.* A wide variety of tools assess program efficacy on an ongoing basis, and at four formalized assessment periods throughout the program.

Program Goals.

The primary goal of the program is to prevent sexual re-offending among Inuit offenderparticipants through self management planning. An additional goal is to help participants assess the impact of their abusive behaviour on the victim, the family and the community. Corollary benefits of this program will include increased cultural awareness, enhanced literacy skills in both Inuktitut and English, development of a reintegration plan and practice of social skills. It is anticipated that a greater number of individuals living and working in Inuit communities will develop increased awareness and skills in abuse prevention as a result of their involvement with the Tupiq Program as community counsellors and advisors. A long-term goal of the program is to co-ordinate anti-violence work with other agencies as one part of a national and regional effort to reduce the inter-generational transmission of physical and sexual abuse in Inuit communities and to promote the prevention of abuse in Inuit communities.

Program Format.

Tupiq delivery is divided into three major categories: Skills Groups, Therapeutic Groups (Inuit Healing and Self Management) and Individual Counselling (program and community). Each group session is co-facilitated by two program facilitators, at least one who is experienced in program content and techniques and at least one who is an experienced Inuktitut facilitator. The co-facilitators work as members of a team sharing the responsibilities of session development and delivery. Training and ongoing support are provided by the Tupiq program clinical director.

Three Poles: Self/Responsibility/Community.

Three poles hold up the traditional Inuit tupiq or tent and three major themes work at a number of levels to support the Tupiq Sex Offender Treatment Program. The poles anchor the program and tie all components together. They are themes that reappear and lead all discussions, skill practice, healing and behavioural change towards a common goal. The participant is challenged to examine everything in the program in the context of his awareness of his own experiences (Self, Pole 1), his responsibility for his behaviour (Responsibility, Pole 2), and his relationship to others (Community, Pole 3.)

Program Components Overview.

The Tupiq Program components interact and reinforce skills, attitudes and behaviour processes. Components include:

Self management (36 group sessions; 90 contact hours). The Self Management Group and individual program counselling sessions are co-facilitated by the Clinical Director and an Inuktitut-speaking program officer. The sessions are run as group therapy and are therefore unscripted. The Clinical Director provides ongoing support and training to Inuit program officers and is responsible for clinical and treatment efficacy. Modules delivered through a group therapy process include Personal Autobiography, Disclosure of Offences, Victim Empathy, Offence Patterns and Self Management Planning. The Self Management process is guided by standards set out in the National Sex Offender Treatment Program.

Individual Counselling (12 sessions; 12 contact hours). Participants receive mandatory individual counselling weekly with a bilingual program officer who assists the participant with Self Management assignments. Individual counselling is conducted in the preferred language of the offender-participant (Inuktitut or English) under the direction of the Clinical Director. Individual counselling can be modified to provide additional support to high-need participants as assessed by the Clinical Director.

Skills Component (36 group sessions; 90 contact hours). The Skills Group is based on a cognitive-behavioural correctional model and divided into seven modules including Cultural Values, Goals and Change, Problem Solving, Abuse Dynamics and Prevention, Emotion Management, Risk Factors and Self Management Planning. The sessions are co-facilitated, with at least one program officer being Inuit and speaking Inuktitut.

Community Links Component (9 sessions; 9 contact hours). The program officers delivering the Skills Component are responsible for coordinating this component. Bi-weekly sessions provide the offender-participant with a counsellor (or Community Link) from his home community. The Community Link assists the participant with the integration of program content based on the realities of Inuit community life and provides information on community resources. Inuit community groups (usually the community Justice Committee) appoint the Community Links and become part of the Tupiq Program Community Advisory Group each time the program is delivered. A program bank of community resources and contact information is maintained, updated and expanded upon each time the program is delivered. Program delivery officers consult regularly with Inuit organizations on abuse prevention and corrections. At the

beginning of each program's delivery schedule all national and regional Inuit organizations and justice departments are informed of the program dates in order to establish communications and consultation.

Inuit Healing Component (20 sessions; 50 contact hours). An experienced and recognized Inuit healer, usually an elder, delivers the Inuit Healing Group. This component is delivered in a therapeutic style indigenous to Inuit culture and incorporating traditional knowledge. Inuit Healing can be compared to a Grief and Loss program model and provides essential motivational enhancement to participants. Inuit Healing also differs from other aspects of the program as it may be delivered exclusively in Inuktitut. The majority of qualified healers are unilingual Inuktitut speakers who reside in one of the small Arctic communities, making the logistics of working with Inuit healers challenging.

Program groups (12 sessions; 33 contact hours). Interactive groups supplement program content and bring together all components. Group sessions include the initial group orientation meeting, two feasts hosted by the Inuit Healer, an Inuit Healing Sunrise Ceremony, an Inuit Cultural Values Workshop delivered to non-Tupiq staff and inmates, an Abuse Project presentation, 6 sessions in which offender-participants present their individual Self Management Plans and the graduation ceremony.

Individual offender assessment (4 sessions; 6 contact hours). Tupiq has six structured individual assessment sessions at the pre-, mid- and post-program stages. Breaks between poles provide opportunities for feedback and assessment and relieve cognitive overload.

Maintenance. Following successful participation in Tupiq, the Clinical Director recommends further treatment and maintenance at the institution prior to release. The Tupiq Maintenance Program is an open group format based on the Tupiq Self Management group process supplemented by Community Links and Inuit Healing components. Ideally, an Inuit community maintenance program should be delivered in an Inuit community but this in not yet available.

Selection/Screening Criteria.

Participants must self-identify as an Inuk and be rated as Moderate to Moderate-High Risk to commit a sexual offence. Their offence histories are reviewed by the Clinical Director. Offenders who have very low cognitive function or whose language skills are not sufficient to allow for active participation in either Inuktitut or English are excluded. Inuit sexual offenders who require a higher intensity of treatment or who are assessed as a low risk to re-offend may be excluded based on the Clinical Director's evaluation. In each case, an alternative treatment plan will be developed to meet those excluded. Offenders who are very unwilling to engage in treatment, refuse to disclose offences in group, but otherwise meet the program criteria are screened out but are offered a form of individual treatment or a treatment place in a later program if they are willing to accept the terms of participation.

Partner and Family Contact.

Potential participants are asked to sign a consent form to allow program delivery officers to inform current spouses or girlfriends and their immediate family of their participation in Tupiq. Partners and family will be provided information on the program and cautioned that the offender's attendance is not a guarantee that he will no longer be abusive. Families and partners are able to contact program staff in Inuktitut or English for more information on abuse prevention support. A program information pamphlet in Inuktitut and English is provided to family and partners as well as a list of regional support services to family members and victims of abuse. Facilitators inform family and partners of the limits of confidentiality at the beginning of the first contact.

Program Manual.

The Tupiq facilitator manual outlines the program goals, modules and sessions of the Tupiq treatment program. The offender-participant manuals are constructed as the program unfolds based on handouts they receive in sessions and assignments they themselves complete. The participants are given a Tupiq agenda in order to schedule appointments, interviews, class projects etc and to track program content and assignments.

Facilitators are encouraged to use flexibility to adapt sessions to the needs of the offender-participants. It is recognized that program officers are hired based on their expertise, experience and knowledge and will have an important role in the continuous evolution of this program.

Results

Equivalency of the Tupiq Participants and Comparison Group

Although no statistical procedures were used to match the comparison group to the Tupiq group, the results presented below demonstrate that the two groups were similar with regards to key variables theoretically related to criminal and sexual recidivism. High drop out rates can confound outcome analyses by distilling the treatment population to typically lower risk, less problematic offenders. This was not an issue for the Tupiq analyses since all but one offender who had begun the program eventually completed it.

Profile Information on the Tupiq Participants

Most Tupiq participants spent their formative years in rural Arctic communities (71.6%); 10.4% lived in urban centres including Iqaluit, and 17.9% lived in a combination of rural areas or urban centres. The majority (64%) of Tupiq participants reported being immersed in Inuit culture as children, including hunting, constructing hunting and fishing tools and understanding Inuit cultural values. Only 6% reported being sent to residential schools as children. Most of the participants did not attend any school after the primary grades and 9% had no formal education at all. Only 6% had received a high school diploma. Although a majority of the participants reported to the clinical director that they had problems adjusting to school and difficulty learning in school, OMS files indicated that 34% had a learning disability. About two-thirds of Tupiq participants were unemployed at the time of arrest and 75% were rated as having unstable employment histories.

Tupiq participants primarily (84.3%) spoke Inuktitut as their first language. In fact, 9% were unilingual in Inuktitut when they came into the federal correctional system. This language profile had implications for optimal program delivery. Of the bilingual (Inuktitut and English) speakers, all but one identified Inuktitut as their first language of choice when speaking about

issues surrounding the offence in the program and 82% preferred to conduct written assignments related to their offending behaviour in Inuktitut.¹

Half (51%) of the Tupiq participants wanted to return to an Inuit community upon release; 26% wanted to live in an urban centre, and 19% stated that either Inuit communities or urban centres would be locations they would like to live upon release. Of those who were released, the majority (68%) actually were living in an urban centre at the time the data were extracted and only 26% lived in a rural Inuit community.

All participants reported experiencing pronounced traumatic events during their developmental years. The traumatic experiences included: witnessing the murder of a loved one or friend, losing a loved one or friend through suicide or a violent act, witnessing the serious and ongoing physical abuse of their mother and/or primary caregiver by a father or male role-model and being victim to serious and ongoing sexual, physical and emotional abuse by a person in trust. Information on file indicates that $100\%^2$ lost a family member or friend through suicide; 59% reported witnessing substance abuse by family members; 54% reported witnessing domestic abuse; 7% reported losing a family or friend through murder, 62% reported being a victim of physical abuse, and 54% reported experiencing sexual abuse. Furthermore, it was common for offenders to have experienced more than one traumatic event.

Over 11% of Tupiq participants had a file report indicating a history of an Axis I mental illness and 15.7% had information on file indicating they had brain injury. This rate of mental disorder is comparable to data on the offender population as a whole which has identified 12% of the population with serious mental health concerns (CSC, 2008). Substance abuse was a significant problem for this group with almost every participant identifying substance abuse as a risk factor to sexually offending. Of this group, the Computerised Lifestyle Assessment Inventory (CLAI) and the Computerised Assessment of Substance Abuse (CASA)³ results indicated that 80% had "some" to "a lot" of problems with alcohol. A comparison group of Inuit sex offenders who did not take the program had similarly high rates with 73% reporting some to

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¹ This information on language profiles comes from the coordinator of the Tupiq program.

² The files of the facilitators indicate that these rates are much higher.

³ In 2002 CSC switched from using the CLAI to using the CASA to assess substance abuse problems among its incoming offenders. For those offenders who were incarcerated prior to this switch, their data are extracted from the CLAI

a lot of problems with alcohol. CLAI scores for Alcohol dependence for the Tupiq and comparison groups approached significant with the Tupiq offenders receiving lower scores (χ^2 (4) = 9.23, p = .056). Rates of drug abuse were somewhat lower than alcohol abuse with 37% of the Tupiq participants scoring moderate to severe on the CLAI/CASA measure of drug abuse. Again, the rates of drug abuse between the Tupiq and comparison groups were not significantly different. File reports indicated that over 50% of Tupiq participants had used solvents at least once in their life. It should be noted that the above information on the participants has been extracted from file reports and not from individual interviews with the offenders. As such they may under represent the actual presence of these problems.

Risk/Need Profile

The overall risk and need levels of the Tupiq and comparison group were assessed through the Offender Intake Assessment (OIA). As demonstrated in Table 1 the distribution of the overall risk (χ^2 (2) = 0.95, p = .62) and need ratings (χ^2 (2) = 0.92, p = .63) of the Tupiq and comparison groups did not differ. Most offenders in both groups were commonly assessed as high risk and high need.

Table 1: Overall Risk and Need Ratings of Tupiq Participants and Comparison Group.

	Tupiq Participants % (n)	Comparison Group % (n)
Overall Risk Rating	70 (II)	/0 (II)
Low	2.8 (2)	2.5 (3)
Medium	21.1 (15)	15.7 (19)
High	76.1 (54)	81.8 (99)
Overall Need Rating		
Low	0 (0)	0.8 (1)
Medium	12.7 (9)	9.9 (12)
High	87.3 (62)	89.3 (108)

Criminal History

Federally sentenced Inuit offenders are significantly more likely than other Aboriginal federal offenders, and much more likely than non Aboriginal federal offenders, to have received a conviction for a sexual offence. Of the offenders in custody or under community supervision on August 2009, 57.5% Inuit offenders, 23% Aboriginal offenders, and 16% of non-Aboriginal offenders have committed a sex offence at some time in their criminal histories (χ^2 (2) = 301.09, p < .001). Table 2 provides a comparison of the criminal histories of Tupiq offenders with that of the comparison group. Virtually every Tupiq participant and every offender in the comparison group had prior adult convictions. An analysis of the Tupiq participants' CPIC files indicates that over 46 % (N=33) of the Tupiq participants had previous adult histories for sex offences and 74.6% had histories of either sex offences or violent offences. Most of these offences involved their partners. File documentation further indicated that two-thirds of the Tupiq offenders have histories of having perpetrated domestic abuse.

Table 2: Criminal Histories of Tupiq Participants and the Comparison Group.

	Tupiq Participants	Comparison Group	
	% (n)	% (n)	
Previous Youth Convictions			
Yes	34.3% (22)	49% (51)	
No	65.6% (42)	51% (53)	
Previous Adult Convictions			
Yes	92.2% (59)	93.3% (98)	
No	7.8%(5)	6.7% (7)	
Previous Community Supervision			
Yes	84.1% (53)	83.8% (88)	
No	15.9% (10)	16.2% (17)	
Previous Provincial Term			
Yes	73% (46)	78.1% (82)	
No	27% (17)	21.9% (23)	
Previous Federal Term			
Yes	27% (17)	34.3% (36)	
No	73% (46)	65.7% (69)	
Failed - Community Sanction			
Yes	71.4% (45)	64.8% (68)	
No	28.6% (18)	35.2% (37)	
Failed - Conditional Release			
Yes	42% (26)	42.9% (45)	
No	58% (36)	57.1% (60)	

Note. N for offenders with information on type of release varies

Detention Status

The extent of the Tupiq participants' involvement in violent and sexual offences is reflected in high detention rates. Detention orders are imposed by the National Parole Board for federally sentenced offenders who meet the detention criteria indicating that they represent a

significant risk to reoffend violently prior to the expiration of their sentences. Detained offenders are not released at the Statutory Release date and may remain incarcerated to near or at the expiration of their sentence. Higher detention rates among the Tupiq participants may also reflect a difficulty for many of these Inuit men to access suitable treatment in their own language or to gain support from the communities who may be reluctant to have them return on their release. As illustrated in Table 3 below, Tupiq participants were significantly more likely to be detained than other federal offenders or other Inuit offenders (χ^2 (1) = 53.47, p < .001).

Table 3: Detention Decisions by Group.

Group		Detained	Not Detained	
			% (n)	% (n)
Non	Aboriginal	Federal	2.4 (960)	97.6 (39,843)
Offenders				
Aboriginal Federal Offenders		4.4 (332)	95.6 (7297)	
Inuit Federal Offenders		14.2 (51)	85.8 (309)	
Tupiq Participants		44.9 (31)	65.1 (40)	

Note. χ^2 (1) = 53.47, p < .001.

Previous Program Involvement and Program Completion Rates

There is evidence that prior program involvement can confound research on the impact of the current program (Lösel, 2001). For that reason, comparisons were made on correctional program participation prior to the date the reconviction rates were extracted. The programs included in the analyses were national programs that were either Aboriginal or generic: substance abuse programs, Living Skills programs (i.e., Cognitive Skills, Reasoning and Rehabilitation and Anger Management), sex offender programs, family violence prevention programs, and other national violence prevention programs. Table 4 shows the frequency with which the Tupiq and comparison groups participated in these programs. It demonstrates, with the exception of the sex offender programs, the comparison and Tupiq groups were equally likely to have participated in a correctional program.

Table 4: Participation Rates in Correctional Programs for Tupiq Participants and the Comparison Group.

Program	Tupiq	Comparison	$\chi^2(1)$
	Participants	Group	
	N = 71	N = 146	
	% (n)	% (n)	
Sex Offender Program	100% (71)	30.8% (45)	91.88**
Substance Abuse Program	39.4% (28)	30.1% (44)	1.86
Family Violence Program	11.3% (8)	7.5% (11)	0.83
Living Skills Programs	2.8% (2)	4.1% (6)	0.23
Violence Prevention Programs	1.4% (1)	6.2% (9)	2.46

^{**} *p* <.01

One of the arguments for a culture specific option for Aboriginal programs is the claim that Aboriginal offenders' program completion rates in the core programs are low relative to the general offender population. Those advocating for culture specific program argue that the completion rates for these program would be higher. To test this claim, the completion rates of offenders in the Tupiq group were examined and compared with other Inuit sex offenders who have been enrolled in alternative sex offender programs and other core correctional programs. These results are presented in Table 5. Based on OMS data, 69 of the 71 (97%) Tupiq participants and 33 of the 45 (73%) offenders from the comparison group who had been referred to an alternative sex offender program completed the program. The 97% completion rate for the Tupiq program is an unusually strong result, however, both rates are better than the 63% mean annual rate of completion (over a five year period) of male offenders participating in national sex offender programs⁴.

Completion rates reflect offenders' motivation and engagement in programs and signal to what extent the participants feel the content is relevant to them. Recent research has shown that along with factors related to offender risk, two responsivity factors related to treatment attrition

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⁴ It should be noted that over the seven years since the implementation of the Tupiq program 5 participants repeated the program. For the purposes of analysis, each of these offenders was only counted once as a completion. The reason given for repeating the program was that they were detained and there was a lack of any other Inuit programming available to address outstanding risk factors. CSC now has a policy of not allowing offenders to repeat programs.

from correctional programs were low motivation and more negative attitudes towards correctional treatment (Wormith and Olver, 2002). By any measure, the Inuit specific program strategy appears to have been successful in motivating the offenders to participate in these programs. The completion rates for both the Tupiq program and the Inuit specific Family Violence program (Qarmaq) are almost 100%. The completion rate for Tupiq participants in the national substance abuse programs was similar to that of the comparison group and the 74% completion rate for all male offenders who have been enrolled in a national substance abuse program. The enrolment in the living skills programs and the violence prevention programs was too low to allow for a meaningful analysis of drop-out rates. It is clear that Inuit offenders have extremely good completion rates in these culture specific programs; however, it is not clear that they have poor completion rates in non aboriginal programs.

Table 5: Completion Rates for Correctional Programs for Tupiq Participants and the Comparison Group.

Program	Tupiq	Comparison	$\chi^2(1)$
	Participants	Group	
	% (n)	% (n)	
Substance Abuse	75 (21)	81.8 (36)	0.48
Living Skills	50 (1)	66.7 (4)	
Violence Prevention Programs	100(1)	77.8 (7)	
Family Violence Prevention a	100(8)	90.9 (10)	0.77
Sex Offender	97.2 (69)	73.3 (33)	14.76**

Note. N varies for enrolment in each program

Release Type

Statutory Release was the most common release type for both Tupiq participants and the comparison group. This is not surprising given the high risk and high need profile of both groups. The frequencies and percentages of all the types of release are presented in Table 6.

^a For the Tupiq offenders, the Family Violence Prevention program they attended is the Qarmaq Inuit specific program.

^{*} p < .05, ** p < .01

⁵ The completion rates for the national programs cited here are based on the mean annual completion rates for male offenders in national programs from 2003-2004 to 2007-2008.

Table 6: Release Type for Tupiq Participants and the Comparison Group. 6

Release Type	Tupiq Participants $(N = 59)$	Comparison Group $(N = 115)$
	% (n)	% (n)
Statutory Release	55.9 (33)	50.4 (58)
Warrant expiry	20.3 (12)	13 (15)
Expiration of Sentence	1.7 (1)	24.3 (28)
Day Parole	16.9 (10)	9.6 (11)
Full Parole	3.4 (2)	0
Long Term Supervision	1.7 (1)	1.7 (2)
Deceased	0	0.9(1)

Victim profile has been shown to be related to sexual recidivism with offenders with young male victims having higher base rates of reoffending that those with adult female victims (Harris et al, 2004). Table 7 presents information on the victims of the Tupiq participants and the comparison group. The profiles of the sex offences committed by the Tupiq participants based on the age and gender of the victims did not differ from that of the comparison group. There was a non significant trend for the offenders in the comparison group to have had young male victims while the Tupiq group had none. The majority of offenders in the Tupiq and comparison groups offended primarily against female victims. Most had offended at least once against an adult female but nearly half had had female child victims. There were 28.6% (18) of the Tupiq group and 26.8% (3) of the comparison group who had two types of victims (adult male, child male, female adult or female child). Most of the offenders in the Tupiq program had multiple victims. Two-thirds of the Tupiq group had more than one victim and one offender was convicted for sexual offences against 21 female children.

⁶ Data extracted in July, 2009

Table 7: Victim Profile for the Tupiq Participants and the Comparison Group.

Victim description	Tupiq Participants	Comparison Group	$\chi^2(1)$
	% (n)	% (n)	
Female 12 to 17 years	45.9 (28)	41.2 (44)	0.36
Female 18 to 65	74 (46)	61.8 (68)	2.24
Female over 65	3.2 (2)	1.8 (2)	0.34
Male child <12 years	0 (0)	4.6 (5)	2.98
Male 12 to 17 years	0 (0)	4.6 (5)	2.98
Male 18 to 65	3.2 (2)	2.7 (3)	0.03
Male over 65	1.6 (1)	0 (0)	1.77

^{*} p < .05, ** p < .01

Release Outcomes

The outcomes of 61 (of 71) offenders from the Tupiq group who have been released into the community were compared with the 114 (of 144) Inuit sex offenders from the comparison group who had been released. This comparison group included Inuit sex offenders who had been referred to an alternative sex offender treatment program as well as those who had not been in a specialised sex offender treatment program. The average follow-up period for the released Tupiq offenders and the comparison group did not differ (t(172) = 0.46, p = .65).

Previous analyses has shown that the comparison group did not differ significantly from the Tupiq group on several key variables associated with sex offender outcomes: previous adult criminal history, previous sex offender history, male victim, date of admission, age, overall risk and overall need ratings, level and extent of substance abuse problems and participation in previous correctional programs.

There was a trend for the Tupiq offenders to have been in the community for a shorter period of time prior to being returned to custody. The Tupiq group averaged 284 days in the community after release until readmission and the comparison group averaged 449 days. The mean difference of 165 days approached statistical significance (t (51.08) = 1.83, p = .074). The revocation rates of the Tupiq and comparison groups are similar, however, most (70%) of the

Tupiq group were revoked for technical violations while 52% of the revocations for the comparison were for technical violations. By all other measures of outcome, however, Tupiq offenders did better than offenders in the comparison group. The recidivism rates for the Tupiq and the comparison groups are presented in Table 8. These same data are presented in graph format in Figure 1. The Tupiq offenders were involved in significantly less criminal reoffending $(\chi 2(1) = 8.59, p < .01)$ and violent reoffending than the comparison group $(\chi 2(1) = 6.01, p < .01)$. Although they also had lower rates of sexual reoffending than the comparison group, producing a treatment effect of .60 which is usually considered a moderate effect size, the low base rates for sexual offending reduced the statistical power of the procedures which did not allow for detection of a statistically significant difference.

Table 8: Recidivism Rates for Tupiq Participants and the Comparison Group.

Readmission Type	Tupiq Participants	Comparison Group
	N=61	N=115
	% (n)	% (n)
Revocations	37.7 (23)	35.7 (41)
Reconviction of any kind a	27.9 (17)	50.9 (58)**
Reconviction for violent offences b	19.7 (12)	37.7 (43)*
Reconviction for a sex offence c	4.9 (3)	12.3 (14)

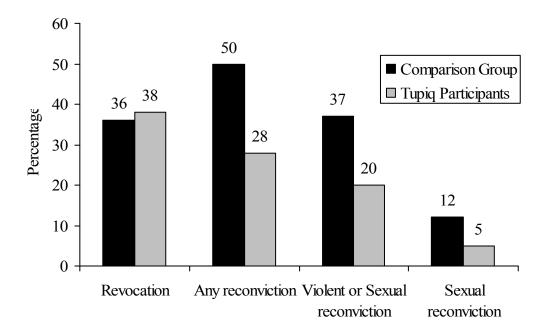
^a Includes any criminal offence, provincial, federal, etc.

^b Includes armed robbery, assaults, homicide, manslaughter, ACBH and sex offences

^c Includes any sex offence such as sexual assault, touching, pornography, incest, etc.

^{*} p < .05, ** p < .01

Figure 1: Recidivism rates for the Tupiq participants and the comparison group.



Discussion

The current study expands on a previous report that profiled the Tupiq participants and examined their performance on key outcome variables (Trevethan, et al, 2004). At the time of the publication of the initial report, 34 offenders had attended the Tupiq program and of these only 11 had been released to the community. Although the authors acknowledged that some aspects of the preliminary results such as high completion rates and improvements in attitude and skill level were encouraging, no conclusions on the efficacy of the program were possible at that time.

This current study examines the complete treatment sample of 71 Inuit sex offenders who have participated in the program over the last seven years. Ten cycles of the program have been delivered since 2001. The report provides a profile of these offenders and their treatment and release outcomes compared to a cohort of Inuit sex offenders incarcerated during the same period.

The results of the current study confirm the earlier report's findings that Tupiq participants cope with significant problems that contribute to criminal recidivism and pose barriers to reintegration. They have high rates of unemployment, low educational achievement, significant substance abuse problems and substantial histories of criminality. In addition to current and prior sex offences, the majority also admit to high rates of domestic abuse. These men have themselves been exposed to traumatic experiences such as physical and sexual abuse and violent loss of family members through murder or suicide.

Several markers point to the efficacy of the Tupiq program. Program completion rates are much better than those for the national sex offender programs and the comparison group of Inuit sex offenders who attended alternative sex offender programs. Research with federally sentenced offenders has shown that low motivation and negative attitude towards correctional treatment are two responsivity factors that contribute to program attrition (Wormith and Olver, 2002). Based on such impressive completion rates, it appears that the Tupiq program and its facilitators have been successful in motivating and engaging offenders. Tupiq participants had significantly lower rates of general and violent reoffending than the comparison group. In addition, of the 61

participants who were released to the community at the time of follow-up, three were reconvicted for a sexual offence producing a sexual reoffending rate of 4.9%. This base rate over an average follow up period of 4 years compares favourably with base rates cited for general sex offenders where an overall sexual recidivism of 14% over five years is expected when recidivism is defined as charges and convictions (Harris & Hanson, 2004). The Tupiq participants' sexual recidivism rate, though less than half that of the comparison group (4.9%) compared to 12.3% for a treatment effect of .60), was not significantly lower. Elsewhere, Barbaree (1997) has discussed the challenge of demonstrating significant treatment effects in programs where the base rates for reoffending are low and the N (number of subjects in the study) is also low. The requirements to reduce the Type I error raises the chances of a Type II error (accepting the null hypothesis when there is in fact an actual difference) thus making it difficult for smaller scale programs for sex offenders to demonstrate effectiveness. To ensure that significant treatment effects will be detected if they exist, Barbaree recommends that researchers in the area increase the follow up period (thus increasing the base rates) and/or increase the number of participants in the treatment and comparison groups. If the current treatment effect of .60 among the Tupiq group holds with continued follow up, given the accepted parameters for the detection of a statistically significant treatment effect (i.e., setting the power at 80% and the alpha at .05) and the low rate of sexual reoffending for untreated sex offenders even after a 4 year follow period, to detect a significant effect, the N for both the Tupiq group and the comparison group would need to be about 200 offenders in each group.

The earlier report on the program had made several recommendations to improve the program design and implementation. Among them the authors advised examining ways to reduce costs, secure permanent funding, more fully integrate the Inuit healing teachings with self management planning and examine the possibility of delivering the program in the North. Over the last five years some of these have been addressed. The program manual has been revised to provide more detailed instruction to facilitators. The cost of delivery of the program has been reduced from that of 2004. Inuit healers are now less frequently involved in the program and the clinical director spends fewer hours on site given that the program facilitators are experienced. However, the program is still substantially more expensive than those associated with the national standardised sex offender program. For example, in 2008-2009 the moderate intensity

national sex offender program was delivered for a cost of \$5755 per offender enrolment and the cost of the national high intensity was \$12,787 per enrolment. Tupiq's costs for the same year were \$22,070 per enrolment. It should be noted, however, that the costs for the national Aboriginal sex offender programs are substantially higher still at \$44,869 per enrolment. Some of these costs for the Tupiq program are associated with the cultural specific components of the program such as bringing the Inuit healers from the north and hiring Inuit facilitators on contract. Until 2006, the cost of Inuit facilitators included the contractual fees, return transportation between the Arctic and Fenbrook, staff housing and per diems. Since August, 2006 costs were significantly reduced by offering fulltime contract positions that allowed Inuit facilitators to relocate to the Fenbrook and eliminated the need for return flights and accommodations. A lower average group size also contributes to Tupiq's higher program costs per offender. Tupiq has averaged seven offenders per program while the national standards allow for up to 12 participants when the program is delivered by two facilitators. More efficient recruitment strategies are needed to make the program more cost effective and to reduce the wait times when program delivery start dates are delayed because of insufficient referrals.

Another concern is the high rates of detention of Inuit offenders who have participated in the Tupiq program. Tupiq offenders are more likely than non aboriginal or than other Inuit offenders to be detained, a fact that may be related to the seriousness of their offences and the volume of their criminality but has also been attributed to the lack of Inuit specific programs designed to address outstanding criminogenic factors like domestic violence and substance abuse.

Recognising the offenders' needs for intervention to address domestic abuse and the need to take some leadership for change in Inuit communities where violence towards women and children is tragically too common, the key features of the Tupiq program were recently integrated into the National High Intensity Family Violence Prevention Program creating the

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⁷ Data are from the Corporate Reporting System, CSC. Expenditure information reports the salary Full Time Equivalent (FTE), of the program delivery staff, along with the Operating and Maintenance (O&M). The unit cost of program delivery divides the identified expenditure information by the total enrolment information, to report a cost per offender enrolled in the program.

⁸ Thanks to Nancy Kinsman, Assistant Warden Interventions, Fenbrook Institution for these financial data. The cost for delivery of one program of Tupiq was calculated as \$156,700 and the average number of completions per program was 7.1 (based on 10 program cycles delivered up to November 2008 and 71 completions).

Qarmaq program. Again, Inuit facilitators delivered the program bilingually in English and Inuktitut, all participants handouts were available to participants in both Inuktitut and English, all scenarios and program content made connections to current realities in contemporary Inuit community life; the program content was made relevant and therefore motivational. Once again, attendance and participation soared with 100% of the Inuit offender-participants completing the initial delivery of this intensive program. In 2009, some of these features of this program were incorporated into the delivery of an Inuit-specific National Substance Abuse Program (NSAP). Staff report that both Qarmaq and an Inuit specific version of NSAP are showing success in motivating offender-participants to develop insight into their risk factors as well as skills and knowledge to manage these risks.

Conclusion

This study shows encouraging results for this innovative program. Tupiq's unique design combines key elements outlined in the effective corrections literature with culturally specific and linguistically sensitive material. A limitation of the study is the lack of analysis of the results of assessment tools that might have evaluated the impact of the program on changes in the participants' attitude and skill level. Examination of appropriate methods of assessing components of the program and their relationship to outcome may allow researchers to respond to Trevethan et al's earlier recommendation that an analysis be completed that determined the relative impact of the Inuit specific cultural teachings and healing services and the effective corrections material

The costs of a program like Tupiq, the multiple criminogenic needs of most Inuit offenders and the logistical problems of delivering culturally sensitive programs to a distinct but small group of offenders point to a need to examine a strategy for the development of an Inuit specific program that could bring Tupiq in line with initiatives within the Reintegration Programs division where work is underway to develop a single integrated program that will treat offenders with multiple needs in a modularised format. This is a strategy that would appear to be particularly relevant to a high needs Inuit group that is so sparsely scattered in institutions across CSC. Given the barriers to reintegration posed by Inuit offenders serving much of their sentences far from their families and communities, it would be appropriate to assess the viability of providing a multimodal correctional program and ongoing maintenance for the graduates of the program closer to Inuit communities and to the resources and services that make the Tupiq program so powerful.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Tupiq Coding Manual.

Participant N	Number	:	
DOB:			
Year:			
Month:			
Day:			

99 = Missing Data (unknown)88 = N/A

First/Hon	ne language:	
	English	frstlang
2.	French	_
3.	Inuktitut	
4.	Other:	
Preferred	official language of service:	
	English	polang
	French	
3.	Inuktitut	
4.	Other:	
5.	None	
Lived dur	ing childhood:	
1.	Inuit community	childloc
2.	Rural area (not Inuit community)	
	Urban centre	
4.	Other:	
5.	More than one of the above	chlocstr
Where the	e offender is supposed to live during adulthood (after leav	ing institution):
1.	Inuit community	·
2.	Rural area (not Inuit community)	adultloc
3.	Urban centre	
4.	Other:	
5.	More than one of the above	adlocstr
Where the	e offender actually lived during adulthood (after leaving in	nstitution):
1.	Inuit community	•
2.	Rural area (not Inuit community)	actuloca
3.	Urban centre	
4.	Other:	
Reported	experiencing traditional Inuit culture during childhood:	
0.	No	inuitcul
1.	Yes	
99	. Unknown	
Attended	residential schools as child:	
	No	resschl
1.	Yes	
90	Unknown	

History of traumatic life experiences in developmental years:	
Loss of family or friend member through suicide:	
0. No	trauma1
1. Yes	
Substance abuse by family members:	
0. No	trauma2
1. Yes	
Witnessed domestic abuse:	
0. No	trauma3
1. Yes	
Witnessed inappropriate sexual boundaries:	
0. No	
1. Yes	trauma4
Loss of family or friend member through murder:	
0. No	trauma5
1. Yes	
Was a victim of Physical abuse:	
0. No	trauma6
1. Yes	
Was a victim of Sexual abuse:	
0. No	trauma7
1. Yes	
Reports difficulty learning in school (Either as a child or in prison):	
0. No	
1. Yes	lrndiff
Ever history of mental illness (As per Axis I):	.*11
0. No	mentill
1. Yes	
Any brain injuries (From birth or through injury):	
0. No	
1. Yes	brainjur
Violent or sexual criminal history as an adult (prior to current offence	e):
0. No	
1. Yes	vioadult

Criminal history as a youth:	
0. No	
1. Yes	crimchld
Violent or sexual crime as a youth:	
0. No	
1. Yes	vioyouth
The number of victim(s) of violence or sexual offence (includes pri	or and current offence)
Female (adult)	
	adfemvic
Male (adult)	
	admalvic
Female (child)	1.0
M 1 (1715)	chfemvic
Male (child)	chmalvic
	Cililarvic
Offender's current offence is for sex abuse of children:	
0. No	curchld
1. Yes	
Offender's current offence is for adult female:	
0. No	curfem
1. Yes	Current
1. 105	
Offender admits to other violent or sex offences (for which he was	not charged):
0. No	
1. Yes	admitvio
1 66 (; , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	
Any previous sexual offences (prior to current offence): 0. No	
1. Yes	priorsex
If yes, how many?	priorsex
if yes, now many:	numsex
Reports ever physically abusing partners (relationship or intimate):	
0. No	
1. Yes	domabuse
Offender's victim was a family member:	
0. No	famvic
1 Yes	· -

Cognitive distortions prior to program:	
0. No	cogdis
1. Yes	
Blamed substance abuse/"blackouts" ever:	
0. No	blamealc
1. Yes	O IMPEROMIC
1. 100	
Has the offender ever used solvents:	
0. No	solvuse
1. Yes	
After program, facilitators report positive & substantial gains:	
0. No	gains
1. Yes	
2. Partial	
Cormier-Lang Scale (Based on the current offence):	
1. No damage	clscrrnt
2. Slight damage	
3. Slight damage with weapon	
4. Victim treated in clinic and released	
5. Victim treated in hospital and stayed at least one night	
6. Victim death	
7. Victim death and subsequent mutilation	
Cormier-Lang Scale (Based on the most violent incident toward an	other person as an adult prior
to current offence):	Fire Forest Manual Free Free Free Free Free Free Free Fre
1. No damage	
2. Slight damage	clsprior
-	Cispitol
3. Slight damage with weapon	
4. Victim treated in clinic and released	
5. Victim treated in hospital and stayed at least one night	
6. Victim death	
7. Victim death and subsequent mutilation	
Number of Self-management group therapy sessions attended (out	of 27)
Trumber of Self management group therapy sessions attended (out	01 27)
	smanatt
Program Facilitators' assessment of Self-management group therap	y attendance
1. Needs improvement	
2. Satisfactory	smanatt2
3. Good	
4. Very good	
5. Excellent	
C. 2010 VII VII V	

Inuit healing sessions attended (out of 20)	
	Inhlatt
Program Facilitators' assessment of Inuit healing sessions attendance 1. Needs improvement	e
2. Satisfactory	inhlatt2
3. Good	
4. Very good	
5. Excellent	
Skills group therapy sessions attended	
_	Sgatt
Program Facilitators' assessment of skills group therapy attendance 1. Needs improvement	
2. Satisfactory	sgatt2
3. Good	
4. Very good	
5. Excellent	
Program Facilitators' assessment of Self-management group therapy 1. Needs improvement	participation
2. Satisfactory	smanpart
3. Good	
4. Very good	
5. Excellent	
Program Facilitators' assessment of Inuit healing sessions participati	ion
1. Needs improvement	
2. Satisfactory	inhlpart
3. Good	
4. Very good	
5. Excellent	

Program Facilitators' assessment of skills group therapy partice. 1. Needs improvement	cipation
2. Satisfactory	sgpart
3. Good	- Cr
4. Very good	
5. Excellent	
Number of Tupiq programs previously participated (complete	or incomplete)
	Pretupiq
Any returns to custody after Warrant Expiry Date (WED):	
Federal custody	
0. No 1. Yes	fodougt1
If yes, when? (Date)	fedcust1
If yes, when: (Date)	fedsdat1
Provincial Custody 0. No	reasauri
1. Yes	provcus1
If yes, when was the first custody date?	
	Provdat1
Release date from the return to custody after Warrant Expiry I	Date (WED) (provincial or federal)
pr	rovrel1
Number of reconvictions of any kind after Warrant Expiry Da fines):	te (WED) (Federal, provincial, or
	c1kind
Number of reconvictions for a violent offence after Warrant E sexual offences):	expiry Date (WED) (excluding
·	recviol1
If yes, was it a physical abuse of a partner (relationship	o or intimate):
0. No 1. Yes	recdoma1
Number of reconvictions for a sexual offence after Warrant Ex	xpiry Date (WED):
	recsexu1

The nu	umber of victim(s) of violence or sexual offence after Warra Female (adult):	nt Expiry Date (WED):
		adltfem1
	Male (adult)	adltmal1
	Female (child)	
	Male (child)	chldfem1
	wate (child)	chldmal1
Any re	eturns to custody between release date and Warrant Expiry I 0. No	Date (WED):
	1. Yes	retc2
	If yes, when was the first return? (Date)	
	5 -	retcdat2
Numb	er of reconvictions of any kind between release date and Wa	nrrant Expiry Date:
		reckind2
Numb	er of reconvictions for a violent offence between release dat	e and Warrant Expiry Date: recviol2
	If yes, was it a physical abuse of a partner (relationship or a 0. No	intimate):
	1. Yes	recdoma2
Numb	er of reconvictions for a sexual offence between release date	e and Warrant Expiry Date:
		recsexu2
The nu Date:	umber of victim(s) of violence or sexual offence between rel	ease date and Warrant Expiry
Female (adult):		
	Male (adult)	adltfem2
		adltmal2
	Female (child)	chldfem2
	Male (child)	
		chldmal2

Screen Reader Descriptions for Graphics & Figures (for Visually Impaired Individuals)

Figure 1. Recidivism Rates for the Tupiq and Comparison Groups

This bar chart reflects the information on the revocation and recidivism rates of the Tupiq and the comparison groups. There is no difference in revocation rates; both have rates of 36-38%. The Tupiq group has a 28% rate of reconviction for any offence, the comparison group at rate of 51%. The Tupiq group has a 20% rate of reconviction for a violent or sex offence, the comparison group a rate of 38% and Tupiq had a 5% sexual reoffending and the comparison group had a rate of 12%.