

Investigating Indigeneity within Incarceration: Healing Lodges in the Canadian Media

by

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## **Abstract**

My research examines the media portrayals of Indigenous healing lodges within Canada, through a critical discourse analysis of relevant Canadian news media sources, spanning from 2009 to 2019. I utilize both intersectionality and settler colonialism as my theoretical approaches for this research to contextualize media discourses to the longstanding history of colonialism in Canadian society, as well as intersections of identity. I also analyze research questions relevant to settler versus Indigenous-led media, as well as the constructions of healing lodges as a form of punishment and the ways in which Indigenous offenders were depicted. In addition, I explore how narratives about healing lodges further solidified claims regarding Indigenous sovereignty. I conclude with a multi-faceted approach moving forward through support for the implementation of more Indigenous-led healing lodges, as well as cultural resurgence, as advocated by a number of prominent Indigenous scholars in the field.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The disproportionate incarceration of Indigenous people in Canada has been occurring for decades and has only continued to grow in recent years despite some efforts made to address this pervasive problem. Indigenous adults represent approximately 4% of Canada's adult population, yet they make up 29% of federal inmates (Malakieh, 2019, p. 5). This issue is more acute amongst Indigenous women, who represent 40% of female federal prison admissions (Malakieh, 2019, p. 21). This has been further reproduced through a system of risk management in standard corrections, whereby Indigenous women are significantly more likely to be labelled as a higher security risk, which prevents opportunities for their release, as well as their participation in rehabilitative programming, which is usually only offered to minimum or medium security offenders (Hannah-Moffat, 2011, p. 206).

One mechanism that has been introduced within recent decades to address this problem in the Canadian criminal justice system are healing lodges. Healing lodges refer to facilities that federal inmates in Canadian correctional institutions can be transferred to, whereby they receive access to Indigenous-specific programming, ceremonies and counselling with Elders. Correctional Service Canada (2019b) indicates that healing lodges are meant to, "... address factors that led to their incarceration and prepare them for reintegration into society." Healing lodges emerged after the 1990 Task Force on Federally Sentenced Women requested that there be a correctional facility designed explicitly for Indigenous women offenders, which caused the Native Women's Association of Canada to suggest that this institution be a healing lodge. The construction of the first healing lodge was in 1995, which was Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge in Saskatchewan. Healing lodges emerged in order to address the over-representation of Indigenous



offenders within Canadian corrections, as well as the failure of general prison programming to meet the needs of Indigenous offenders (Correctional Service Canada, 2019b).

There are ten operational healing lodges in Canada, which are comprised of four Correctional Service Canada (CSC)-run and six Section 81 facilities<sup>1</sup>, which are managed through Indigenous organizations. The combined capacity of all these facilities is approximately 439 people, with individual facility capacity ranging anywhere from 12 to 80 people (Correctional Service Canada, 2019a). Comparatively, there were 1,884 men in federal corrections who identified as Indigenous and 225 Indigenous women serving a sentence in a federal correctional institution from 2017 to 2018 (Malakieh, 2019, p. 21). Arguably, although there are a growing number of healing lodges within Canada, the capacity of these facilities is not equivalent to the demand of Indigenous offenders being incarcerated.

Research has indicated that healing lodges offer effectiveness in practice, particularly in relevance to reducing inmate recidivism rates, as well as reintegrating these individuals back into the community (Hyatt, 2013, p. 49). There has been some backlash by the public in Canada towards the use of healing lodges, particularly for offenders that have committed serious crimes. This is exemplified by the 2018 decision by Correctional Service Canada to transfer Terri-Lynne McClintic, who was convicted alongside Michael Rafferty for the kidnapping and murder of eight-year old Tori Stafford, from the Grand Valley Institution for Women to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge in Saskatchewan. This change was met with public outcry, substantial media coverage, debates in Canadian Parliament and ultimately, a reversal of this transfer when McClintic was later sent to Edmonton Institution for Women (Richmond, 2018). Therefore, it is

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<sup>1</sup> Section 81 healing lodges are managed through Indigenous community partner organizations, rather than CSC. They sign in agreement with CSC under Section 81 of the Correctional and Conditional Releases Act. CSC funds both types of these healing lodges in Canada (Correctional Service Canada, 2019c).

critical to examine how the media portrays Indigenous healing lodges in Canada, as representations within national media coverage can inform public sentiments and influence correctional decision-making. Although there is not a direct cause and effect relationship between the media and public opinion, the media plays a key role in the social construction of many issues, including crime and justice.

Specifically, Surette (2007, p. 35) highlights that the construction of issues takes place through a four-step process. Firstly, an event within a shared reality takes place. Secondly, different constructions are formed about what happened. The media play a key role in the third step of the process, in which they help to emphasize what social constructions are disseminated and which ones are left out. Thus, within step four, the central narrative is determined. In the example of crime and the media, since most people are not impacted by crimes, the media can be particularly influential over accepted social constructions. Further, once these constructions are settled, this has an impact over the types of policies that are supported by members of the public (Surette, 2007, p. 36). Since many people rely on the media as their key source for getting information on crimes and media outlets are generally more focused on violent and serious criminal offences, this has implications for the stories that the public consumes about crime and further, how they interpret crime and justice (Lee & Wong, 2020, p. 215). One example of the possible relationship between media and public opinions of criminal justice is demonstrated in the “CSI effect,” in which there is evidence to suggest that the consumption of popular crime shows like CSI affects viewer perceptions of forensic technology and can therefore impact decision-making within the context of juries (Brewer & Lay, 2010, p. 98).

### *Importance of Research*

There is limited research examining how healing lodges have been portrayed by the media since their initial implementation in Canada during the 1990s. Research has tended to focus on the effectiveness of healing lodges, as well as controversy surrounding increasing development of CSC-run healing lodges, rather than those that are managed through Indigenous organizations (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012, p. 4). Although media analyses have documented the problematic discourses surrounding Indigenous people that reproduce colonialism, there has been a lack of research engaging with the representations of healing lodges in Canadian media. Since Indigenous incarceration rates are continually increasing (Malakieh, 2019, p. 5), it is of key importance to understand how the relatively new phenomena of healing lodges in the Canadian criminal justice system is being portrayed in the media, as this has the potential to solidify social constructions of crime and justice, as well as implications for the future of public policy decisions.

Given that the number of Indigenous offenders in the criminal justice system is continually increasing, it is valuable to gauge how various discourses present healing lodges, particularly in comparing settler versus Indigenous-led media outlets. Additionally, the way in which healing lodges are depicted have substantial consequences for how Indigenous sovereignty rights are mobilized or rejected within broader Canadian society, in comparison to Western models of justice. Further, it is also important to evaluate this issue, as it has potential implications for the independence of a democratic legal system, as the expectation is that correctional decision-making should function without the influence of outside interference, including the media.

### *Parameters*

Initially, I had conceptualized this project as interviewing formerly incarcerated Indigenous women who had served their sentences at the former Prison for Women in Kingston, Ontario. My honours thesis research in my undergraduate degree was focused on Indigenous youth incarceration, so one of the most significant things I had learned from that research was that Indigenous women and girls have distinct experiences within the Canadian criminal justice system. Further, I had read literature on the victimization of Indigenous women and girls, but I wanted to explore in-depth how cycles of victimization intersect with the criminalization that Indigenous women in Canada also experience. However, after my initial interest in this issue, I decided that the ethics involved in this research at the master's level would be an enormous undertaking. Other factors that impacted my choice of methodology included my lack of connections to community organizations like the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, as well as the fact that it would take time to develop a meaningful sense of trust with Indigenous participants. In addition, I saw the opportunity to investigate healing lodges specifically, which I had examined as part of my MA coursework at Carleton in a criminology course and it presented a lower-risk option and important research avenue moving forward.

I was also acutely familiar with the McClintic controversy, as I grew up in Woodstock, Ontario and had watched my community handle the tragic death of Tori Stafford and the aftermath of this homicide case in court. Further, following the decision to transfer Terri-Lynne McClintic from Grand Valley Institution for Women to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, I had seen the enormously negative reaction to this transfer in both the news, as well as amongst people I knew from home on social media. As individuals I knew personally condemned this correctional decision in Facebook posts and I began to see more media articles focusing on the issue, I

struggled on what my reaction should be, as someone who had lived in Woodstock during that surreal time in 2009, as well as a sociology student who had always been deeply interested in issues related to criminology, particularly the prison system. The goal of my research was never to condemn or applaud the usage of healing lodges in Canada, but rather to investigate these types of discourses surrounding healing lodges more broadly and to interrogate the potential harms that these texts can have, particularly in the ways in which they engage in portrayals of Indigenous offenders and participate in narratives surrounding the history of colonialism in Canada.

### *Key Area of Study*

My analysis seeks to understand how news articles present healing lodges, as well as Indigenous offenders. The major issues that my research will examine include how settler versus Indigenous-led media present issues, how healing lodges are portrayed, the frames used to depict Indigenous offenders, as well as narratives related to Indigenous sovereignty. Through critical discourse analysis and the application of both intersectional and settler colonial theories, I try to understand how these media representations of healing lodges connect to other depictions of Indigenous people in Canada and how they are significant for First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities. I utilize four media outlets as part of my discourse analysis: CBC, Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*.

### *Research Questions*

The research questions that I explore within my thesis are the following: How do settler news agencies differentially represent stories regarding healing lodges, in comparison to Indigenous media? In what ways are healing lodges constructed as a form of punishment in Canadian media? How do media representations of healing lodges construct the Indigenous

offender? Finally, how do media representations of this Indigenous legal practice advance claims about Indigenous sovereignty?

### *Findings*

My findings are that there were commonalities in terms of the individuals quoted across articles, particularly the former Minister of Public Safety Ralph Goodale, as well as the former Correctional Investigator of Canada Howard Sapers. However, Indigenous media was more likely to emphasize Indigenous voices as interviewees, in comparison to settler media articles, but largely, the perspectives of Indigenous people were not included substantially within my sample. Additionally, *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* were also the most likely to mobilize references to political parties and leaders as part of their publications on healing lodges. Further, I argue that settler media and in particular, *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* articles, tended to portray more graphic details of crimes as a mechanism of invalidating the usage of healing lodges in Canada. In terms of the differences between settler media and Indigenous media sources, Indigenous media was more likely to differentiate the identities of Indigenous people when compared to settler media, which tended to take a more homogenized approach. I also found that homogenizing constructions of Indigeneity were commonplace across media sources, as universal terms like “Indigenous” or “Aboriginal” were significantly used in comparison to references to cultural groups, or an individual nation, band or clan.

I found through my research that healing lodges were constructed using two central frames. Firstly, I argue that healing lodges were oftentimes constructed as being an easy form of punishment, in which the less restrictive physical environment was portrayed as enabling the escapes of dangerous offenders from the facility, as well as being a space in which offenders could enjoy their prison sentence. Another dominant narrative portraying healing lodges praised

their potential through the argument of cultural rehabilitation, in which Indigenous values were highlighted as being key components of the facilities that were described as being “forward-thinking” and “rehabilitative.” Further, this frame frequently depended on the financial savings healing lodges have for the Canadian taxpayer, as a number of articles highlighted the lower costs of healing lodges in comparison to typical penitentiary-style institutions.

There were a number of portrayals of the Indigenous offender amongst articles in my sample, including a predominant frame of constructing the risk these offenders pose to children, implying that young children within any proximity to offenders in healing lodges, whether it be within the lodge or the surrounding neighbourhood, were fundamentally at risk of being harmed. Additionally, the narratives surrounding Terri-Lynne McClintic relied on gendered notions of deviance and often focused on problematic narratives of ambiguous Indigenous identity. I also found that portrayals of McClintic exhibited elements of a moral panic, through the way in which her role in the crime was discussed, as well as the attempts to rationalize a harsher application of punishment in her case.

Within my findings relevant to Indigenous sovereignty, I found that some narratives surrounding public opinion and justice asserted a notion of Western superiority of punishment models, in comparison with Indigenous justice practices. Additionally, I examine the ways in which articles in my sample engage with systemic issues relevant to Indigenous people in Canada. Specifically, I found that APTN was the most likely to actively engage with the lived experiences of Indigenous people, in comparison to settler media sources. Discourses surrounding autonomy of Indigenous communities were also dominant within my sample, with APTN articles being the most likely to advocate for giving more control to Indigenous communities over healing lodges, including through more investment into Section 81 healing

lodge partnerships. Comparatively, some settler media sources tended to reject opportunities towards self-sufficiency for Indigenous communities in Canada.

### *Outline*

The structure of my thesis project is as follows: to begin, I discuss existing research literature that contextualizes my study. This will include relevant research on my theoretical approaches of settler colonial theory and intersectionality. In addition, I will discuss the literature on media representations of Indigenous people, culturally-specific correctional programming, the role of risk, as well as discourses surrounding Indigenous autonomy. The next chapter of my thesis will focus on my chosen methodology, which includes details regarding my selection process of Canadian media outlets for my sample, the coding process that I utilized, a description of critical discourse analysis, as well as the overall limitations and implications of my methodological choices. After my methodology chapter, my analysis is broken into three separate chapters, which address the following topics: media representation within settler versus Indigenous media outlets, portrayals of healing lodges and constructions of the Indigenous offender, as well as claims of Indigenous sovereignty. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion of my findings in relation to larger research implications and possible mechanisms of addressing these systemic issues.



## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Frameworks and Literature Review**

Throughout this chapter, I discuss the relevant theoretical frameworks that are applied within my analysis, as well as the literature that connects to each of my thematic subthemes. First, I engage with the theoretical literature in order to construct my application of both settler colonial theory and intersectionality. I also look at existing research literature on media portrayals of Indigenous people in Canada, which is relevant to Chapter 4, as well as the differences between media sources more broadly. Additionally, I examine research relevant to culturally-specific programming for Indigenous offenders, which is particularly salient to my discussions of frames used to portray healing lodges, as well as some of my analysis of sovereignty. Further, I look at constructions of risk, such as research on moral panics, which connects heavily to my examination of portrayals of Indigenous offenders later within Chapter 5. Lastly, I discuss literature related to Indigenous sovereignty, particularly within the context of cultural resurgence in order to frame my discussions in Chapter 6 of my analysis, as well as my concluding ideas in Chapter 7.

### ***Theoretical Frameworks***

#### ***Settler Colonial Theory***

My theoretical frameworks for this thesis project include both settler colonialism and intersectionality, which are well-suited approaches to the subject matter of examining the portrayals of Indigenous healing lodges in Canada. Settler colonial theory offers a useful standpoint in terms of critically evaluating Indigeneity in the context of the Canadian settler state and the ways in which this power dynamic is perpetuated within various institutions, particularly through the criminal justice system. Settler colonialism refers to the process of transforming one place into something else, which intrinsically means that there is simultaneously a subjugation of

the Indigenous people that lived there first (Veracini, 2013, pp. 313-4). In addition, settler colonialism was eventually understood as both an independent phenomenon, as well as being largely embedded in the origins of colonialism (Veracini, 2013, p. 320). Simpson (2016b, pp. 441-442) describes the term as the following, "...settler colonialism is not reified but is rather a nuanced and structuring imperative that calls up the past in order to produce a present that is tenable in other places, thereby legitimating the use of eliminarity [sic] and acquisitive force."

Simpson (2016b, p. 440) also highlights that one of the goals of settler colonialism in the current Canadian landscape is utilizing Indigenous communities, such as Attawapiskat, for the purpose of settler financial gain, which oftentimes relies on the false notion that First Nations people are incapable of managing their own money. Additionally, Simpson (2016b, p. 440) indicates that multicultural liberalism in Canada is a façade, while any assertion of difference that is deemed unproductive for settler society is eradicated. Further, Simpson (2016a, p. 8) argues that the terminology surrounding the emergence of the "reconciliation" time period in Canada implicitly undermines Indigenous resistance to colonialism.

Wolfe (2006, p. 387) notes that a similarity between the process of settler colonialism and genocide is the application of the "logic of elimination." Further, Wolfe (2006, p. 388) argues that the primary goal of settler colonialism is to obtain territory and that the central tactics used in order to achieve this include: religious conversion, residential schools and the abduction of children. Settler colonialism is not defined to specific historical events, but can instead be understood as an ongoing temporal process that has existed since the beginning of European colonization (Wolfe, 2006, p. 390). There has often been the idea that Indigenous people are permitted to be part of settler life, with condition that they assimilate into the dominant culture and abandon their own identity as an Indigenous person (Wolfe, 2006, p. 397). Further, Wolfe

(2006, p. 399) illustrates that the processes of settler colonialism shifted over time, as once colonizers forcibly removed Indigenous people from their land and onto reservations, assimilation became the next step in the project of elimination.

Wolfe (2006, p. 403) opts for the term “structural genocide,” rather than other terms that have been used to describe the treatment of Indigenous people, such as “cultural genocide,” in order to illustrate that assimilation and mass killing are the next mechanisms in genocide after attempting the removal of a group of people. Similarly, Simpson (2016a, p. 2) discusses the way in which settler colonialism involves the dispossession of Indigenous people, in which settlers take, where applicable, both land and lives, specifically those of Indigenous women. Further, she connects this to the historic discrimination of Indigenous women in the Indian Act, whereby Indigenous women lost their status if they married non-status men, but Indigenous men would keep their status when they married non-status women in Canada. This demonstrates how the Indian Act has perpetuated sexism by deeming Indigenous women to be the property of their husbands (Simpson, 2016a, pp. 4-5). This exclusionary settler policy resulted in Indigenous women being denied the same level of access to health care, reservations, housing and other elements of livelihood that had been components of their status previously (Coulthard, 2014, p. 84). In 1985, Bill C-31 was passed in Canada, which helped towards removing sex-based discrimination in the Indian Act, but there are still a number of Indigenous women who struggled to ever get their status reinstated (Coulthard, 2014, p. 87). This discussion connects to my analysis of representations of Indigenous identity within Chapter 4, where I discuss the implications of recognition of Indigenous status within media discourses, particularly for women.

It is critical to recognize how identity factors have impacted the treatment of Indigenous women:

...the oppression faced by Indigenous women in Canada cannot be adequately understood when separated from the other axes of oppression that have converged to sustain it over time. In the settler-colonial context of Canada, these power relations of course include patriarchy, but also white supremacy, capitalism and state domination.

(Coulthard, 2014, p. 96)

Further, Coulthard (2014, p. 100) argues that the narrative of Indigenous societies as being uncivilized in comparison to settlers has been used as a tool of domination, as Indigenous communities are viewed as being incapable of their own self-determination. Specifically, by constructing Indigenous people as inferior to white settlers, this validates settler colonial claims to the land by viewing the process of settlement as establishing settler sovereignty.

Additionally, legal means of achieving Indigenous sovereignty have proven difficult, as Coulthard (2014, p. 41) highlights the way in which the Supreme Court of Canada has repeatedly failed to dismantle racism against Indigenous people within the legal system. Instead, the courts have oftentimes enabled the state's right to violate the legal rights of Indigenous people, particularly if doing so can help achieve economic development in Canada. Settler colonial theory provides a critical framework in my thesis work by emphasizing the long-standing colonial forces that have actively oppressed Indigenous groups and continued to have instrumental impacts on the lives of Indigenous people in the contemporary Canadian landscape. Further, the applicability of settler colonialism is directly relevant to the over-incarceration rates of Indigenous offenders, as prisons are actively complicit in reproducing colonial assertions of power over Indigenous communities.

### *Intersectionality*

My second theoretical lens for my thesis is intersectionality in order to better contextualize the identity factors that impact the portrayals of Indigenous offenders, especially those that are women. Intersectionality emerged in an essay written by Kimberlé Crenshaw, in which she explored the discrimination against Black women in the United States. This theory is grounded in both critical race theory and Black feminist thought. Crenshaw noted that while institutions actively perpetuated marginalization, feminist and anti-racist narratives were also contributing to these problems, as social movements oftentimes have neglected to explore the multiplicities of marginalization in society (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays & Tomlinson, 2013, pp. 303-304). Further, intersectional theory is not limited solely to issues of race and gender, but is used to explore a number of axes of identity, which include, but are not limited to: ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, disability and nationality (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 309).

The ways in which intersectionality can be utilized to deconstruct power structures is discussed within the following, “They do so by interrogating the inter-locking ways in which social structures produce and entrench power and marginalization, and by drawing attention to the ways that existing paradigms that produce knowledge and politics often function to normalize these dynamics” (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 312). Therefore, intersectionality is particularly relevant to my analysis, both in terms of how elements of identity, such as Indigeneity and gender, impact how individuals are framed in the media, but also in terms of exploring the hegemonic perspectives present in Canadian news media, particularly surrounding how Western goals of punishment are discussed and valued in comparison to Indigenous justice models, including healing lodges. The existing power structures play an important role within the context of how justice systems are compared, as my analysis later finds that Westernized

conceptualizations of prisons were portrayed as being inherently superior to Indigenous justice models in some instances. Thus, as Carbado mentions, the power structures must be deconstructed in order to challenge the way in which knowledge is produced.

For example, Crenshaw (2012, p. 1424) explores how in the American context, race has oftentimes been absent within discourses that examine women who are incarcerated and uses intersectionality to illustrate the ways in which women of colour are increasing as a demographic in terms of rates of incarceration, as well as overall surveillance. Two relevant concepts within this discussion are explored. The first term, structural-dynamic discrimination, is explained within the following:

These intersections are constituted by a variety of social forces that situate women of color within contexts structured by various social hierarchies and that render them disproportionately available to certain punitive policies and discretionary judgments that dynamically reproduce these hierarchies. (Crenshaw, 2012, p. 1427)

In addition, Crenshaw (2012, p. 1427) discusses the term intersectional subordination, which examines the ways in which institutions, such as housing and policing, interact with one another.

Although Crenshaw primarily examines the ignorance towards the incarceration rates of Black women in the United States, she also notes how the representation of Indigenous, transgender and immigrant women have also been fundamentally ignored. Prevailing stereotypes of racialized women as “immoral” or “irresponsible” also function as mechanisms of justifying further punishment of women of colour in the criminal justice system (Crenshaw, 2012, p. 1445). Crenshaw deconstructs how racialized girls interact with the justice system differently, as they may be seen as more threatening than boys, which can lead to greater levels of punishment imposed on girls (Crenshaw, 2012, p. 1436). Thus, it is evident that racialized girls and women

are routinely treated by a different standard in comparison to their male counterparts. This will become particularly salient as I further explore the ways in which media were critical of Terri-Lynne McClintic on the basis of her identity as an Indigenous woman, which had an enormous effect on how she was portrayed by Canadian media outlets.

Kuokkanen (2015, p. 271) explores the applicability of Crenshaw's theorization of political intersectionality in order to examine issues related to Indigenous women, in the context of Canada, as well as Scandinavia. She states the following:

Crenshaw's approach enables a detailed examination of the ways in which structural factors such as dispossession, displacement and poverty of indigenous peoples are gendered and have different effects on men and women, and how these processes have contributed and reinforce intragroup hierarchies and patriarchal oppression in indigenous communities, all of which result in increased levels of interpersonal gendered violence.

(Kuokkanen, 2015, p. 273)

This excerpt demonstrates how intersectional theory enables a stronger understanding of how centuries of colonization interact with patriarchy in the treatment of Indigenous women within Canadian society.

Specifically, Kuokkanen (2015, p. 276) explores how some Indigenous communities continued to restrict the process of Indigenous women gaining their status back, after Bill C-31 was passed. She argues that gendered violence against Indigenous women has often become a depoliticized issue, leading to ignorance and inaction and leaving many women fearful to speak out against their abuser, as they can often face backlash, particularly in the context of remote and rural communities (Kuokkanen, 2015, p. 277). Further, Kuokkanen (2015, p. 275) also notes that as the Assembly of First Nations' Women's Council has recommended, Indigenous male leaders

need to be held to a higher level of accountability, as they are oftentimes engaged in partnership with the Canadian state in exclusionary politics against Indigenous women. Discussions relevant to the dispossession of Indigenous women's status rights in Canada are relevant to the discourses surrounding McClintic's ambiguous Indigeneity within Chapter 5, where I explore portrayals of the Indigenous offender.

Turpel (1991, p. 184) also contributes to the discussion of how Indigeneity and gender interact as identity factors, indicating that feminism has oftentimes failed to fundamentally address the needs of First Nations women by applying a universalist model. Specifically, she argues that the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples report adopts a universal equality platform that undermines the nuances of gender relations and patriarchy within First Nations communities in relation to colonialism (Turpel, 1991, p. 185). Further, Turpel (1991, p. 188) elaborates that white settlers have indoctrinated their own views of gender equality that fail to acknowledge the experiences of First Nations women. Ultimately, intersectionality serves as a significant theoretical lens for my thesis research, particularly in examining how identity factors of race and gender influence media portrayals of healing lodges and Indigenous offenders.

### ***Literature Review***

In addition to the aforementioned theoretical frameworks, there is also substantive literature that has grounded my research in terms of subject matter. For instance, I will outline the approaches other scholars have taken in terms of media representation, which serves to contextualize my own analysis of settler media in comparison to Indigenous-led media, as these studies examine common frames used to depict Indigenous people within the Canadian media, including how these differ within media sources. I will also discuss literature that examines Indigenous experiences in corrections, including challenges related to culturally-specific



programming. This will be directly useful in terms of my discussion in Chapter 5 on portrayals of healing lodges and how media engages with ideas of punishment more broadly. I also discuss critical literature in relevance to constructions of risk, which I connect to media portrayals of the Indigenous offender. Finally, I connect literature related to settler colonial studies to Chapter 6, where I explore the portrayals of sovereignty within articles in my sample.

### *Media Representation*

One of my analysis chapters focuses on media representation, particularly in the context of settler versus Indigenous-led media. Existing literature illustrates how Canadian media has constructed Indigenous people within a number of contexts, such as the Idle No More Movement, as well as the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada. Additionally, this literature has also explored the differences between how certain outlets employ specific frames in comparison to one another. For instance, Nelson, Brown and Lavoie (2016, p. 4) use critical discourse analysis to compare the representations of First Nations and non-First Nations people within a news story surrounding an OxyContin supplier during 2011 and 2012. They found that discussions of OxyContin use amongst First Nations people were used to represent Indigenous people more generally and connected the story to problems of addiction, whereas non-First Nations people were given individualized stories that discussed their process of pain management with the drug (Nelson et al., 2016, p. 7-9). Further, Nelson et al. (2016, pp. 12-13) illustrate that representations of Indigenous people in the media reproduce colonialist ideology by obfuscating the role of the state and blaming Indigenous communities for the challenges that they face.

Tucker (2016, p. 2) also takes a similar approach of delving into the dichotomous portrayals of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. This research compared news stories

regarding the coverage of the homicide cases of Selena Keeper and Lacey Jones McKnight. While the murder of non-Indigenous Jones McKnight was oftentimes focused on her personality and included her name in news stories, the portrayal of Keeper, who was Indigenous, centered around her murderer, rather than the victim herself. Tucker (2016, p. 14) argues that this further highlights the media's ignorance of Indigenous women in Canada. Collins (2014, p. 81) also utilizes critical discourse analysis in order to examine racialized differences in media portrayals of Canadian crimes, spanning from the 1980s to 2000s, in the *Vancouver Sun*, *Toronto Star*, *Winnipeg Free Press* and the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*. This research found that crimes involving white offenders were much more likely to be discussed in relation to the occupation of the offender, as well as to be rationalized by individual motives, when compared to cases in which a racialized offender was involved in a crime. Further, Collins (2014, p. 95) argued that the depictions of Indigenous victims relied on blameworthy narratives, attributing their victimization to a high-risk lifestyle involving drugs, gangs and poverty.

Jiwani (2016, p. 388) utilizes an intersectional approach to examine the way in which Indigenous women are portrayed, specifically through a discourse analysis of obituaries published in *The Globe and Mail*. From the time period of 1976 to 2011, only 17 out of 290 obituaries examined were about Indigenous women (Jiwani, 2016, p. 393). Further, all the obituaries that did feature Indigenous women made reference to their contributions to their local community, which oftentimes expressed their connection to white settler society. In addition, many of these obituaries mentioned these women exonerating white settlers in some form, illustrating the erasure of colonial history in Canada (Jiwani, 2016, pp. 394-396). I utilize Jiwani's research in order to contextualize the lack of engagement with racism within articles in my sample within Chapter 6. Similarly, Morton (2016, p. 299) utilizes critical discourse analysis

to analyze road signs placed along the Highway of Tears that are meant to discourage Indigenous women from hitchhiking. This research found that the themes connoted through these billboards reproduced a classist, gendered and racialized narrative that blamed Indigenous women for their own victimization (Morton, 2016, p. 312). Further, hitchhiking was portrayed as a form of contentious mobility, in which it was viewed as posing intrinsic danger to participants, while failing to recognize the long-standing impacts of colonialism on the transportation options for Indigenous women in Canada (Morton, 2016, p. 317).

Jiwani and Young (2006, p. 895) also focus on Indigenous women through an analysis of *Vancouver Sun* articles that discuss the disappearances and deaths of women from Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, over the course of 2001 to 2006. In coverage of Indigenous women who were killed by Robert Pickton, Jiwani and Young (2006, p. 908) demonstrate that these victims were never discussed in relation to what First Nation they had been a part of, rendering their Indigenous identity invisible. Additionally, the opportunities in media portrayals for connecting the lives of these women to systemic issues of colonialism, such as the residential school system, were never pursued within these publications (Jiwani & Young, 2006, p. 910). I took a similar approach to my research as Jiwani (2016), Morton (2016) and Jiwani and Young (2006) did, by utilizing intersectionality in order to analyze news stories that discuss Indigenous peoples in relation to healing lodges. However, my approach does utilize a different lens by comparison, as I decided to employ a comparison between settler and Indigenous-led media in order to explore the similarities and differences in their depictions of stories relevant to healing lodges.

Moscato (2016, p. 3) analyzes how media outlets, including *The Globe and Mail* and *Maclean's*, represented Idle No More's social media presence. This research finds that *Maclean's* coverage of Idle No More was a mixed portrayal of the movement, whereby some

articles undermined the “slacktivism” approach of protestors, whereas other articles acknowledged Canada’s colonial history with Indigenous groups (Moscato, 2016, p. 10). Relatedly, Morley Johnson (2011, p. 106) deconstructs whitestream narratives of Savagism within Canadian media outlets, specifically in relevance to Six Nations land reclamation. This research uses Edward Said’s Orientalism as a model for understanding Savagism, whereby the colonizer holds the power over the colonized and must control the representation of the “savages” (Morley Johnson, 2011, pp. 113-114).

Additionally, Morley Johnson examines the witness quotes that are oftentimes included within these news articles. These witness statements frequently frame Indigenous people in a negative way, further highlighting the colonialist bias in Canadian media (Morley Johnson, 2011, p. 122). Similarly, Clark (2014, p. 41) analyzes the coverage of nightly newscasts on CBC, Global, CTV and APTN to examine the coverage of Indigenous stories on selected broadcasts. This research found that the colonial frame was utilized in the portrayals of Indigenous people in CBC, Global and CTV, whereas APTN tended to feature Indigenous-centred content, with minimal use of stereotyping (Clark, 2014, p. 41). Further, Clark (2014, p. 45) argues that these media portrayals of Indigeneity reproduce cultural hegemony and promote an ethnocentric narrative that Indigenous people pose a fundamental threat to the interests of Canadian society. Both Morley Johnson (2011) and Clark (2014) demonstrate the effectiveness of combining a settler colonial framework, along with critical discourse analysis, in order to explore media portrayals of Indigeneity. These studies are particularly relevant to my analysis of settler versus Indigenous media and how they represent sources of authority differently within their publications.

### *Cultural-Specific Programming*

Research literature that examines healing lodges and culturally-specific programming more broadly oftentimes evaluate the utility of these carceral spaces in relation to the recidivism rates of offenders and the increasing trend of funding going towards CSC-managed healing lodges. There is evidence to suggest that at least some healing lodges in Canada seem to be more effective in terms of lower recidivism rates, in comparison to typical prison spaces. This is likely because some healing lodges, such as the Stan Daniels Healing Lodge, offer a number of programs for Indigenous offenders, with topics including managing violence, building relationships, developing life skills, substance use treatment, as well as counselling with Elders (Nielsen, 2003, pp. 78-80).

One of the central issues surrounding healing lodges in the existing literature has been the differences in terms of operation between CSC-run healing lodges in comparison to lodges that have Section 81 agreements. Specifically, The Office of the Correctional Investigator (2012, p. 3) evaluates how Section 81 of the *Corrections and Conditional Release Act*, which advocated for Indigenous-managed healing lodges, has not been implemented effectively. Further, Indigenous-run healing lodges are not receiving the same funding opportunities as CSC-managed facilities but are still expected to meet the same standards of operation. For instance, in 2009, Section 81 healing lodges received approximately one fifth of the funding that CSC-run healing lodges did. Further, employees within CSC-managed healing lodges are paid substantially more than those working in Indigenous-led healing lodges, despite doing comparable work (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012, p. 4). Additionally, the report released by the Office of the Correctional Investigator (2012, p. 5) highlighted that restrictions, such as the limitations on rehabilitative programming for medium and maximum security offenders, oftentimes inhibit the

majority of Indigenous offenders from accessing Section 81 healing lodges in Canada. Other significant findings in the report include the lack of knowledge in the penal system surrounding Indigenous people and their cultures, the failure to apply Gladue principles in correctional decision making, as well as ignorance towards accommodating the urban realities for many Indigenous people in Canada, given the predominance of healing lodges within rural areas (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012, pp. 6; 22). In addition, there are major discrepancies in the regional coverage of Section 81 healing lodges, as they are located in Quebec and the Canadian Prairies, but there has been limited effort to expand development of Indigenous-led healing lodges in the territories, Ontario, British Columbia or Atlantic Canada (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012, p. 19).

Nielsen (2016, p. 326) also highlights that there are not enough healing lodges in Canada to appropriately meet the demand of the number of Indigenous people who are incarcerated. Further, she notes that Section 81 healing lodges have proven to be equally effective to those led by CSC and that Indigenous-led healing lodges are more incorporative of cultural elements in their programming. Nielsen (2016, p. 328) also explains the ways in which changes within CSC towards a central focus on Pathways Units funding, rather than expansion of Indigenous-led healing lodges in the following, “While Pathways Units might be advantageous for Aboriginal inmates, it is inarguable that they were built at the expense of the Aboriginal healing lodges, just as the CSC-run healing lodges were...” In losing the securing of the funding for Section 81 healing lodges, Nielsen (2016, pp. 328-9) concedes that this has had ramifications for Indigenous sovereignty in the outcomes of Indigenous offenders and has demonstrated CSC’s reproduction of colonial ideology by neglecting to actively engage with Indigenous people moving forward.

Discussions of Section 81 and CSC-run healing lodges are particularly relevant to my analysis of media narratives of Indigenous sovereignty in Chapter 6.

In addition to the concerns raised regarding the disparities between Section 81 and CSC-led healing lodges, there has also been literature indicating how healing lodges and culturally-specific correctional programming have neglected to address the needs of Indigenous women incarcerated. Hannah-Moffat (2010, p. 196) examines the ways in which the prison system in Canada has failed to uphold a gender-based approach to the needs of offenders. Further, she explains the introduction of the Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge in the following:

The creation of specialist prisons, assessments or programs is problematic due to sheer numbers and the tendency to homogenise diversity among nonwhite groups. For example, Canada has an Aboriginal women's healing lodge that was designed to address the unique cultural and spiritual needs of federally-sentenced women. This facility recognises the significance of Aboriginal culture, history, traditions and spirituality to Aboriginal women prisoners, but cannot practically accommodate their wide ranges of histories, practices, and customs. Moreover, Aboriginal women's over-classification as high risk-need often prevents access to this facility. (Hannah-Moffat, 2010, p. 206)

This excerpt illustrates that despite the potential of healing lodges to provide more culturally-relevant justice to offenders, they fail to encapsulate the immense diversity of Indigenous cultures. Further, they are oftentimes inaccessible to Indigenous offenders, who are disproportionately labelled as high-risk inmates. This literature connects well to my analysis of healing lodge portrayals, particularly my discussion of the frame of easy punishment.

Additionally, the evaluation of risk for offenders is oftentimes overly focused on personal traits, rather than recognizing the systemic factors that offenders interact with in their daily lives.

Hannah-Moffat (2010, p. 205) argues that female offenders must be recognized as having agency, while also understanding how the decisions they made exist on identity factors, including class, gender, sexuality and race. Struthers-Montford and Moore (2018, p. 642) support Glen Coulthard's conceptualization of the politics of recognition, wherein he argues that the acceptance of cultural difference by the state is just another manifestation of colonialism and that this does not mobilize any meaningful change. Struthers-Montford and Moore apply this concept to healing lodges, which they argue are an extension of state-defined understandings of Indigeneity that tend to classify prisons as places in which Indigenous people in Canada belong. Further, Struthers-Montford and Moore (2018, p. 644) indicate that prisons are a settler colonial project similar to reserves, in which Indigenous people are forcibly removed from their homes and communities into segregated spaces. Additionally, this research problematizes the degree of involvement that Elders have had within prisons, as offenders are oftentimes not matched with an Elder from their own clan, nation or band (Struthers-Montford and Moore, 2018, p. 646). In reference to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, Struthers-Montford and Moore (2018, p. 650) argue that CSC appears to be contradicting themselves, in both addressing colonialism via Indigenous cultural inclusion while also continuing to perpetuate colonial practices to incarcerate Indigenous people in Canada.

Martel and Brassard (2008, p. 349) highlight the challenge of "hegemonic Aboriginality," whereby attempts to Indigenize Corrections Service Canada have created one conceptualization of Indigenous identity that is not responsive to the individualized backgrounds of offenders. I utilize this discussion in my analysis of the cultural rehabilitation narrative surrounding healing lodges in the media in Chapter 5. Martel and Brassard note the challenges inherent in the self-identification process for Indigenous women, in which some women may not feel comfortable



accepting the label of being Indigenous in prison and choose not to experience this pathway as part of their incarceration (Martel & Brassard, 2008, p. 351). This is elaborated on in the following:

Through processes of acculturation, colonial policies have resulted in a detraditionalization of Aboriginal cultures which increases life choices but also problematizes self-identification among Aboriginal individuals. In prison, specifically, Aboriginal women express a progressive loss of identity resulting from a life path of intense institutionalization and multiple identity disruptions (through child protection, youth placements, residential schools, etc.). As a result, Aboriginal identities are constructed and self-identifications—while impermanent and fragmentary—may have little currency outside prison. (Martel & Brassard, 2008, p. 356)

Therefore, Indigenous programming within the criminal justice system can oftentimes present a challenging process for Indigenous women who have to choose how they will be labelled and perceived by those in power during their sentence.

Martel, Brassard and Jaccoud (2011, p. 239) discuss how risk management within the context of Canadian prisons has relied on methods that are perceived to be objective and universally applicable to all offender demographics. However, they argue that Indigenous offenders are disproportionately impacted by the consequences of the risk management scale, as they are more likely to be classified as higher risk offenders, which oftentimes presents limitations on the rehabilitative programming that they can access in high security institutions in Canada. Further, Indigenous offenders become labelled as criminogenic as a result of the ways in which systemic oppression are quantified as risks for recidivism, including substance use, family issues and lack of employment (Martel et al., 2011, p. 240).

Martel et al. (2011, p. 242) also problematize the conceptualizations of Indigeneity that are promoted through the Canadian state that tend to appropriate and re-define Indigenous cultural elements for offenders. Specifically, they critique the way in which institutions homogenize Indigenous cultural practices into a standardized model, arguing that identity becomes performative within the confines of prison, rather than offenders developing meaningful connections to their own culture (Martel et al., 2011, pp. 245-6). Further, Martel et al (2011, p. 248) also indicate that community-based justice presents problems for Indigenous people, as this creates an onus on local communities to solve the problems for every offender, though it is unlikely that healing can be achieved for every offender who is placed in a healing lodge.

Hyatt (2013, p. 47) highlights the ways in which healing lodges are meant to establish communities within shared living areas and receive programming on a one-on-one basis due to the small size of the facilities. Further, she notes that healing lodges are meant to equip offenders with the skills to live outside of the carceral environment upon release. This research also reiterates the risks that the incorporation of Indigenous cultures within the prison setting can have in terms of reproducing colonialism. These include the following: lack of engagement with the issue of colonialism within cultural programming, the involvement of the Canadian state in constructing concepts of Indigeneity, as well as homogeneity in portrayals of Indigenous cultures (Hyatt, 2013, p. 49).

Ultimately, both research that examines healing lodges as well as CSC's attempts to incorporate Indigeneity into carceral programming are key in terms of framing my analysis into healing lodges and media discourses surrounding punishment of offenders within Canada.

### *Portrayals of Risk*

Literature that examines the portrayals of risk, including research on racialized and gendered frames of offenders, as well as moral panics, helps contextualize my analysis of the ways in which media discourses construct the Indigenous offender. For instance, Chan and Chunn (2014, pp. 56-57) discuss the ways in which the media tend to focus on reporting of street crime and violence, rather than other issues that cause harm to people, such as corporate crimes, as these themes tend to generate more profit. Further, Chan and Chunn also highlight the dominant role that the police have in providing the media with information, arguing that this reflects the frames in which crimes are portrayed in media content that protect the image of police officers and the vested interests of forces. As a result of law enforcement influence, as well as representation bias in journalism, perspectives are dominated by white men in both institutions. Additionally, Chan and Chunn (2014, p. 58) explore moral panics, a term created by sociologist Stanley Cohen to depict a phenomenon in which an event that presents a risk to shared societal values gains major attention and in which a “folk devil” is created in order to assign blame to a scapegoat for a given problem, oftentimes rooted in ideas of deviance. For instance, this has been a commonly used narrative in media coverage of gangs, particularly when members are predominantly known to be from a specific racialized group. Chan and Chunn (2014, p. 60) also indicate the ways in which the media tends to idealize young white women as their ideal victim worth protecting, whereas racialized men are perceived to be the common criminals that inherently pose a threat to white women in society.

Jewkes (2004, pp. 97-99) also examines moral panics, specifically within the context of child sex offenders in the United Kingdom, as she argues that societal fears about this crime outweigh the rate of its occurrence. Specifically, British legislative reaction to sex offences

against children has penalized this crime to a much greater extent in comparison to the punishment for other forms of sexual assault. Jewkes (2004, p. 113) also underlines the central frames that are utilized in media discourses to portray women who kill. These include the following: sexual deviants, attractive or unattractive women, bad wives or mothers, mythical monsters, mentally ill women, evil manipulators, or non-agents. Further, she explains media portrayals of women within the following:

...these tried-and-tested narratives often keep aspects of the woman's involvement in the crime hidden, or only partially represented, allowing the public to dip into the cultural reservoir of symbolic representations and fill in the gaps as they fit. Moreover, they combine to render women passive and unstable, lacking in moral agency and somehow not able to act as fully formed, adult, human beings. (Jewkes, 2004, p. 113)

This demonstrates the ways in which women can be simultaneously infantilized and demonized within the same discourses. Additionally, Jewkes (2004, p. 114) highlights that once women deviate from gender norms of how they should behave, they receive more criticism by the media than men would for committing the same crimes. This aforementioned research is particularly relevant within my analysis of Terri-Lynne McClintic, as I deconstruct how this case engages with a moral panic regarding placement of offenders who have been charged with killing children in healing lodges.

Morrissey (2003, p. 134) similarly explores how women who kill tend to be portrayed and utilizes Karla Homolka as a case study in demonstrating how women within a criminal partnership receive significant portrayal in the media as villains. Further, Homolka was revoked of having any sense of agency in the way she was portrayed, and media narratives supported the idea that Paul Bernardo needed Karla Homolka's involvement in the crimes in order to fulfill his

criminal idealizations (Morrissey, 2003, p. 152). Additionally, media discourses tended to neglect the idea that Homolka could have been an active participant in the crimes and capable of also desiring to harm children, as a man would. Instead, Morrissey (2003, pp. 152-3) argues, Homolka is rendered as a follower of Bernardo, but not as someone equally invested in the sexual assault and murder of their victims. I discuss this further within Chapter 5 by examining some of the similarities in terms of the ways in which McClintic and Homolka were portrayed by the Canadian media.

Brennan (2014, p. 11) examines the Mother-Child Program (MCP) in CSC, which offers opportunities for women who are incarcerated to live with their children, either on a part-time or full-time basis. The MCP emerged after the *Creating Choices* report release in 1990 (Brennan, 2014, p.14). However, Brennan (2014, pp. 22-24) illustrates that the MCP has been severely underutilized in the correctional system, which can be partially attributed to prison overcrowding as a result of Harper era criminal justice policies, as well as the punitive environment that can be unsafe for children. Another example of the impacts that the Harper government had on the criminal justice system in Canada was the implementation of the Safe Streets and Communities Act in 2012, which symbolized this government's "tough on crime" approach. This legislation invoked greater usage of mandatory minimum sentences, which lead to an increase in the offender incarceration rate (Bala, 2015, pp. 162-163). Additionally, the leadership of former Prime Minister Stephen Harper oftentimes fundamentally failed to acknowledge oppression against Indigenous people in Canada. For instance, Simpson (2016b, p. 439) highlights Harper's assertion in 2009 that Canada did not have a history of colonialism. Additionally, Harper's comments regarding missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, declaring this as being a series of individual crimes, rather than a systemic and sociological problem, and his failure to

address this issue were other examples of the consequential effects on Indigenous people in Canada under the Harper government (Simpson, 2016a, p. 3).

Miller (2017, p. 10) examines the MCP, particularly in terms of how changes to the program in 2008 greatly limited the opportunities for Indigenous women offenders to participate. Specifically, in the case of an Indigenous woman, Lisa Whitford, who was pregnant when she killed her partner Anthony Cartledge in 2006, she was allowed under the MCP to give birth in prison. However, after public controversy surrounding this decision, the program was reviewed and new limitations were introduced in 2008 that prevented women who had committed violent offences, crimes against children or sexual offences from participating in the MCP, as well as limiting the children who could be involved in the program to those under the age of six. Later in my analysis, I examine how both Whitford and McClintic represent cases that were widely criticized in the media and resulted in significant changes to correctional decision-making.

Further, Miller (2017, pp. 11-12) discusses how the MCP limits Indigenous women specifically, as offenders must be minimum or medium risk to participate, but 45% of Indigenous women incarcerated in Canada are classified as maximum security on the basis of the Custody Rating Scale, which is grounded in evaluations of white male prisoners and fails to account for gender and Indigeneity. Further, 75% of Indigenous women that are incarcerated have been charged with a violent offence, which can be oftentimes the result of retaliating against their abuser in cases of intimate partner violence, where they are also less likely than non-Indigenous women to plead not guilty and put forward a self-defence plea in court (Miller, 2017, pp. 13-14). Additionally, the MCP requires the involvement of engaging with child protective services, which is a major drawback for Indigenous women, who have a historically fractured relationship with these agencies, due to the legacy of the residential school system and the 60s Scoop, as well

as the ongoing disproportionate rate at which Indigenous children are placed into foster care in Canada (Miller, 2017, p. 15).

While my study examines the media portrayals of healing lodges, I also connect some of these discourses to prevailing misconceptions regarding the criminal justice system in Canada, much of which is discussed in the context of public opinion research and how risk is constructed in relation to perceptions of justice. However, this is not meant to draw a direct relationship between media discourses and public opinion, as this relationship is complex, and would require an exploration of a number of other factors that also contribute to how the Canadian public perceives ideas related to justice. Rather, it does connect to my exploration of the mobilization of the public as a key discussion point in some articles within my sample, as well as overall analysis of what mechanisms of justice that journalism supports, as this may overlap with public misconceptions regarding the goals of incarceration.

Notably, some media articles inherently supported and discouraged certain carceral options for offenders, which oftentimes were similar to widespread misconceptions that are prevalent in Canadian society. Sprott, Webster and Doob (2013, p. 280) examine how Canadian respondents conceptualize the criminal justice system, particularly in relation to confidence levels and opinions regarding the severity of sentencing. These researchers highlight that many Canadians do not have an opinion on the justice system that is grounded within actual evidence (Sprott et al., 2013, p. 280). Additionally, these authors found that Canadians who lived in provinces with longer average sentences for defendants ironically had less confidence in the justice system (Sprott et al., 2013, p. 287). In another study conducted by Barber and Doob (2004, p. 327), they focused on how respondents perceived the Youth Criminal Justice Act. They substantiated that many members of the public believe that there is a relationship between

punitiveness in sentencing and lower incidences of crime (Barber & Doob, 2004, p. 332). Barber and Doob (2004, p. 339) also found that individuals who advocated for longer sentencing for youth also disagreed with programming outside of the scope of traditional punishment.

Weinrath, Young and Kohm (2012, p. 118) explore how Canadians have limited understanding how the justice system works and oftentimes perceive the courts to be too lenient. This literature is relevant to my research on healing lodges, as the Canadian public oftentimes supports harsh punishment for offenders. Since programming beyond the bounds of traditional imprisonment are oftentimes rejected by members of the public, this may extend into the way that journalists portray healing lodges, where they may be seen as a lenient source of punishment that does not adhere to the tough-on-crime philosophy that many people believe to reduce crime rates in Canada (Sprott et al., 2013, p. 280). Overall, these discussions of risk, within the contexts of race and gender, moral panics, as well as public conceptualizations of punishment, are all applicable to my analysis of the portrayals of Indigenous offenders and healing lodges in Chapter 5.

### *Sovereignty*

The final category of literature that I will discuss is in connection to my analysis of sovereignty, particularly in terms of how media discourses implicitly support or reject Indigenous pathways of sovereignty in Canada. This research discusses the complexity of asserting Indigenous autonomy in a settler colonial society, as well as the method of Indigenous resurgence as a mechanism for attaining sovereignty rights for Indigenous people. For instance, Pasternak (2016, p. 317) examines the Attawapiskat crisis in the context of how Chief Theresa Spence was undermined through discourses of financial irresponsibility that deemed her incapable of sovereign leadership. Specifically, Pasternak (2016, pp. 318-319) argues that fiscal



warfare was used in this case, which refers to the way in which the lives of First Nations people are reduced to their financial value, whereby if they pose a threat to the economic growth of Canada, their lives become expendable in order to achieve capitalist gain. Further, Pasternak (2016, p. 326) highlights the prevailing stereotypes held by many Canadians that Indigenous people are a source of government misspending that needs to be addressed. Meanwhile, settler colonialism in Canada has deliberately forced a relationship of dependency, wherein stolen Indigenous lands through various treaties have continually functioned as a further rationale for continuing to expand the property of the state, at the cost of Indigenous people. I will later connect this literature to my discussion of healing lodges as a form of cultural rehabilitation in relation to financial benefits, as well as my analysis of presentations of sovereignty within the context of Indigenous experience in Canada in Chapter 6.

Simpson and Manitowabi (2013, pp. 280-281) explain the concept of Indigenous resurgence by highlighting the importance of mobilizing oral stories, particularly Indigenous creation stories, as a mechanism of decolonization, as these are key in visualizing an improved sense of reality. This is indicated in the following, “Storytelling is an important process for visioning, imagining, critiquing the social space around us, and ultimately challenging the colonial norms that are fraught with” (Simpson and Manitowabi, 2013, p. 282). Further, they emphasize the importance of the collective in knowledge sharing and the development of relationships (Simpson & Manitowabi, 2013, p. 289). This literature serves to contextualize my discussions of sovereignty, as these Indigenous scholars frame Chapter 6, as well as my conclusion in terms of ways forward in regard to Indigenous over-representation and the criminal justice system in Canada.

Similarly, Coulthard (2014, p. 156) also advocates for the Indigenous resurgence approach, on the basis of rejecting the “politics of recognition,” which he argues is merely another reproduction of the state enforcing governance over Indigenous people. He utilizes the Idle No More movement to demonstrate the ways in which resurgence can best maximize substantive social change (Coulthard, 2014, p. 163). For instance, Coulthard (2014, pp. 165-166) asserts that Indigenous resurgence must mobilize through direct forms of action through opposition to power structures, as well as leveraging relationships.

Additionally, Coulthard (2014, pp. 170-171) also indicates that resurgent movement must be grounded in anti-capitalist thought, as it should instead focus on relations to land and to, “...assert our sovereign presence on our territories in ways that can be profoundly educational and empowering; to the reoccupation of sacred places for the purposes of relearning and practicing our ceremonial activities.” He also discusses the importance of inclusion of Indigenous people living on-reserve, as well as those residing in cities, particularly due to the growing urban Indigenous population, as well as the historically racist practices of mobilizing city design to deliberately exclude Indigenous communities (Coulthard, 2014, pp. 173, 176). Additionally, resurgent activism must also decolonize spaces for Indigenous women in particular, in order to address symbolic and systemic oppression against this demographic (Coulthard, 2014, p. 177). Finally, Coulthard (2014, p. 178) notes that Indigenous resurgence must not rely on mechanisms of the Canadian state to enable change, particularly due to the number of failures to achieve Indigenous justice within the court system. This research on sovereignty contextualizes the intricacies of decolonization, predominantly through mobilizing Indigenous knowledge in the form of cultural resurgence, which is relevant to my analysis of the acceptance and rejection of Indigenous autonomy within media discourses in my sample.

In conclusion, the aforementioned literature enables the groundwork for the remaining chapters of my thesis, as my theoretical frameworks of settler colonialism and intersectionality will be woven throughout my analysis. Additionally, existing research relevant to media portrayals of Indigenous people in Canada, culturally-specific punishment, conceptualizations of risk, as well as examinations of sovereignty and cultural resurgence will all be key components in connecting my research findings to the work conducted by other scholars in the field.

### Chapter 3: Methodology

#### *Sample*

This study is a critical discourse analysis of 73 Canadian news articles that were published between 2009 and 2019. The news outlets included in my sample are the following: CBC, *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN). These articles were extracted from Factiva, which is a database compiled of international news media, as well as from the archived article feature on news sites for CBC and APTN. This sample represents a combination of both settler media and Indigenous-led media outlets, as a key component of my research is examining the differences between these two types of sources.

#### *Data Collection*

As part of my data collection, I used the online search tools available on some news websites for archived content and the Factiva database for newspapers, which were more difficult to access through their websites due to subscription limitations. The search term I used for finding articles was “healing lodges” and I used the same terminology consistently across each media outlet. For CBC articles, I used the search tool on their website and initially selected 97 articles. For the *National Post*, I used the Factiva database and selected 54 articles before further selection. I also collected articles from *The Globe and Mail* from the Factiva database, collecting a total of 44 articles initially. Finally, I collected articles from APTN from an online search of their website, which included 30 articles prior to further selection.

Initially, I had planned to also include CTV News articles as part of my sample, however, since CTV News and *The Globe and Mail* are both subsidiaries owned by Bell Media, I decided that I would not include both, as there likely would have been some similarities overlapping in the perspectives within Bell-owned content. Additionally, all of my final news sources are

national in their context, which does not align with CTV, as many of the articles I looked at were more regionalized in nature, deriving from local sources like CTV Kitchener and CTV London. While I had also considered using newspapers like *Toronto Star* and *Calgary Herald* as part of my sample as well, I decided to opt towards the national media coverage, rather than including city newspapers, as I thought there would be more onus on my research to incorporate geographical representation across different Canadian regions. Further, by having four media outlets for my sample, this simplified cross-comparison between sources and enabled greater depth in terms of including a substantive number of articles per source.

I chose APTN as a source for my sample, as it was the most representative in terms of a national Indigenous media source, whereas other alternatives I looked at were specific to the localized regions from which they were published. I included the *National Post*, as I knew it had covered the McClintic transfer extensively, and since it is known as a national newspaper that is more conservative, as I wanted to include a range of perspectives in my analysis. I define conservative in this context as the clear expression of opinions within news stories that align with the platforms endorsed by the Conservative Party of Canada. Although I initially planned to use a selection of different politically aligned sources, I did not end up employing a cross-comparative political analysis of media sources, as it was too subjective to determine alignment on the political spectrum of all news outlets, given that there is no neutral measurement system for this process. However, I recognize that all media are political and that there is always some level of bias present within any form of journalism. Instead, I chose to focus on the differences between settler and Indigenous-led media as my central comparison, which does include the degree to which different media sources specifically mentioned politicians and political parties. I also chose CBC, as it again included the national perspective that I was looking for and since

CBC represents a Crown corporation. Finally, I chose *The Globe and Mail* to have another national newspaper and chose for this source over CTV as a Bell Media option.<sup>2</sup>

My goal was to select articles that discuss healing lodges, Indigeneity and the criminal justice system. Search results that were news videos, without any articles attached, were not selected for my preliminary sample, as there was no transcript to code for these broadcasts and this would have been outside of scope for my research, focused on article content only. Additionally, some articles made references to healing lodges that were not within the context of my research, so these were also deleted from being included in my final sample. For instance, healing lodges were discussed in reference to the Attawapiskat crisis, a Wet'suwet'en camp base in British Columbia, addictions treatment centres and Indigenous women's shelters. Healing centres or lodges may oftentimes refer to spaces that mobilize Indigenous ways of knowing as a means of addressing substance use, cultural teaching, language classes, women's groups and mental health amongst Indigenous recipients of the programming (Government of Ontario, 2018; Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017). I only included articles that were discussing healing lodges within the Canadian criminal justice system, but there are clearly a multitude of linguistic meanings of healing lodges that extend far beyond the scope of my research.

For articles in Factiva, I selected to the duplicate setting, in order to avoid selecting multiple publications of the same article. I included opinion and editorial-based content into my sample, with the recognition that these articles would utilise stronger language as a tool inherent to the format in order to convince the reader of the merits of the author's point of view.

However, letters to the editor and book reviews were not included as part of my sample. I did

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that both CBC and APTN also have TV and other categories of media that extend beyond print media, unlike *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*. However, since I am focused on news articles from websites, I will not be addressing the differences between these mediums (print media vs. TV).

include, however, an obituary that was featured in *The Globe and Mail*, as it discussed the life of Patricia Monture, an Indigenous woman who had a substantive career as a lawyer and fought against the overrepresentation of Indigenous offenders in the criminal justice system (Csillag, 2010). Additionally, Jiwani (2016, p. 395) used obituary articles as part of her discourse analysis, including the same *The Globe and Mail* article on Monture, as a way of examining portrayals of Indigenous women in Canada. I thought that the inclusion of this article could be useful not only within the context of discussing the criminal justice system, but also within the landscape of how this woman was honoured posthumously in relation to her role in Indigenous justice issues. I also deleted daily news briefings, which were common in the search results of *The Globe and Mail* and would only include a short section summarizing an issue relevant to healing lodges, since their overall content was generalized and not within scope of my analysis. For instance, news briefings typically provided a high-level description of recent news stories with a few sentences depicting each, so there was not enough substantive content to analyze for any mention of healing lodges, as it was in combination with a multitude of irrelevant topics within the article itself. In addition, some articles that came up in my search of CBC's archives had broken links, in which an error message would appear and say that the article could no longer be found. So, these search results were unable to become part of my pre-deletion sample, as there was no content to download.

I further filtered out articles in my sample based on their content relevance and kept articles that discussed the criminal justice system and Indigenous offenders, even if healing lodges were not the central focus of the discussion, as these were still relevant to my other research questions. However, for articles that merely mentioned healing lodges briefly and were not focused on issues related to Indigenous offenders, these were excluded from my sample. For

example, one article from the *National Post* examined Paul Bernardo's parole hearing and made brief mention of Terri-Lynne McClintic, but her case was not at the forefront of discussion, nor were Indigenous offenders in the criminal justice system, which is why I chose to omit it from my final sample. I eliminated articles that were less than 200 words in length, as these articles did not offer enough substantive content to code and examine themes thoroughly. I also deleted a number of articles that had been included as part of my preliminary sample that examined the escapes of offenders from healing lodges as a result of their short word length, which would oftentimes just give a brief physical description of the offender and the location that they had escaped from.

Once I had screened articles for length, content and duplicates, I was left with 16 APTN articles, 76 CBC articles, 20 *The Globe and Mail* articles and 39 *National Post* articles. For articles from APTN and *The Globe and Mail*, I kept all articles that I deemed relevant as part of the sample. For CBC articles, I narrowed down the selection of articles using systematic sampling, to select articles on a 1 in 4 interval, so that I was left with a total of 19. I reduced my *National Post* sample by selecting 1 in 2 articles for the final sample, which decreased the number of articles from this source to 18. The breakdown structure of the final sample is illustrated within Table 1 below.



**Table 1: Article Sample**

Type of Media	Media Source	Number of Articles
Settler Media	CBC	19
	<i>National Post</i>	18
	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	20
Indigenous Media	Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN)	16

When I downloaded the pre-deletion sample, I labelled each article beginning with the year, month and date that they were released, along with the title and source in each individualized folder for CBC, *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail* and APTN. I chose this method of organization so that my sample included a diverse temporal representation of articles, in order to avoid over-selecting articles from certain years of publication when I reduced my sample for CBC and *National Post*. Although I had initially envisioned a sample with a total of 100 news articles, I scaled back my sample size after screening the preliminary articles from APTN. Since I only had 16 viable articles to utilize for APTN, I did not want to have a significantly higher number of articles from CBC, *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, as this would have skewed my analysis and limited my cross-comparison with APTN. Additionally, I also saw it as important to have a similar number of articles for each source due to APTN being the only Indigenous-led media source. If I had not substantially cut back articles, particularly for CBC, which had a substantially large number of articles pre-deletion, there would have been even greater emphasis on settler media articles, which I wanted to avoid.

I chose the temporal frame of 2009 to 2019 in order to encompass a range of publications regarding healing lodges that expanded beyond the McClintic case and incorporated the

changing narratives surrounding healing lodges across a ten-year period. As indicated by Table 2 below, 2018 and 2019 were the most common years of publication amongst articles within my sample. I considered utilizing a 5-year reference period, but decided that this would not capture enough data for news articles and would also not have the same range in terms of content relevant to healing lodges.

**Table 2: Publication Dates of Sample**

<b>Year of Publication</b>	<b>CBC</b>	<b>The Globe and Mail</b>	<b>National Post</b>	<b>APTN</b>	<b>Total Number of Articles</b>
2009	1	1	0	0	2
2010	0	1	1	0	2
2011	0	0	1	0	1
2012	0	1	0	0	1
2013	1	2	0	2	5
2014	0	3	0	0	3
2015	0	0	0	1	1
2016	1	1	2	3	7
2017	2	0	1	2	5
2018	10	9	11	4	34
2019	4	2	2	4	12

#### *Critical Discourse Analysis*

My research utilizes critical discourse analysis in order to examine the media representations of Indigenous healing lodges in Canada. Critical discourse analysis involves the examination of texts in order to study issues in relation to power and social inequality. This type of methodology is directly political in nature, in order to establish solidarity with marginalized groups in society and to challenge the imbalance of existing power structures (van Dijk, 1993, p. 250). This method is relevant to my research topic, as it questions how discourses embrace or reject forms of social power in relation to identity factors, such as gender, race, class and culture (van Dijk, 1993, p. 254). Since my research is theoretically grounded in intersectionality and settler colonialism, this methodology works well in tandem with my theoretical background to

examine how aspects of identity affect experiences of oppression, as well as understanding the ways in which colonialism is reproduced through dominant systems of power in Canadian society.

Intersectionality, through its recognition of the combined axes of identity in relation to societal marginalization, allows me to analyze how the positionality of Indigenous offenders impacts their portrayals within the Canadian media. This is particularly useful for my analysis of the Terri-Lynne McClintic case, as Indigenous women experience the double barrier of patriarchal constraints in Canadian society, as well as systemic racism (Turpel, 1991, p. 180). Settler colonialism is also connected to the central tenets of critical discourse analysis, as it recognizes various mechanisms of control that are exerted against Indigenous communities, which is beneficial in my analysis of how the imprisonment of Indigenous peoples, as well as their portrayal within the broader society, are connected to attempts to control Indigenous communities (Woolford & Gacek, 2016, p. 401).

Further, critical discourse analysis helps to question the legitimization of power, as van Dijk (1993, p. 256) highlights that the ownership over media outlets is oftentimes comprised of elite individuals that do not face marginalization in society, which is reflected in the media. This is pertinent to my analysis, as a dominant theme within my research is analyzing how colonialist depictions of Indigenous offenders are reproduced through media publications. For instance, Tucker (2016, p. 3) discusses the way in which Indigenous peoples are oftentimes portrayed as being static in the Canadian media, whereby these narratives reify the status quo and continually validate negative stereotypes of Indigenous peoples in Canada.

### *Coding Process*

I used NVivo software as a tool for my content analysis of relevant Canadian media content. In order to analyze my sample, I imported article PDF copies of selected news articles into NVivo and proceeded with my coding. I utilized inductive coding in order to generate relevant codes throughout my research process. I did not begin my research with pre-set notions of specific terminology to look for in my chosen news articles. Rather, through an open coding process that was researcher-driven, I generated what was most salient to these discussions of healing lodges in order to connect the discourses thematically. Through open coding, I focused on themes surrounding the criminal justice system, details of crimes, depictions of Indigenous offenders, descriptions of carceral environments, as well as language used to describe Indigenous identity. Once I completed my coding process, I organized them into parent and child nodes in order to visually organize my thematic findings from the data to establish subgroups of results.

I took extensive notes throughout the process of coding my sample, so once I had completed coding all of the articles, I was able to reflect on my primary themes of analysis from these reflections, as well as drawing from the organization of my codes within NVivo. I coded *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, CBC and APTN articles within clusters of each media source, so that commonalities underpinning each of these individual sources would be more evident to me. This is of particular importance, due to my central research question of examining the differences between Indigenous-led and settler media sources, as well as the portrayals of healing lodges, Indigenous offenders and sovereignty. In terms of organizing nodes within NVivo, I collapsed nodes alphabetically in clusters to examine if there was overlap in terms of how one idea could be referenced in a multitude of ways. For instance, there were several different references to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, including Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau,

Mr. Trudeau and Trudeau, so I had to find each of these in order to combine them together so that I could quantitatively determine the exact number of references of each code accurately.

Further, I also utilized frequency distributions as a mechanism of organizing my nodes in order to better recognize which codes were most referenced in the sample. In combining my preliminary analysis notes, as well as quantitative data in NVivo, I was further able to organize my codes by parent and child nodes. For example, for the thematic category of McClintic coverage, I organized child nodes under this broad category, including terms such as Terri-Lynne McClintic, Tori Stafford, Michael Rafferty, Woodstock, Ontario and Maple Creek, Saskatchewan. For the category of the Cultural Rehabilitation frame, I collapsed terms like drumming, culture, traditional, teepee-like and restorative justice under this central thematic heading. This enabled me to not only be able to keep track of individual nodes under one general heading, but also provided more information about the reference and source frequency of the theme itself, in comparison to other thematic groups.

### *Ethics*

Since my thesis project involves a critical discourse analysis of news articles, this limits the ethical issues that are affiliated with my study, as there were no human participants engaged within my research. Therefore, my work did not risk negative impacts, such as ensuring that the confidentiality of participants is upheld, as well as potentially over-studying a marginalized population.

### *Reflexivity*

As discussed by Mauthner and Doucet (2003, p. 425), there are varying degrees of reflexivity that are achievable within research. I think one aspect of reflexivity that I have tried to apply throughout this process is to avoid making assumptions regarding healing lodges,

particularly in terms of their potential value, and whether they are a positive or negative solution towards addressing the overrepresentation of Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system. As previously discussed, I wanted to be open within my research process and allow the data to guide the themes that I generate throughout my analysis, rather than having pre-set, deductive codes. However, due to the inherently political nature of critical discourse analysis, it is difficult to maintain any sense of objectivity and general distance from my research topic. As Hawkesworth (2003, p. 86) discusses, there is an inherent misbelief that objectivity establishes impartiality in research. Although it would be ideal for my research to only be guided through data, in reality, preconceived notions did shape my work, but I did try to reflect on how my inherent bias impacted the development of my research, including the choice of methodology and research questions within my study.

As van Dijk (1993, p. 255) highlights, there is an inherent complexity that is intrinsic within studying power structures, in which the right and wrong answers are not always transparent. Further, I began this research with an active interest in engaging with how media outlets might simultaneously exemplify, as well as challenge narratives related to colonial power structures in Canadian society. However, there are inherent biases present when coding articles, particularly regarding what terms are deemed important enough to include as codes. Although I tried to have an encompassing scope in terms of the language that I coded, there are a multitude of approaches that could have been taken with the same sample by different researchers. Further, I did have intrinsic biases in this project as a white researcher, and I tried to best mitigate this fact by focusing on settler colonial theorists, particularly those that are Indigenous throughout my thesis, in order to ground my work in the findings of Indigenous scholars.

### *Limitations*

While I could have conducted my methodology from a structured, pre-set coding scheme, which would have likely been less time-consuming and more organized from the outset of my research, I think that the flexibility within the open coding approach allowed for me to be able to discover themes and codes that I would not have otherwise conceptualized before I had started the coding process. For instance, one common theme that I will discuss further in my analysis is that terminology surrounding “child killer” appeared substantially within my final sample, across all media outlets. This was a surprising theme to emerge within my research, and not something that I would have otherwise thought of without applying inductive coding in my research. Additionally, the codes that appeared to describe the physical structures of healing lodges, such as “open” and “no fences” did not align with language that I had expected at the beginning of this project. Although there are limitations to the open coding process in which I used, I think that it was ultimately beneficial in terms of the depth of my findings and enabled more creativity within my research process.

Additionally, my focus on four media sources has limitations, as this is certainly not an encompassing representation of all media within Canada. Specifically, my choice of APTN does not capture all Indigenous-led media nationally and thus, there are limitations to the overall generalizability of my research findings. Finally, although my temporal frame of 2009 to 2019 does reflect a substantial time period in representations of healing lodges, my research does not address the portrayals of healing lodges since they were introduced in Canada during the 1990s, which could be an interesting avenue for further research in this area.

## **Chapter 4: Media Representation Within Settler vs. Indigenous Outlets**

This chapter examines how media representation varies between settler and Indigenous media outlets within my sample. First, I analyze the ways in which interviewees are represented across sources. Voices of colonial authority, such as representatives from CSC, political leaders and correctional figures, were more commonly emphasized, in comparison to Indigenous people. Additionally, I explore political references within my sample, including the dominant role of politics within media publications in settler media, while Indigenous media engaged much less with this narrative in their discussions of healing lodges. I also examine the way in which crimes are depicted in media sources, finding that settler media was more likely to engage with sensationalist tactics about crime, in comparison to APTN, which was focused less on generating a moral panic about crime in Canada. Finally, I discuss the theme of Indigenous identities, finding that settler media was more focused on hegemonic constructions of Indigeneity by using more generalized terms to discuss locality and identity, when compared to articles in APTN.

### *Representation of Authority Figures*

One of the central areas of the differences existing between settler media and Indigenous-led media sources in my sample is the representation of key authority figures that were interviewed or referenced as part of a news story. I found that people who represented colonial authority were much more commonly represented, in comparison to Indigenous figures. The significance of the representation of these sources within media is that this fundamentally reinforces the perspectives of individuals quoted or mentioned in articles, while failing to be inclusive of those that are not included. Further, this deems which narratives are viewed as being the most important ones to tell. Common sources were Correctional Service Canada (CSC), Ministers of Public Safety, political leaders, family members of Victoria Stafford, Correctional



Investigators and Correctional Commissioners. For instance, Correctional Service Canada was discussed in 53 articles, including APTN (75%), CBC (63%), *The Globe and Mail* (75%) and *National Post* (78%), as displayed within Table 3. It is clear from this that CSC was a key figure of authority across all media articles.

The Ministers of Public Safety appeared in 30 articles, with the following representation: APTN (5), CBC (6), *The Globe and Mail* (11) and *National Post* (8). Again, although there was substantial representation amongst all sources, settler media sources, particularly *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* were most likely to rely on the Ministers of Public Safety as significant sources. Due to my selection of articles from across the time period of 2009 to 2019, there were multiple Ministers of Public Safety during this time, as this captured a portion of Stephen Harper's Conservative government, as well as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's current leadership under the Liberal Party. However, the most common Minister of Public Safety that was discussed in articles was Ralph Goodale, likely due to his presence as Minister during the Terri-Lynne McClintic controversy in 2018, as he fell under criticism from the Conservatives for allowing McClintic to be transferred to a healing lodge. Ralph Goodale's name appeared 57 times in 25 articles with representation in APTN (4), CBC (6), *The Globe and Mail* (7) and *National Post* (8). Other Public Safety Ministers that were discussed included Steven Blaney, Michael Tibollo, Peter van Loan and Vic Toews.

In terms of political leaders, they broadly appeared 92 times in 24 articles, including APTN (13%), CBC (21%), *The Globe and Mail* (45%) and *National Post* (50%). Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was the most common political leader to be cited in news articles, appearing in 15 of the following sources: CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (39%). Andrew Scheer was another common political leader discussed within my sample, appearing in

11 sources with the following representation: CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (15%) and *National Post* (28%). Further, former Prime Minister Stephen Harper appeared in 10 articles, including APTN (13%), CBC (5%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (11%). Additionally, Elizabeth May, the leader of the Green Party, was mentioned once in a CBC article (Butler, 2018). It is notable from this data that there is a substantial absence of political leaders within APTN articles, particularly as there were no specific references to Prime Minister Trudeau or Andrew Scheer in any APTN articles. However, one of the APTN articles that mentions Stephen Harper says the following:

During question period Thursday, the Conservative government made it clear it did not believe Aboriginal people behind bars deserve any additional services and accommodation than what is already available. ‘The reality is that, unfortunately, Aboriginal people are more often victims of violent crime than other Canadians,’ said Prime Minister Stephen Harper during question period. ‘That is why we are taking our role to protect our society very seriously.’ (“Ottawa shrugs off alarming report,” 2013)

This quote demonstrates that the use of political references within the context of APTN was not to highlight debate between parties in the House of Commons as was common in settler media articles, but rather to illustrate the ignorance of Stephen Harper’s government towards addressing Indigenous incarceration issues. Further, this highlights the way in which settler media tended to rely on the perspectives of political leaders, whereas Indigenous-led media did not emphasize these voices. A possible explanation for the relative absence of government figures within APTN was that they may not have been deemed to be as important comparatively to other sources of authority, whereas settler media tended to place more emphasis on figures that are representative of the Canadian settler state.

The family of Victoria Stafford were also common interviewees that appeared in a number of articles within my sample, appearing 68 times across 20 articles in APTN (4), CBC (5), *The Globe and Mail* (5) and *National Post* (6). In particular, Victoria's father, Rodney Stafford, appeared as a commonly quoted individual. His name appeared 57 times in 17 articles, including: APTN (4), CBC (4), *The Globe and Mail* (4) and *National Post* (5). The phrase "Stafford family" appeared 10 times in 8 different articles, including APTN (3), CBC (1), *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (3). Tori Stafford's mother, Tara McDonald, appeared once in a *National Post* article (Blatchford, 2018). Since the McClintic controversy was dominant amongst articles within my sample, it is to some degree, unsurprising that the victim's family would oftentimes be mentioned and quoted in relation to the decision to transfer the victim's killer, particularly when Tori Stafford was only eight-years old at the time of her death. Interestingly, regardless of settler or Indigenous-led media sources, the Stafford family tended to have relatively equal representation across sources within my sample.

The perspectives of Correctional Investigators were also dominant within the articles in my sample. A Correctional Investigator acts as an ombudsman for federal offenders in Canada and investigates issues surrounding individual offenders, while also providing recommendations to be enacted by CSC in order to address systemic problems (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2013). Overall, the Correctional Investigator appeared a total of 109 times in 17 news articles, including the following: APTN (44%), *The Globe and Mail* (30%), CBC (16%) and *National Post* (6%). Primarily, Howard Sapers was the dominant Correctional Investigator of Canada that appeared in my sample, including 57 references in 13 articles, including APTN (31%), CBC (11%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (6%). Ivan Zinger was another Correctional Investigator that appeared in 5 articles in APTN (3) and *The Globe and*

*Mail* (2). It is noteworthy that APTN was the most common source for using Correctional Investigators as sources, particularly because the primary discussion involving Howard Sapers and Ivan Zinger was the release of correctional evaluation reports that analyzed the experiences of Indigenous offenders in the criminal justice system. For instance, one APTN article that cites Sapers as a source states the following:

Howard Sapers, the correctional investigator, says outcomes for Indigenous inmates — who represent 24 per cent of the prison population — continue to be far worse than for other offenders. Sapers says issues facing Indigenous inmates, including more time spent in custody and segregation cells, are urgent enough that they require stand-alone leadership within the Correctional Service of Canada. (“Additional oversight needed for Indigenous corrections,” 2015)

Based on the representation of Correctional Investigators, I argue that they represent respected figures of authority in order to better illustrate the systemic problems facing Indigenous offenders in Canada.

Further, Indigenous-led media was more likely to include these voices as mechanism of illuminating the problems within the carceral system, as well as the obstacles that Indigenous offenders in particular encounter. The Correctional Commissioner was also utilized as a source within my sample, appearing in 17 articles, including APTN (2), CBC (4), *The Globe and Mail* (7) and *National Post* (4). These included references to Correctional Commissioners Anne Kelly, Joe Friday and Don Head. The Correctional Commissioner does not present as much criticism for the prison system, as this role provides oversight in terms of the decisions made by Correctional Service Canada, in comparison to the Correctional Investigator, which acts as an independent authority to evaluate problems within the Canadian criminal justice system (Office

of the Correctional Investigator, 2013). The Federal Ombudsman for the Victims of Crime was used as a source in 3 articles, all of which were in *National Post*. The inclusion of this source emphasizes the role of victim rights advocates within my sample.

In terms of Indigenous-specific sources in articles, Elders were discussed 34 times in 17 sources, with the greatest representation in APTN (44%), as well as appearances within CBC (21%), *National Post* (17%) and *The Globe and Mail* (15%). Although Elders were mentioned in all news sources, it is evident that they were most commonly discussed amongst APTN sources. Additionally, chiefs were included 22 times in 8 articles, which include: APTN (25%), CBC (11%) and *National Post* (11%). Again, it is significant here that settler media sources were less likely to include chiefs as key perspectives in their articles, in comparison to APTN. Chief Alvin Francis was the most common chief to be quoted, which is not surprising, as he represents the chief for Nekaneet First Nation and was mentioned in connection to the community's reaction to McClintic being transferred to the nearby Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, as they were not consulted within the decision-making process by CSC (Martens, 2018).

The Assembly of First Nations was mentioned in 3 articles, including APTN (2) and *National Post* (1). In addition, Patti Pettigrew's name appeared in 3 articles, including APTN (1), CBC (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (1). Patti Pettigrew is the president of the Thunder Women's Healing Lodge Society, which is the ongoing project development of a women's healing lodge in Scarborough, Ontario and involved some controversy from local citizens regarding the choice of location in an urban area that has schools and parks nearby. In a CBC article that examined this story, there was a clear attempt to balance the perspectives between the residents concerned about the risk involved with building a lodge and Indigenous individuals, including Pettigrew, that were discussing the benefits this region could have for the unique needs of Indigenous

female offenders and help them more effectively reintegrate into the community upon release (Smee, 2019).

In terms of organizational sources, the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, was discussed in 3 articles, including in APTN (1), CBC (1) and *National Post* (1), respectively. John Howard Society also appeared in 3 articles, including *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (1). There was limited input from these organizations that advocate for the rights of offenders, across both settler media and Indigenous-led sources. Thus, this may be a reflection of the way in which organizational sources were not adequately represented within both settler and Indigenous-led media. Rather than highlighting the narratives of representatives from Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, for instance, which advocates for the rights of women who have been incarcerated, the settler and Indigenous-led media within my sample tended to focus more on sources of colonial authority, such as politicians and CSC representatives (Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, 2018).

As highlighted by Clark (2014, pp. 56-57), there is a fundamental underrepresentation of Indigenous interviewees in Canadian media, with the exception of some APTN coverage in his sample, but overall Indigenous perspectives are oftentimes rendered invisible by dominant Canadian media outlets. The inclusion of Indigenous voices within journalism offer opportunities towards reducing the perpetuation of ethnocentrism through the media (Clark, 2014, p. 45). Therefore, in relation to my findings regarding key authority figures, this supports my argument that Canadian media sources, particularly settler media sources, are not elevating Indigenous voices within their publications enough.

Although there was some inclusion in terms of quoting Elders, chiefs, as well as sporadic references to other Indigenous representatives, such as the Assembly of First Nations, these were

more common within APTN than across all settler media sources, including CBC, *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. Further, the sources that were much more commonly used as authority figures were people that represented the government, political parties or Victoria Stafford's family members. Notably, political party leaders were much less likely to be included within APTN sources, but heavily emphasized in settler media, particularly within *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. Therefore, this suggests that in coverage of healing lodges, symbols of colonial authority were much more likely to be dominant, rather than Indigenous individuals. The implications of this, particularly in terms of how the theme of sovereignty varied across media sources, will be discussed further within this chapter.

**Table 3: Key Authority Figures**

Key Authority Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown <sup>3</sup>	Number of References
1) CSC	53	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 APTN (75%)</li> <li>• 12 CBC (63%)</li> <li>• 15 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (75%)</li> <li>• 14 <i>National Post</i> (78%)</li> </ul>	248
2) Minister of Public Safety	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 11 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (55%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	91
3) Political Leaders	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	92
4) Stafford Family Members	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	68

<sup>3</sup> The News Source Breakdown column that I use here includes the percentages of articles in which a particular code appeared for each of the four media outlets. For instance, for the CSC row of Table 3, the percentages indicate 12 APTN articles out of 16 (or 75%) referred to CSC, compared to 12 CBC articles out of 19 (or 63%), 15 *The Globe and Mail* articles out of 20 (or 75%) and 14 *National Post* articles out of 18 (or 78%). Note that all tables featured in-text are also included in Appendix B, which includes more detailed versions of data collected.

Key Authority Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown <sup>3</sup>	Number of References
5) Correctional Investigator	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	109
6) Commissioner	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	70
7) Elders	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	34
8) Chief(s)	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	22
9) Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	11
10) Patti Pettigrew	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	10
11) Assembly of First Nations	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
12) Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
13) John Howard Society	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3

### *Political References*

Political references were one of the main areas in which settler media and Indigenous-led sources differed in the discourses surrounding healing lodges. My discussion of political references here specifically refers to discourses that invoke the governmental context of partisan parties within the Canadian electorate, and this term is not meant to indicate a broader conceptualization of politics. Rather, my analysis here does not rely on an ideological spectrum,



but instead the central goal is to analyze the similarities and differences between settler and Indigenous-led media. There were 27 references to Parliament in 18 articles, including APTN (4), CBC (4), *Globe and Mail* (5) and *National Post* (5), as highlighted within Table 4. Additionally, there was substantial discussion regarding Prime Minister Trudeau's comment of "ambulance-chasing politicians" in reference to the Conservative handling of the McClintic controversy in the House of Commons and use of graphic details regarding the death of Tori Stafford. This phrase appeared 9 times in 4 different articles within my sample, including CBC (1), *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (2). References to the government appeared 108 times in 42 articles, including APTN (44%) and CBC (37%), with significantly more representation within *The Globe and Mail* (80%) and *National Post* (67%). In terms of references to political parties, the Conservative Party appeared 86 times in 25 articles with the breakdown as follows: APTN (19%), CBC (21%), *The Globe and Mail* (40%) and *National Post* (56%). It is notable that both *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* were much more engaged with referencing the Conservative Party of Canada within their publications. Similarly, the term "Opposition" appeared 11 times in 9 articles in CBC (5%), *The Globe and Mail* (5%) and *National Post* (11%).

Oftentimes, *National Post* articles were clearly more right-leaning in support of Conservative politicians. For instance, one article says:

The new federal watchdog for victims of crime says rules meant to give victims and their families louder voices in the justice system have fallen short. The previous Conservative government introduced what it called a victims' bill of rights almost four years ago that allowed victims of crime to get information about offenders in the corrections system and have their views taken into account when decisions are made about them. (Press, 2019)

This illustrates an example in which *National Post* supports a Conservative-leaning perspective that advocates a favourable opinion towards Conservative crime policies.

Additionally, as was evident from my discussion of key authority figures, this excerpt reiterates the use of the federal ombudsman for victims of crime as a valuable source for information, as the *National Post* was the only media outlet to mention this figure. The construction of this argument emphasizes that Conservative-led governments have a vested interest in protecting victims of crime and their families, insinuating that the current Liberal government makes decisions that are in the benefit of offenders. Rather than attempting to balance the importance of protecting the legal rights for both victims and offenders, the discourses within the *National Post* are supportive of the Conservative Party, as well as the “tough on crime” stance that is oftentimes advocated through their political platforms that centres on detaining offenders as long as possible (Bala, 2015, pp. 162-163).

Comparatively, the Liberals appeared in 18 articles, including APTN (19%), CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (15%) and *National Post* (50%). Thus, in comparison to references to the Conservative Party, *National Post* discussed Liberals and Conservatives relatively equally, whereas *The Globe and Mail* was much more likely to reference the Conservative Party in comparison to the Liberal Party. The New Democratic Party was much less commonly discussed, appearing in 4 articles, including CBC (5%) and *National Post* (17%). Additionally, the Green Party only appeared in one CBC article (Butler, 2018). Of note, references to politics appeared 56 times in 14 articles, including CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (4) and *National Post* (7). In terms of references to the House of Commons, these appeared 23 times in 14 articles, with the following representation: CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (33%). Of note, *National Post* and the *Globe and Mail* had more editorial content in my sample than

CBC and APTN did. Overall, it was evident that *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post* were more centrally focused on political parties than CBC and APTN. When combining the codes for all four political parties, as demonstrated below within Table 4, political parties appeared as follows: *National Post* (67%), *The Globe and Mail* (40%), APTN (25%) and CBC (21%).

Overall, settler media tended to place much greater emphasis on political references, particularly within *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. It should also be acknowledged as well that both of these sources tended to have more editorials included, which may often be more connected to discussions of Canadian political parties and the use of persuasive language. References to the Conservative Party were three times as high in comparison to those related to the Liberal Party in articles within *The Globe and Mail*, whereas the *National Post* more consistently referenced both parties, with the largest reference to political parties out of any of the four news outlets I examined within my sample. Additionally, as discussed earlier regarding the inclusion of authority figures in my sample, APTN was also less likely to engage with political codes, such as direct references to politics or Parliament, in comparison to settler media. This is similar to APTN's lack of references to Canadian politicians. This may be a reflection that within APTN, differentiating political parties was not as critical as it was within settler media, which may suggest that within APTN, there is greater recognition of the state itself and the colonial oppression it continues to engage with, rather than what political party happens to be in power at the time.

**Table 4: Political References**

<b>Political Reference Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Government	42	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 7 CBC (37%)</li> <li>• 16 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (80%)</li> <li>• 12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)</li> </ul>	108
2) Political Parties	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)</li> </ul>	132
3) Parliament	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	27
4) References to Politics	14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)</li> </ul>	56
5) House of Commons	14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	23
6) Ottawa	14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	20
7) Opposition	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	11
8) Ambulance-chasing politicians/politics	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	9

### *Depictions of Crimes*

Another theme in which there were substantive differences between settler and Indigenous-led media was within the depictions of crimes. The most common topic amongst articles in my sample is the controversy regarding the transfer of Terri-Lynne McClintic from Grand Valley Institution for Women to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge. McClintic was one of the two offenders, along with Michael Rafferty, to be charged with the kidnapping, sexual assault

and murder of eight-year old Victoria Stafford. Many articles on the Victoria Stafford case were very graphic in terms of the details they provided regarding her sexual assault and murder. For example, the terminology surrounding “rape” appeared in 22 articles, as demonstrated in Table 5. This term appeared the most within *National Post* (6) and *The Globe and Mail* (8) articles, and within an equal number of CBC (4) and APTN (4) articles. In addition, “sexual assault” appeared 8 times in 7 articles across the following: CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (2). Settler media was much more likely to refer to the term “kill,” which appeared in 24 articles total, including CBC (37%), *The Globe and Mail* (40%) and *National Post* (39%), with minimal representation in APTN (13%). “Murder” was used in 35 articles, with the highest representation amongst *National Post* (72%) and similar representation across *The Globe and Mail* (45%), APTN (38%) and CBC (37%). The appearance of this code in *National Post* and to some extent in *The Globe and Mail* highlights the more sensationalist tactics of crime coverage within these sources in particular and further, the larger purpose of mobilizing these details to justify harsher punishment of the offender, such as McClintic. “Abduction” appeared 13 times within 10 articles total, including CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (5) and *National Post* (2). Additionally, “kidnapping” appeared 10 times within 8 articles – CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (3) and *National Post* (2). Notably, APTN did not engage with the terms “abduction” or “kidnapping.” These include direct references to the Tori Stafford case as well. For instance, one of the times in which Stafford was discussed in CBC was in the following:

Stafford was abducted on April 8, 2009, while walking home from her Woodstock, Ont. elementary school. McClintic lured the girl to Rafferty's car before the pair drove her to a secluded location near Mount Forest, Ont. where she was brutally raped, beaten to death and then buried in a clandestine grave. (Butler, 2018)

This excerpt regarding Tori Stafford exemplifies existing literature on media's victim archetypes, in which Stafford is deemed newsworthy as a young white girl who was abducted from her school (Chan and Chunn, 2014, p. 60).

This discourse also follows the stereotypical narrative of a child being lured into a vehicle with candy by a pedophile (Jewkes, 2004, p. 97). The attention given to the details of the crimes committed exemplify broader trends of the way in which the media has increased the level of detail in depictions of violence over time and relied on sensationalist tactics in the way that violent crimes are reported on (Collins, 2014, pp. 85; 87). Thus, Stafford's abduction and murder is discussed in a way that relies on fear-mongering that fits a larger moral panic regarding the perceived prevalence of pedophiles within society, which I will discuss more in-depth later on. Interestingly, the terminology of abduction and kidnapping did not appear within any APTN articles. This suggests that while settler media may be more actively engaged in heightening a narrative of risk and fear, APTN engaged with the details of the crime, but on a smaller scale level. This reiterates Clark's (2014, p. 41) research findings that while APTN engaged with some stereotypes in the media, they were largely focused on providing Indigenous-centric content.

**Table 5: Crime Depictions**

<b>Crime-Related Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Murder or Kill	44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 11 CBC (58%)</li> <li>• 12 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (60%)</li> <li>• 15 <i>National Post</i> (83%)</li> </ul>	121
2) Crime	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	69
3) Rape or Sexual Assault	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)</li> </ul>	33
4) Abduction or Kidnapping	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	23
5) Assault	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	23
6) Armed Robbery/Robberies	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	3
7) Attempted Murder	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1

As illustrated within Table 6, “offenders” was the most common term for referring to the offender population in my sample, appearing in 167 times in 44 articles with the following representation: APTN (75%), CBC (47%), *The Globe and Mail* (50%) and *National Post* (72%). “Inmates” was also a popular term for offenders, which was used 184 times in 43 sources, including APTN (75%), CBC (42%), *The Globe and Mail* (55%) and *National Post* (67%). Similarly, “prisoners” was another frequent label, which was more common amongst settler media sources, with 26 total articles, which included APTN (19%), CBC (32%), *The Globe and Mail* (45%) and *National Post* (44%). “Criminals” appeared in 12 articles, including APTN (2), CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (4) and *National Post* (3). The term “killers” was used in 24

articles, predominantly within settler media sources as well, with references in APTN (3) being less common in comparison to CBC (7), *The Globe and Mail* (6) and *National Post* (8).

Similarly, the term “murderers” was not used in APTN at all, but was used in 10 articles, including CBC (2), *The Globe and Mail* (3) and *National Post* (5). For instance, one article in *National Post* says, “Certainly in the past few days or so, when the sad, sorrowful, wanton extinction of poor Victoria Stafford was inevitably recalled in the debate over one of her murderers' transfer to a Saskatchewan healing lodge...” (Murphy, 2018). Within this example, Terri-Lynne McClintic is not mentioned by name, but is only referred to by the label of murderer. By rendering her name invisible from the discourse, this makes it easier to justify claims of harsh punishment, through only referring to an individual by a term like “murderer” or “killer,” as there is no recognition of the person’s individuality here. Additionally, it is evident that APTN was less likely to apply reductionist labels that attributed the offender directly to their crime.

The label of “convicts” was applied to offenders in 5 articles, including APTN (1), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (2). Interestingly, there were 11 references in total that compared offenders or prison environments to animals and animal habitats. These only appeared in one article within *The Globe and Mail* (White, 2014). These included terms like dog, animals, monkeys and lion. Additionally, references to the physical structure of prisons that compared offenders to animals were the following: dog run, pen and zoo. The majority of these references were from an article in *The Globe and Mail* that examined the life of Edward Snowshoe, a man from the Gwich'in First Nation, who died by suicide in his prison cell after a complex history of incarceration and placement in solitary confinement. The article states, “In Mr. Snowshoe's case, the inmate in solitary became as apathetic and ornery as a lion in a roadside zoo” (White, 2014).



The premise of this article centrally focuses on the challenges faced by Indigenous people in the Canadian criminal justice system through the story of Edward Snowshoe. Although these references bear similarities to the ways in which Indigenous people are depicted as the “savage,” I argue that the comparison drawn to animals here is utilized in order to highlight the systemic mistreatment of Indigenous offenders, in particular, within the prison system. Comparatively, as I will discuss later on in Chapter 5, the depiction of Terri-Lynne McClintic implicitly reflects racist connotations of the portrayal of Indigenous people in Canada as “savages.”

The term “rapist” was applied to offenders in CBC (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (1) articles. Similarly, the label of “sex offender” appeared in *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (1). Finally, the terms of “co-killer,” “perpetrator,” and “serial murderer” each appeared in one CBC article respectively. It is notable from these labels that none of these were applied within APTN articles, but exclusively settler media sources within my sample. Therefore, this further exemplifies the way in which settler media was more likely to rely on sensationalist depictions of crimes, including use of excessive details of the crime itself, as well as utilizing labels towards offenders that tended to dehumanize them. Comparatively, Indigenous-led media was less reliant on these fear tactics, suggesting that their coverage diverted away from engaging with the creation of moral panic about crime.

**Table 6: Offender Labels**

Offender Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Inmate/Prisoner(s)	49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 13 APTN (81%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 14 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (70%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	243
2) Offender(s)	44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 APTN (75%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	167
3) References to Killer/Murderer(s)	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>National Post</i> (56%)</li> </ul>	51
4) Criminal(s)	12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	17
5) Convict(s)	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	6
6) References to Rapist/Sex Offenders	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	4
7) Comparisons to Animals	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	11
8) Perpetrators	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2

### *Indigenous Identities*

The ways in which Indigenous identities were referred to varied by news media source. In terms of broad references to Indigenous identity, in which terminology was all-encompassing and did not make reference to the specific group someone was part of, the most common reference was “Indigenous,” which appeared within 46 sources a total of 247 times, as shown in Table 7. This term was used relatively equally amongst most sources, with APTN (69%), CBC (68%), and *National Post* (72%), but was used substantially less in articles in *The Globe and Mail* (45%). “Aboriginal” was the second most common of the broad identity references,

appearing 168 times in 27 articles, with the highest number of references being in *National Post* (9) and the lowest being in CBC (4), as well as within APTN (8) and *The Globe and Mail* (6). It should be noted that some of this terminology may have been reflective of time of publication across a 10 year time period. For instance, articles that used “Indigenous” were primarily between the years of 2016 to 2019, whereas “Aboriginal” appeared more generally across all years included within my sample. “Native” was a much less common code, appearing in 7 articles within my sample, including CBC (2), *The Globe and Mail* (4) and *National Post* (1). Notably, this term was only used within settler media sources, particularly *The Globe and Mail*, but with no appearances within APTN. “Indian” appeared 3 times, once in each news source, with the exception of CBC. Further, “First Peoples” appeared in two articles, with one appearance in an APTN article and the other in the *National Post*. Finally, “non-status Indian” was applied once in a *National Post* article. This terminology was used to discuss McClintic’s Indigenous identity in the following:

However, McClintic has previously identified herself as Indigenous. According to The Canadian Press, on the day of Stafford's murder, McClintic spent time at an employment centre where she indicated she was a nonstatus [sic] Indian - someone who identifies as Indigenous but who cannot register under the Indian Act. (Forrest, 2018b)

Thus, I argue that the position supported within this particular *National Post* article that is presented is that McClintic’s Indigeneity is less valid on the premise that her identity is through a self-identification process, as well as the fact that she does not qualify under the criteria of the Indian Act. Therefore, this may suggest the idea that she does not truly qualify as a “real” Indigenous person, thus implying that she should not be eligible for the opportunities available for Indigenous offenders in Canada in terms of access to cultural programming. Further, this

connects to Coulthard's (2014, p. 26) assertion that the politics of recognition espoused by the state is failing to address colonial oppression. These labels of identity emerged from those in power and thus, the way in which Indigenous identity has been assigned by colonizers has substantial impacts on the lived experience of Indigenous people (Coulthard, 2014, pp. 32-33). Notably, this is evident with the legislative mechanisms in the Indian Act, particularly before the passing of Bill C-31 that revoked Indigenous women's identity and status rights upon marriage to non-Indigenous men (Coulthard, 2014, p. 83).

**Table 7: Broad Indigenous Identity References**

<b>Broad Reference Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Indigenous	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 11 APTN (69%)</li> <li>• 13 CBC (68%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	247
2) Aboriginal	27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	168
3) Native	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	27
4) Indian	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	10
5) First Peoples	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
6) Non-status Indian	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1

I also organized another subgroup of Indigenous identity codes under cultural group, in which identity was more specific, as organized within Table 8. "First Nations" appeared in 19 sources, with the highest representation within APTN articles (50%) and a similar number amongst CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (20%) and *National Post* (22%) sources. "Inuit" was

referenced in 8 articles, with more representation in APTN (25%), in comparison to *The Globe and Mail* (15%), as well as *National Post* (6%), with no references in CBC articles. Finally, there was discussion of Métis people in 8 articles, with more representation in APTN (25%), in addition to some appearances within *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (11%). This indicates that APTN was typically more likely than settler media sources to be more specific in referencing an individual cultural group, which is most noteworthy for discussion of First Nations people, whereas settler media may tend to engage in homogenization. Further, the limited discussion around Inuit is likely due to there being no healing lodges located within any of the territories (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012, p. 19). It is also noteworthy that CBC did not make explicit reference to either Inuit or Métis identity, in addition to having the lowest number of references to First Nations out of any source in my sample.

**Table 8: Cultural Group**

Cultural Group Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) First Nation(s)	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	40
2) Métis	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	14
3) Inuit	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	13

I created a third subgroup for Indigenous identity codes under the theme of specified group, in which the individual band or nation was referenced. When combining these codes together, the representation of specific Indigenous group appeared in APTN (44%), CBC (37%), *National Post* (22%) and *The Globe and Mail* (20%). The most common code under this theme was Nekaneet First Nation, which is the First Nation that lives in the region where Okimaw Ochi

Healing Lodge is located. Nekaneet First Nation appeared within 10 articles in my sample, amongst all of the sources as follows: APTN (4), CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (2), which is highlighted in Table 9A in Appendix B. Specifically, these references are related to the perspective of Nekaneet First Nation regarding the transfer of Terri-Lynne McClintic to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge and noting that they were not consulted within the process of the decision to transfer McClintic to the institution, as discussed earlier.

It is significant that the greatest number of references of Nekaneet First Nation were within APTN, as this illustrates the recognition of specified groups within Indigenous-led media, as well as the emphasis on Indigenous voices as interviewees within APTN articles. This places a greater sense of inherent value on the contribution of Indigenous perspectives and advocates for making Indigenous-led decisions on issues that affect them the most. As I will discuss later on within my analysis, this is an example in which APTN supports the autonomy of Indigenous people to a greater degree in comparison to settler media sources. In regard to the other references to specific Indigenous group, only one code outside of Nekaneet First Nation appeared within the *National Post* sample, in which one article mentioned the Stony First Nation. Further, this exhibits the failure to recognize the diversity and cultural differences between Indigenous groups that was more common within the settler media sources, particularly within the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*.

**Table 9: Specified Group**

Specified Group Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
Total References to a Specific Group (Individual band or nation)	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 7 CBC (37%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	62

Finally, I created a category of non-Indigenous identity in order to organize codes surrounding these references separately, as highlighted in Table 10. Similar to the results regarding the usage of “Native” in Table 7, the only references to “Non-Native” were in settler media sources, including one in *The Globe and Mail* article and another in *National Post*. I also included “Faux Nation” under this category, as this appeared within a *National Post* article that focused on a story of the potential for inmates to falsely declare Indigenous identity in order to receive a special form of treatment within the criminal justice system (Selley, 2019). This exhibits the way in which healing lodges, as well as other elements of Indigeneity that CSC has attempted to bridge into the criminal justice system, have been perceived as an opportunity for offenders to take advantage and receive more lenient punishment, which is similar to the way in which McClintic’s self-identity option was invalidated. This idea will be examined in greater depth within the next section, where I deconstruct the narrative of Indigenous healing lodges as an easy form of punishment.

Further, the category of Indigenous identity exemplifies that APTN was more likely to utilize cultural group codes, such as First Nations or Inuit within their publications, whereas CBC was the least likely to do so. Additionally, broad references to Indigeneity were the most commonly used amongst both settler and Indigenous-led media. Settler media sources, particularly *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*, were less likely to narrow down identity by individual band or nation, suggesting that these sources were more actively engaged with hegemonizing Indigenous identities and failing to recognize diversity amongst Indigenous groups. I will also discuss the theme of settler versus Indigenous-led media within the next two chapters, however, I used this lens as a focal point for my first analysis chapter, as these discussions surrounding authority figures, crime depictions and references to Indigenous identity

were some of the most salient in terms of substantial differences between settler and Indigenous-based media discourses.

**Table 10: Non-Indigenous Identity**

<b>Non-Indigenous Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Non-Indigenous	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	15
2) Non-Aboriginal	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> </ul>	7
3) Non-Native	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
4) Faux Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1



## **Chapter 5: Portrayals of Healing Lodges and Indigenous Offenders**

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which healing lodges were portrayed within my sample, as well as media constructions of the Indigenous offender. In the first section regarding healing lodges specifically, I deconstruct how they were oftentimes portrayed as an easy form of punishment, in which the physical structure of healing lodges was viewed as too lax and prone to causing offender escapes. Additionally, I explore the way in which healing lodges were also constructed as a form of cultural rehabilitation, where there was more attention on the potential value offered by healing lodges through the inclusion of Indigenous cultural elements. Further, I found that this theme appeared in tandem with references to financial savings, in which there was more acceptance of the cultural rehabilitation of healing lodges on the basis that they would save taxpayers money, in comparison to standardized correctional institutions.

Additionally, I examine media constructions of the Indigenous offender later within this chapter. Specifically, I analyze the ways in which some articles promoted the idea that Indigenous offenders posed a distinct threat to children, whether this be in the context of the healing lodge itself, or the surrounding area in which it resided. Further, I also look at McClintic's coverage within my media sample to explore the constructions of her on the basis of race and gender, as well as in relation to moral panics.

### ***Depictions of Healing Lodges***

#### ***Healing Lodges as Easy Punishment***

Generally, references to healing lodges appeared in all 73 articles with 341 references total, as illustrated within Table 20A in Appendix B and includes specific references to names of healing lodges, such as Stan Daniels Healing Centre. References to "healing lodges," excluding the names of specific healing lodges, appeared 214 times in 68 articles, as displayed within Table

11 below. This general term of “healing lodges” appeared in all APTN articles (16), as well as the majority of CBC (18), *The Globe and Mail* (19) and *National Post* (15) articles. Terminology surrounding “lodge” or “lodges” further appeared in 20 articles, with the following representation across sources: APTN (6), CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (5) and *National Post* (6). Another term that was used was “healing centres,” which appeared in 2 articles in CBC (1) and APTN (1). Further, the most common healing lodge that was referred to across articles was Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, with 48 references in 24 articles, represented within the following: APTN (5), CBC (5), *The Globe and Mail* (6) and *National Post* (8). Given the prevalence of the Terri-Lynne McClintic story, it is unsurprising that *National Post* discussed Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge more than any other source, as McClintic’s case was dominant within *National Post* articles in my sample. Additionally, Thunder Woman Healing Lodge appeared in 2 articles, including APTN (1) and CBC (1). This was in reference to Thunder Woman Healing Lodge, which received media coverage, as this planned development of women’s healing lodge in Scarborough, Ontario caused controversy, particularly from local citizens that resided near the planned location of the lodge (Smee, 2019). I will examine this particular narrative more in-depth in my examination of portrayals of Indigenous offenders as posing an acute risk to children later on within my analysis.

**Table 11: Healing Lodges**

Healing Lodge Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Healing Lodge(s), Lodge(s) or Healing Centre(s)	71	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 16 APTN (100%)</li> <li>• 18 CBC (95%)</li> <li>• 20 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (100%)</li> <li>• 17 <i>National Post</i> (94%)</li> </ul>	260
2) Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	48
3) Stan Daniels Healing Centre	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	10
4) Buffalo Sage Wellness House	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	3
5) Waseskun Healing Centre	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	8
6) Thunder Woman Healing Lodge	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	4
7) Willow Creek Healing Lodge	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
8) Pê Sâkâstêw Centre	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
9) O-Chi-ChakKo-Sipi Healing Lodge	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

Many of the narratives within my sample implied that healing lodges are meant for more mundane and non-violent offences, by relying on punitive conceptualizations of the goals of incarceration. The potential for rehabilitation was deemed only appropriate and deserving for a certain type of Indigenous offender – not for the “dangerous” or “incorrigible.” The term “dangerous” appeared 17 times within 9 articles, including APTN (2), CBC (2), *The Globe and Mail* (3) and *National Post* (2), as demonstrated within Table 12 below. A clear binary was established in a number of news articles across different sources between the “traditional penitentiary” and healing lodges, in order to further claims regarding healing lodges as a lax or

easy form of punishment. The term “traditional” was commonly used, appearing 20 times in 16 articles across APTN (19%), CBC (21%) and *National Post* (11%), with the highest representation within *The Globe and Mail* (35%). The context in which “traditional” was used was mainly in describing prisons within the Western idea of what prisons should look like, rather than highlighting cultural components of healing lodges. For instance, one article in *The Globe and Mail* says, “That leads us back to Parliament, where the Opposition’s demand that Ms. McClintic be returned to a more traditional prison setting has dominated Question Period this week” (“Globe editorial: The Conservatives talk tough on crime,” 2018). I argue that the use of “traditional” within this example is to elevate Western notions of justice as being the natural and sensible option for offenders, in comparison to an Indigenous healing lodge, which is seen as the inherently subjugate option for offenders.

This theme was also notable in references to “fences” which appeared in 5 articles, including *National Post* (17%), CBC (5%) and *The Globe and Mail* (5%). One example of the usage of this term was in a CBC article, which stated the following, “There are no fences or even a barbed wire preventing anyone from leaving but there are guards” (Stefanovich, 2018). Thus, references to fences were oftentimes used in order to depict the healing lodge landscape as one that is open for offenders to escape at any time. It is significant that none of the references to the fences appeared within APTN, which may reflect that this source was not as focused on characterizing healing lodges as a minimally restrictive environment in comparison to settler media sources, particularly *National Post*.

One article in *The Globe and Mail* also described healing lodges as “unsafe.” Additionally, the code of “easy” appeared 13 times in 11 articles, with the following representation: APTN (31%), CBC (11%), *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (11%),

as shown in Table 12A in Appendix B. Although APTN had the largest number of articles under this code, it was used within a different context than the settler media sources. For instance, one article used the term “easier” in order to discuss the discrepancy between Indigenous and non-Indigenous offenders, highlighting that it is easier for non-Indigenous offenders to access day parole. In contrast, this term was used differently in a CBC article, “For Rodney Stafford, the placement means the man who played a role in the kidnapping, sexual assault and murder of his daughter is now able to experience ‘easier living’” (Ghonaim, 2018). This excerpt highlights the binary repeatedly promoted in many articles between healing lodges and typical prisons, wherein healing lodges are deemed as the easy option in contrast to a perceived ideal of real incarceration. Similarly, “lax” was another adjective to describe the carceral style of healing lodges in a *National Post* article, as well as an article in *The Globe and Mail* (Murphy, 2018; Leblanc, 2018). This code also constructs healing lodges as a lenient mode of punishment that is failing to appropriately penalize offenders. In addition, one article in *The Globe and Mail* refers to healing lodges as a “privileged program,” suggesting that healing lodges should only be accessible for offenders that are on good behaviour or committed crimes that were not serious or violent in nature (“Globe editorial: The Conservatives talk tough on crime,” 2018).

“Behind bars” appeared 28 times across 21 articles, which included: APTN (44%), CBC (21%), *The Globe and Mail* (30%) and *National Post* (22%). Interestingly, this phrase was most commonly represented within APTN, in comparison to settler media sources, with CBC and *National Post* using this term almost equally, and with higher usage in *The Globe and Mail*. However, APTN seemed to utilize this term differently, as “behind bars” was frequently used to depict the over-representation of Indigenous offenders in Canada. For instance, one APTN article states:

One source is Canada's Correctional Investigator, the person in charge of keeping track of the organization that keeps people behind bars in this country. The office has issued report after report, taking the department to task for failing the Indigenous population in prisons. It's hard to argue against: In almost every area, First Nation, Métis and Inuit offenders have it worse than others. (Blackburn, 2019)

Thus, I argue that although "behind bars" was most commonly represented within APTN, it was oftentimes referred to in order to illustrate the unjust treatment of Indigenous offenders. It also should be noted that APTN uses cultural group references here, including First Nation, Métis and Inuit, which further illustrates my discussion within Chapter 4 that APTN was more likely to differentiate Indigenous identities than settler media sources in my sample.

One common application of referring to behind bars was through the phrase, "back behind bars," in order to illustrate that an offender was being transferred from a healing lodge to a standard penitentiary. For example, an article by Forrest (2018b) in the *National Post* used this phrase within the following context, "But Scheer wouldn't say exactly how he thinks the Liberal government should put McClintic back behind bars to serve the remainder of her 25-year sentence." This language makes direct assumptions regarding the physical structure of healing lodges in order to juxtapose them with the characteristics of standard penitentiaries. By discussing the return of McClintic to a typical prison environment in this way, there are clear implications expressed regarding the security level of healing lodges and the implicit risks perceived as part of having offenders incarcerated in these institutions. These "lax" healing lodges are viewed as being free institutions where offenders have the ability to escape whenever they want to. Similarly, "locked up" appeared in 7 articles, including APTN (2), *The Globe and*

*Mail* (2) and *National Post* (3). For example, one context in which this was used in a *National Post* article regarding McClintic:

That said, there are some people who unambiguously need to be locked up very secure circumstances [sic] for all three of those reasons, no matter what their future prospects. McClintic is so obviously one of those people that it seems ridiculous even to say it. (Selley, 2018b)

This quote implies that healing lodges are not defined as being conventionally locked up in prison and that regardless of whether an inmate shows good behaviour, the severity of their crimes mean that they should be kept in the most secure institution possible. The support for keeping Indigenous offenders in high-security institutions may be a reflection of the logic of elimination, as maximum-security incarceration could be interpreted as another mechanism of the state removal of Indigenous people, in order to obtain more territory (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388).

“Open” also appeared within 5 articles, with 4 of these being from the *National Post* and one in *The Globe and Mail*. One *National Post* article also discussed the “zero security” present in healing lodges (Selley, 2019). Additionally, one *The Globe and Mail* article and one *National Post* article also described the design of a healing lodge with the phrase, “without secured perimeters,” while similarly, a CBC article mentioned that a healing lodge existed “without a controlled perimeter” (“Ottawa toughens rules,” 2018; Richmond, 2018; Butler, 2018).

The term “transfer” was particularly common throughout my sample, appearing 185 times in 43 articles in total, with sources including APTN (31%), CBC (47%), *The Globe and Mail* (70%) and *National Post* (83%). Although there were references to this term across different sources in my sample, it is evident that it was significantly more prominent in both *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*. This was commonly used in reference to the McClintic

case to discuss her transfer between Grand Valley Institution for Women to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, as well as her subsequent transfer to Edmonton Institution for Women. For instance, in one CBC editorial, it states, “How do you rehabilitate that degree of evil? In what universe should the perpetrator be transferred to a healing lodge less than 10 years into her life sentence?” (Urback, 2018). This example illustrates the way in which the possible rehabilitation of McClintic is wholly invalidated on the basis that McClintic committed serious violent crimes. It is also worth noting that transfers were much more commonly discussed within settler media sources, particularly in *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. This connects to the easy punishment theme, as this relies on the idea that offenders are being transferred to minimum-security institutions and not being punished *enough* for the crimes they committed. Security levels were also commonly referenced, including minimum, medium and maximum security, which appeared in 41 articles, including APTN (50%), CBC (47%), *The Globe and Mail* (80%) and *National Post* (44%). One example of a reference within *The Globe and Mail* that discussed security level states:

The pair made headlines last year when Mr. Rafferty was transferred to a medium-security prison and Ms. McClintic was moved to a minimum-security healing lodge. After public outcry, and outrage by Tori's family, Ms. McClintic was moved from the Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge near Maple Creek, Sask., to the maximum-security Edmonton Institution for Women. (“Tori Stafford’s killer wants court,” 2018)

The usage of security level here clearly identifies that healing lodges, and lower security prisons more broadly, are flagged as being a fundamental risk to the public, and that these types of violent offenders, like Rafferty and McClintic, inherently belong in maximum-security institutions. However, in comparison, one APTN article utilizes security level in order to



emphasize the ways in which there are accessibility barriers for Indigenous inmates for being transferred into a healing lodge:

He also from [sic] that CSC is less likely to look at reducing their security levels before release after successfully completing a correctional program. Ferguson also found Indigenous inmates have a difficult time accessing cultural programs while in prison, and because of their security level they can't be moved to one of nine healing lodges across the country. The lodges operate at minimum security, but 80 per cent of Indigenous inmates are in medium or maximum. ("Indigenous offenders keep serving longer prison sentences," 2016)

Thus, although APTN had the most references to security level out of any media source, it is evident that the context in which this phrase was used tended to vary. This is also reflective of the challenges faced more broadly by Indigenous offenders in seeking culturally-specific programming, as almost half of Indigenous women are over-classified as maximum security, as a result of the Custody Rating Scale failing to incorporate the considerations of Indigenous inmates (Miller, 2017, p. 12; Hannah-Moffat, 2010, p. 206).<sup>4</sup>

The term "security" more broadly was referred to in 23 articles, including APTN (44%), CBC (32%), *The Globe and Mail* (30%) and *National Post* (22%). Although it seems unusual for APTN to be the highest total for this code, it is evident that APTN used it in a different context than settler media sources did. For instance, one APTN article quotes Correctional Investigator Ivan Zinger, "They are in higher security typically, they're more likely to be in segregation and then when they do go out, they're more likely to be suspended or revoked" (Crozier, 2017). This demonstrates that the term "security" in this instance was used to highlight the disproportionate

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<sup>4</sup> It should be noted, however, that there is a small body of literature that examines the disproportionate risk levels that are assigned to Indigenous offenders, so my claims here are limited.

number of Indigenous offenders that are classified at higher security levels in comparison to their non-Indigenous counterparts. However, in comparison, a *National Post* article uses security in the context of portraying healing lodges as easier punishment, “They generally offer inmates more independence, less formal structure and fewer security measures” (Gerson, 2016). Additionally, references to “security classification” appeared in 4 articles, including APTN (1), *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (2). Further, “secure” was used in 3 articles, including in *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (1).

Similar to the discussion of prison bars, the conceptualization of the physical environment of healing lodges that discredits the lack of typical security features of prisons, such as barbed wire, supports the idea that healing lodges lack the appropriate controls to protect society from the offenders serving their sentences in healing lodges. The conceptualization that healing lodges are a breeding ground for offender escapes was highlighted by media mobilizing examples of offenders that had escaped healing lodges and discussions of the minimum-security design of the property, as references to “escapes” or “escapees” appeared 19 times in 7 articles, including: APTN (1), CBC (2), *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (3), as highlighted within Table 12. For instance, one article in *National Post* mentions:

But healing lodges in general and Pe Sakastew in particular have been plagued by frequent escapes, sometimes by dangerous offenders deemed a high risk to re-offend; while many escapees are recaptured peacefully, and some even return on their own, over the past two decades escapees from Pe Sakastew have been involved in police standoffs, shootouts, a hostage taking and even a suicide. (Gerson, 2016)

This illustrates that escapes are viewed as being a commonplace occurrence at the Pê Sâkâstêw Centre, as they are “plagued” with incidents of dangerous offenders fleeing the healing lodge.

Additionally, these discussions of escapes were clearly mobilized as a mechanism of inflating the sense of risk posed to public safety through the existence of healing lodges.

There was also a discussion of the “independent living” available within healing lodges in a *National Post* source as well as how they are “spacious” in a CBC article, suggesting that offenders are not under surveillance and maintain a sense of relative freedom (Richmond, 2018; Urback, 2018). The phrase “residential-style housing” appeared in 3 articles, including one in APTN, *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, respectively. References were also made to the “kitchenettes” as part of some healing lodges, in one *National Post* article and one CBC article (Richmond, 2018; Stefanovich, 2018). Additionally, another *National Post* article referred to the “chalets” in healing lodges (Gerson, 2016). One CBC article included an interviewee quote that deemed a healing lodge as a “country club for criminals.” Similarly, the same CBC article compared a healing lodge to a “wilderness retreat” (Stefanovich, 2018). There were also references to offenders “enjoying” their time in healing lodges in 2 articles – one in CBC and the other in *The Globe and Mail* (Urback, 2018; “Globe editorial: The Conservatives talk tough on crime,” 2018).

These types of codes construct healing lodges as if they are a vacation property, rather than correctional institutions. These descriptions are employed in order to negate the potential that healing lodges could have for offenders and to validate the applicability of more punitive measures. Further, this supports the ideology that harsher punishment deters people from committing crimes, particularly more serious offences, such as assault and homicide. As highlighted by Barber and Doob (2004, p. 327), research in Canada indicates that many people perceive a relationship between punitiveness in sentencing and lower incidences of crime. Further, advocacy of harsher sentencing tends to correspond with the rejection of program

opportunities that are outside of the scope of the typical punishment model (Barber and Doob, 2004, p. 339). These codes surrounding easy punishment illustrate that many articles within my sample portrayed these institutions as fundamentally too lenient on offenders, and further supported the belief that the physical design of healing lodges are prone to escapes without the standardized security features that other prison facilities in Canada have. This fundamentally undermined the potential of healing lodges in many discourses through the construction of risk to public safety.

**Table 12: Easy Punishment**

Easy Punishment Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Security, Security Level or Security Classification	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10 APTN (63%)</li> <li>• 10 CBC (53%)</li> <li>• 17 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (85%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	174
2) Transfer	43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 14 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (70%)</li> <li>• 15 <i>National Post</i> (83%)</li> </ul>	185
3) Behind Bars or Locked Up	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)</li> </ul>	36
4) Easy, Open, Lax, Spacious, Enjoys	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	23
5) Traditional	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	20
6) Dangerous/Danger	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	17

Easy Punishment Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
7) Escape	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	19
8) Portrayals of Healing Lodge Residences (Ex. Chalets, Country Club for Criminals, Wilderness Retreat)	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	10
9) Fences	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	8
10) Without Secured Perimeters	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
11) Self-declared	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
12) Zero Security	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
13) Unsafe	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
14) Without a Controlled Perimeter	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

#### *Healing Lodges as Cultural Rehabilitation*

Articles were focused on the cultural elements of healing lodges, such as the mention of “tee-pee inspired architecture” in a *The Globe and Mail* article (White, 2014) and describing healing lodge chalets as “teepee-like” in *National Post* article (Gerson, 2016), which are highlighted within Table 13. For instance, when discussed by White (2014) this term is used within the following context, “The 18 staff members stress the importance of ‘mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional healing’ through the use of aboriginal values, all within tee-pee inspired architecture.” This demonstrates the way in which healing lodges are constructed in some discourses as being culturally rehabilitative, oftentimes through reductionist frames of what Indigenous cultures mean. For instance, the reference to “aboriginal values” here lacks any specificity as to whether this particular healing lodge incorporates the practices of any specific

First Nation group, instead portraying all Indigenous cultures as a generalizable concept that has melded together an incredibly diverse number of cultural groups into one idea.

Although the references to tee-pees were infrequent within my sample, this further exemplifies Morley Johnson's (2011, p. 114) discussion of Savagism in whitestream media, in which diverse Indigenous cultures are reduced to a static portrayal of how colonial culture views Indigeneity. Since teepees represent a common stereotype, this continues to establish a sense of Western superiority over Indigenous people, by portraying Indigenous people as "backwards" in time and lacking advancement within the context of a capitalist society. However, this kind of language might be a reflection of non-Indigenous journalists within settler media sources, which may have a substantive impact on the ways in which healing lodges are depicted, including the reliance on stereotypes and homogenization (Chan and Chunn, 2014, pp. 56-57).

The term "rehabilitation" was used 41 times across 22 articles, including APTN (31%), CBC (21%), *The Globe and Mail* (40%) and *National Post* (28%). Similarly, the phrase "restorative justice" was used in 3 articles, including one in each of the following: APTN, *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. The word "spiritual" appeared 27 times in 15 articles, with comparable representation across APTN (19%), CBC (21%), and *The Globe and Mail* (15%), and highest representation in *National Post* (28%). This illustrates how many articles within my sample relied on the ideology of rehabilitating offenders through certain cultural practices.

Additionally, there were a number of cultural terms used, including references to a "totem pole" in a CBC article, as well as "drumming" in publication from *The Globe and Mail* (Kaljur & Rowland, 2016; White, 2014). This is related to issues of hegemonic Indigeneity and obfuscation of the diversity within Indigenous communities and cultures (Martel & Brassard, 2008, p. 349), which has been a fundamental criticism of CSC's approach in Indigenizing

carceral institutions. By drawing emphasis on common notions of Indigenous culture, such as teepees and totem poles, this relies heavily on cultural stereotyping. It is noteworthy that many of these generalized symbols of culture tended to appear in settler media sources, rather than APTN articles. References to “culture” broadly were referenced 48 times in 23 sources, which were most frequent in APTN (56%), but were also represented within CBC (21%), *The Globe and Mail* (30%) and *National Post* (22%) as well. For instance, one article in *The Globe and Mail* says, “The idea was that the cultural damage historically sustained by native communities helps drive anti-social behaviour. Get inmates connected with their own traditions, and they should be less likely to reoffend” (Everett-Green, 2012). It should be noted that this article also chose to refer to Indigenous people as “native.” Although this may oftentimes be a term that Indigenous people self-identify with, it does emerge as problematic when it is applied by a non-Indigenous media source like *The Globe and Mail*. This is also reflective of my earlier discussion of how only settler media sources chose to use the word “Native,” whereas this term was completely absent from APTN articles in my sample.

In addition, this explanation of Indigenous-centric programming within the criminal justice system is reductionist, particularly in the way in which intergenerational trauma is directly attributed to what is phrased as “anti-social behaviour,” which fails to acknowledge the oversurveillance of Indigenous communities (Howe & Monaghan, 2018, p. 332). In addition, this does not take into account the numerous other factors linked to colonial history that have led Indigenous people to be incarcerated at such a high rate, such as residential schools, cultural erasure and socioeconomic factors (Hyatt, 2013, pp. 41-43). One way of interpreting the applicability of the cultural rehabilitation frame is that the use of cultural traditions are perceived to reduce the rate of re-offending. The construction of support here is on the basis that using

cultural elements will address the rate of crime committed by Indigenous people, which perpetuates the idea that Indigenous individuals are fundamentally in need of fixing, rather than recognizing how victimization and criminalization are oftentimes connected within the lives of offenders. However, it is also possible that the cultural rehabilitation frame in some cases, particularly when utilized by APTN, was reflective of seeking meaningful change for Indigenous offenders. Further, it could be argued that support for this mechanism of cultural healing could be interpreted, to some degree, as a form of cultural resurgence, as resurgence is embedded in Indigenous cultures and ways of knowing (Coulthard, 2014, p. 155). In the context of Section 81 healing lodges in particular, I argue that the cultural rehabilitation frame may also be related to support for Indigenous leadership in facilitating programming that has potential to benefit offenders upon their release back into society.

Further, “ceremonies” was used 18 times in 10 articles, including APTN (2), CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (3). One instance in which ceremonies were discussed was in a CBC article that stated:

It also said Bourque has lessened his risk by staying engaged in his culture, including participating in traditional healings at the minimum security healing lodge, where he has accessed one-on-one Elder counselling, sharing circles, morning smudge, and pipe and sweat lodge ceremonies. (Malbeuf, 2018)

In this instance, the offender Roman Bourque, who was released on day parole after serving time in a healing lodge, is discussed as having experienced cultural rehabilitation, including a number of ceremonies and engagement with Elders. Rather than using the frame of easy punishment here, this argument relies on the concept that participation in healing lodges will be effective towards reducing Bourque’s risk of recidivism. In addition, the term “healing” appeared 28 times



in 16 articles, including APTN (38%), CBC (32%), *The Globe and Mail* (5%) and *National Post* (17%). Other codes that only appeared once included references to medicine wheel, medicines, smudges and sweats, while “pipe” appeared in 3 articles, including CBC (2) and *The Globe and Mail* (1).

**Table 13: Cultural Rehabilitation Frame**

<b>Cultural Rehabilitation Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Culture (Including Culturally Specific and Culturally-Appropriate)	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 APTN (56%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	48
2) Rehabilitation	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	41
3) Healing	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	28
4) Spiritual	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	27
5) Ceremonies	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	18
6) Sweat Lodge or Sweats	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	5
7) Cultural Symbols (Ex. Pipe, Medicine Wheel, Totem Pole)	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	7
8) Restorative Justice	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
9) Teepee-like	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2

Cultural Rehabilitation Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
10) Drumming	1	• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)	1
11) Forward-thinking	1	• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)	1
12) Smudges	1	• 1 CBC (5%)	1

Some articles in support of the potential of healing lodges utilized descriptors used like “forward-thinking” and “culturally appropriate settings” in order to focus on the rehabilitative capacity of healing lodges. Oftentimes, this cultural rehabilitation argument would appear in tandem with larger ideals of the cost-saving benefits this had for the criminal justice system within Canada, including phrases like, “spend now, save later.” This was used in an article in *The Globe and Mail*, in which they state the following:

‘Why spend all that money when the other way is more cost-effective?’ Prof. Milward says. Augmenting rehab programs for natives, which are now available to less than 20 per cent of aboriginal inmates, would be a ‘spend now, save later’ investment, he says. More jail time will cost us more now and in the future. (Everett-Green, 2012)

This is connected to settler-Indigenous relations and prevalent misconceptions that Indigenous issues are a financial burden that are draining Canadian taxpayers (Pasternak, 2016, p. 326).

For instance, Pasternak (2016, p. 331) discusses the way in which fiscal warfare is oftentimes mobilized to cover up the racist history towards Indigenous peoples in Canada, instead focusing on convincing the public that no more money should be spent funding First Nations issues. Similarly, the frame of funding within the healing lodge context suggests that taxpayers will spare less of a financial burden on the criminal justice system through the use of healing lodges, rather than actually addressing the underlying systemic problems that lead Indigenous people to be incarcerated at much higher levels than their non-Indigenous

counterparts. Instead of highlighting the expenses within police budgets spent on patrolling Indigenous bodies or ways in which money could instead be spent within communities by enhancing access to social services, the solution within this discourse is to keep incarcerating Indigenous offenders at a significantly higher rate through the most fiscally sensible programming. The term “budget” appeared within 5 articles in my sample, including APTN (2), CBC (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (2), as highlighted within Table 14. In addition, the word “spend” was used 6 times in 4 articles, in both APTN (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (3).

Further, one CBC article states as follows, “It costs approximately \$167,000 to house an offender at Okimaw Ohci. The average cost of maintaining a woman offender annually at a traditional prison is \$191,843, according to the correctional service” (Stefanovich, 2018). This excerpt further highlights the way in which financial references are used to substantiate the value of cultural rehabilitation by supporting healing lodges in Canada. Within this instance, they use the financial breakdown of cost per offender to appeal to the reader that healing lodges are acceptable as a legitimate form of punishment on the basis that it will save Canadians money. “Funding” was another common code that appeared within my sample, appearing 24 times in 15 articles, including APTN (44%), CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (17%). The word “money” appeared 14 times across 11 articles, including APTN (6%), CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (17%). Although APTN was also actively engaged with wording surrounding financial discussions, oftentimes these references more so derived from highlighting issues related to underfunding of Indigenous programming, or interest in gaining more money to be invested in them. For instance, an article that discusses the Scarborough women’s healing lodge project states the following:

The plan to build Toronto's first Indigenous women's healing lodge for women who are in trouble with the law is underway. The shelter was approved by Toronto city council in August but money must be raised to buy the property. Kelly Potvin, a member of the Thunder Woman Healing Lodge Society, says fundraising is in full swing. (Francis, 2019)

Thus, within this context, this article is mobilizing references to finances in order to illustrate where the funding for a women's healing lodge will be ascertained. Comparatively, some APTN articles then, I would argue, are more centrally focused on how to generate more funding towards meeting the needs of Indigenous offenders, in comparison to some settler media articles, like in CBC, that comparatively emphasize the lower costs of healing lodges in comparison to standard correctional facilities as a benefit of the cultural rehabilitation model.

Additionally, "investment" was used 11 times in 5 articles, which include APTN (2), CBC (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (2). Lower cost was used as a fundamental reason for supporting rehabilitative and restorative justice practices for Indigenous offenders by alluding to the costs to society and overall payoff value. The code "cost" was specifically referenced 29 times in 10 articles, including APTN (3), CBC (3), *The Globe and Mail* (3) and *National Post* (1). The term "save" was used in 4 articles, including CBC (1), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (1). Additionally, "financial" appeared in 2 articles, including one in CBC and another in *National Post*. Conversely, there was also a discussion of the "underfunded" in 5 articles, including APTN (3), CBC (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (1). The term "insecurity" was used to describe the future of healing lodges within Canada in one CBC article ("Aboriginal healing centres face funding problems," 2013). Overall, through the use of the cultural rehabilitation frame in tandem with financial references, settler media sources in particular relied

on this perspective, in contrast to the easy punishment frame by supporting healing lodges on the basis that they would reduce the chances of Indigenous offenders committing crimes upon their release from incarceration and save Canadian taxpayers money on prisons. Through hegemonic notions of what Indigenous cultures mean, these were viewed as creating a safer society that removed the threat of crimes committed by Indigenous people through Indigenizing the carceral space to meet their perceived needs.

**Table 14: Financial References**

Financial Reference Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Funding, Underfunding, Budget, Investment, Insecurity	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	48
2) Money, Cost or Financial	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	45
3) Spend/Save	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	11

### ***Media Constructions of the Indigenous Offender***

#### *Child Killer Narrative*

The construction of risk posed to children by Indigenous offenders was a dominant theme throughout my sample that continually drew a connection between offenders who had harmed children and healing lodges through codes like “child killers” and “child murderers.” I chose to separate this discussion from my aforementioned analysis of depictions of crime in Chapter 4, as I thought that the theme of risk to children was not distinctly connected to substantive differences in settler versus Indigenous media. This discussion includes references to the McClintic case, but also included other news stories, such as the revelation that correctional

employees had brought their children to a healing lodge, in one instance. Many articles portrayed child killers as living openly within the healing lodge environment. Healing lodges were continually criticized on the basis that Indigenous offenders can freely serve their sentence and it would be easy to harm children in the lodge, if they wanted to. “Child killer,” “child murder” and child murderer” were referred to 37 times in 18 articles, including APTN (19%), CBC (42%), *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (28%), as noted within Table 15 below. Although these terms were used across sources within my sample, it is evident that they were most commonly apparent in CBC articles. Discussion of child killers also stemmed from the political debate over McClintic serving her sentence in a healing lodge and the revelation that more child killers had been sent to healing lodges under the former Harper leadership than under the current Liberal government (Starr & Kapelos, 2018). Oftentimes, McClintic was referred to simply as the “child killer.” For example, one CBC article states the following:

The federal government released those numbers in response to a request from CBC News Network’s *Power and Politics* in the wake of a wave of outrage over child-killer Terri-Lynne McClintic’s transfer to an Indigenous healing lodge in southern Saskatchewan last December. She was transferred back to a traditional prison in Edmonton last week. (Starr & Kapelos, 2018)

This illustrates an instance in which the label “child-killer” was used to describe McClintic in reference to her transfer to Edmonton Institution for Women. This excerpt also utilizes the aforementioned terminology of presenting a maximum-security prison as one that is “traditional,” as a means of dichotomizing healing lodges and standardized prison environments. I argue that this fundamentally invalidates healing lodges as an easier form of punishment of the two, as there is a distinct binary created within this context that denotes a sense of superiority.

Another example of the use of “child killer” to depict McClintic appears in a *National Post* article that discusses her as follows:

The Conservatives have raised concerns about the level of security at the Okimaw Ohci lodge, which isn't fenced in, and the possibility of children living there. ‘She's in a healing lodge with no walls, no bars, and with children living inside. It's absolutely reprehensible that a child killer is living alongside children,’ Scheer said Friday. (Forrest, 2018b)

This quote draws upon aforementioned themes, by highlighting the physical structure of the healing lodge to connote that this is an easy form of punishment that is doomed to cause the escapes of offenders, as well as relying on Andrew Scheer, leader of the Conservative Party, as a key source, which was popular amongst settler media sources, particularly *National Post*. Additionally, it is evident from this excerpt that Scheer’s quote creates a clear construction of risk on the basis that healing lodges are able to have children reside on site. By relying on the physical structure of the lodge, this emphasizes offenders as being free entities that can harm children if they want to.

Alternatively, one APTN article quoted the director of Buffalo Sage Wellness House indicating the ability of young children to stay with their mothers as a benefit for the wellbeing of the offenders (Lamirande, 2017). The construction of risk surrounding the presence of children within healing lodges is relevant to the research literature examining the CSC’s implementation of the Mother-Child Program (MCP). For instance, there was a huge media backlash to the decision of Lisa Whitford, an Indigenous woman who was permitted to have her child live with her in prison, leading to the 2008 changes to the MCP by CSC that significantly reduced the number of potential participants in the program, especially disadvantaging

Indigenous women offenders (Brennan, 2014, p. 27). Specifically, the 2008 changes meant that female offenders that had any charges of serious violence, crimes against children or sexual offending were rendered ineligible for the MCP opportunities (Miller, 2017, p. 9). Thus, controversy regarding children and healing lodges is not a recent emergence in Canadian media and has reappeared as a discourse of moral panic a number of times.

The terms “children” or “kids” appeared 66 times in 28 articles with the following representation across sources: APTN (44%), CBC (47%), *The Globe and Mail* (15%) and *National Post* (50%). Comparatively, APTN, CBC and *National Post* all referenced children or kids in up to 50% of their articles, whereas it was much less common in publications from *The Globe and Mail*. This may indicate that *The Globe and Mail* was less engaged with the risk to children narrative, as they also had the lowest representation of the term “child killers,” as mentioned previously. There were also specific references to the victimization of children throughout articles in my sample, including “child abuse” and “child exploitation.” In the case of the Thunder Woman Healing Lodge development in Scarborough and opposition to it due to the proximity to playgrounds and schools, there was an implicit assumption of the threat that these offenders have to predominantly non-Indigenous communities. For instance, one resident quoted within a CBC article phrased it as the following, “I worry about the kids in the area. They're easily influenced and they could get amongst the wrong people” (Smee, 2019). This quotation does not specify who the “wrong people” are; however, given that the healing lodge is for Indigenous women who have come into conflict with the law and the persistent framing of Indigenous people as the “other,” this quotation may be re-articulating the “us versus them” narrative by implying that Indigenous people do not belong in *our* neighbourhood and that they construct a fundamental threat to public safety, particularly for children. This is discussed by



Clark (2014, pp. 43-44) in terms of the way in which Indigenous people, particularly First Nations groups, are deemed the “other” within the media. Since the beginning of colonial history in Canada, Clark (2014, p. 44) illustrates, the “us versus them” narrative has been a dominant frame used to differentiate Indigenous and non-Indigenous experiences. This is a fundamentally ethnocentric theme within media discourses that derives from Eurocentrism historically.

One of the most prevalent narratives regarding the risk offenders in healing lodges pose to children is the report that healing lodge employees were bringing their children into Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge. For instance, one National Post article that depicted this story described it with the following:

Of the 39 inmates at the lodge, 11 were sentenced or had been previously sentenced for crimes involving children, ranging from sexual abuse to violence and neglect causing harm or death. Some inmates had specific conditions imposed on them to not be near children. (“Employees brought children,” 2016)

By explicitly stating the crimes in which offenders at the healing lodges committed, this helps to construct the sense of risk posed to children. Similarly, an article in *The Globe and Mail* states the following:

In a report tabled in Parliament on Thursday, the Office of the Public Sector Integrity Commissioner revealed that 21 employees at the Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge (OOHL) – one-third of the average staffing complement – have taken their children to the facility a total of at least 73 times since 2011. None of the children, who ranged in age from about six months to 17 years, were reported to have been harmed. (Blaze Baum, 2016)

In this case, the reference to the age range of children who visited the healing lodge further connotes the sense of risk, particularly for young children.

The term “pedophile” appeared in 2 articles, both of which were CBC. For instance, one article examines a case in which a man who was charged with sexually assaulting a child is depicted in the following, “The man convicted for sexually abusing his then-girlfriend's six-year-old daughter and advertising her on Craigslist for pedophiles to assault has been transferred to an Indigenous healing lodge” (Rankin, 2019). This continues to support a trend of portraying offenders who have been convicted of crimes against children as easily accessing the opportunity to serve their sentence in a healing lodge. According to a CBC article within my sample, as of 2018, there were 11 offenders convicted of killing children that were actively serving their sentence in a healing lodge. From 2011 to 2018, there were 21 offenders who committed first or second degree murder against a child (under the age of 18) who served in healing lodges. Comparatively, data collected by Statistics Canada demonstrates that between 2007 and 2017, there were 540 children in Canada that were killed (Starr & Kapelos, 2018). Thus, this indicates that the majority of offenders who have been convicted of killing a child are not given the opportunity to serve their sentence in a healing lodge, contrary to some of the presumptive claims made in aforementioned articles.

Jewkes discusses the way in which pedophilia has been constructed as a moral panic in the media in the following:

...the moral panic over paedophilia has perpetuated the notion that sexual dangerousness resides in strangers and that those strangers are not like ‘us.’ While ‘we’ are ‘normal,’ morally decent, law-abiding citizens, ‘they’ lurk at school gates and in playgrounds, preying on innocents in the pursuit of fulfilling their sexual depravities. (Jewkes, 2004, p. 97)

Thus, this moral panic is grounded in the idea that children are fundamentally at risk of strangers. However, Canadian data from 2018 suggests that police-reported violence against children is most predominantly committed by acquaintances (32%) and family members (31%), rather than by strangers (17%) (Conroy, Burczyk & Savage, 2019, p. 4). Similarly, this connects to the way in which the risk towards children was dominant within a number of articles in my sample. By utilizing this discourse of “child killers” running rampant in healing lodges, this can garner a greater sense of public outrage and mobilize the belief that the justice system is not appropriately penalizing offenders that have hurt children in Canada. Overall, while APTN, CBC and *National Post* tended to engage with constructing risk against children through their publications, it appears that *The Globe and Mail* was less engaged with supporting this narrative.

**Table 15: Risk to Children**

<b>Risk to Children Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Children or Kids	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	66
2) Child Killer(s), Child Murderer(s) or Child Murder	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	37
3) Pedophile(s), Child-Sex Offenders or Sex with a Child	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
4) Child Abuse or Exploitation	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> </ul>	3
5) Child Welfare	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1

*McClintic and Gender*

One of the most dominant themes within my research was the portrayal of the transfer of Terri-Lynne McClintic from Grand Valley Institution for Women to Okimaw Ochi Healing

Lodge and the details that followed this event. Throughout this sub-section, I will be discussing the ways in which McClintic was depicted by media sources. As a disclaimer, this is not meant to be a reflection on the egregious crimes that McClintic committed, but rather I aim to examine the nuances of how the Canadian media portrays women who commit crime. Discussions focused on McClintic's transfer further reinforced the notion that a healing lodge is not the appropriate setting for an offender like McClintic. Oftentimes, McClintic was not referred to by her direct name, but rather "Victoria Stafford's killer." Specifically, Tori Stafford's name appeared 124 times within 35 articles, including APTN (25%), CBC (42%), *The Globe and Mail* (50%) and *National Post* (72%), as illustrated in Table 16. Interestingly, Stafford's name was referenced in nearly 4 in 5 articles in my sample regarding healing lodges, however, this representation was only 1 in 4 amongst APTN articles. Thus, it appears that although the *National Post* mentioned Tori Stafford the most, settler media more generally was more likely to discuss Stafford in comparison to APTN. Further, coverage of McClintic's transfer more broadly, including references to Tori Stafford, Terri-Lynne McClintic and Rodney Stafford were all less central within APTN articles in my sample.

In addition, McClintic's name was one of the most coded terms in my analysis, appearing 241 times within 34 articles, including APTN (25%), CBC (42%) *The Globe and Mail* (50%) and *National Post* (67%). This representation was relatively similar to discussions of Tori Stafford, however, McClintic's representation was 12 percentage points lower in *National Post*, while APTN, CBC and *The Globe and Mail* mentioned Stafford and McClintic in the same number of articles. This may be a reflection of the way in which McClintic was oftentimes referred to as "Stafford's killer" or "child killer," which would reduce direct references to her actual name in articles. A handful of articles drew comparisons of Terri-Lynne McClintic to

other high-profile killers, including Elizabeth Wettlaufer, Paul Bernardo, Clifford Olson and Karla Homolka. Typically, according to Jewkes (2004, p. 113), women who offend are portrayed under the frame of one of several typologies. In the case of McClintic, I argue that her portrayal in the Canadian media would largely fall under the “evil manipulators” category, as these are women who commit crimes with male partners and become the primary source of blame for the crime within this media typology. The discussion of this framing is explained here:

Women who form murderous alliances with men are the most problematic for the institutions that seek to understand them and communicate their actions to the rest of society, particularly as their prey are often the archetypal ‘innocent’ victims – children and young women. (Jewkes, 2004, p. 128)

This clearly aligns with Terri-Lynne McClintic, as she carried out violent crimes in partnership with her boyfriend Michael Rafferty. Specifically, one CBC article in my sample states the following regarding McClintic:

There’s a Karla Homolka-like quality to McClintic’s punishment in that both women appeared to get off relatively easily compared to the magnitude of their crimes. That’s not the only parallel: both were initially perceived as passive accomplices, yielding to the whims of their deranged and violent partners. It wasn’t until later that the extent of their involvement was known. (Urback, 2018)

This connects to portrayals of leniency and deviance of women more specifically, as female offenders are oftentimes demonized by the media in a clearly gendered lens.

Kilty (2010, p. 165) highlights that in media coverage of Karla Homolka, her apologies, cooperation with police and testimony against Paul Bernardo did not result in any leniency towards her, as she was continually portrayed as more evil than Bernardo. Additionally, as

Morrissey (2003, p. 145) states, the case of Karla Homolka highlights how women's crimes are placed in the landscape of a heteropatriarchy, in which Homolka's participation in the abduction, sexual assault and homicide was viewed as worse than Bernardo's involvement, as Homolka fundamentally violated values of the ideal woman in terms of societal expectations of women as mothers and wives. Morrissey (2003, p. 150) also highlights how Bernardo's violence was minimized, as part of being a component of natural male behaviour, in comparison to his partner Homolka, who was constructed as more worthy of fear and a greater sense of guilt over the murder, which is perceived as characteristic of men and therefore especially heinous when a woman behaves this way. Similarly, in the context of Terri-Lynne McClintic, she was the primary focus of articles in my sample. Michael Rafferty appeared in 49 times in 20 articles across APTN (13%), CBC (26%), *The Globe and Mail* (40%) and *National Post* (28%). In terms of overall references, Rafferty's name appeared approximately a fifth of the number of times in comparison to references to McClintic, and his name appeared in a significantly lower number of articles.

It is also clear that *The Globe and Mail* was the most likely to discuss Rafferty in their articles, whereas the other sources were more likely to obfuscate his involvement in the crimes, as this was the lowest representation of Rafferty's name in a media source. Although APTN has the lowest coverage of Rafferty, it is important to note that McClintic was not central to healing lodge coverage within APTN articles in my sample, as her name was only mentioned in 4 sources total, with 2 of these referencing Rafferty. Thus, APTN was more diverse in their coverage of healing lodges in comparison to settler media sources, with less focus on the McClintic case. However, it should be noted that due to my search criteria being explicitly surrounding healing lodges, it was unlikely to capture the full extent of media coverage of

Michael Rafferty, as Terri-Lynne McClintic is much more substantively relevant to the chosen subject matter. Rather, I argue here that the absence of Rafferty in discussing McClintic's crimes fails to fully contextualize the involvement of both parties in the crime, by centrally focusing on McClintic's role in coverage of her transfer and the aftermath of this event. As Jewkes (2004, p. 128) highlights, the case of Karla Homolka and Paul Bernardo exhibits a larger media framework of heterosexual women who seemingly comply with their male partner's wishes of engaging in violent crime as the primary guilty party. This is captured in the following:

Ian, Fred, Paul and Barrie were all evil men, capable of extreme cruelty. But without a submissive woman, a sadistic man would never act...It is therefore the woman who is instrumental in unleashing the violence and depravity that the man has thus far contained. (Jewkes, 2004, p. 128)

There were also references to locations relevant to McClintic and Rafferty's crimes – including Woodstock and Oliver Stephens Public School, where the abduction of Tori Stafford took place, as well as references to Mount Forest, where Stafford's body was later discovered, which are all included within Table 16A in Appendix B.

The moral panic that occurred in the media once McClintic was transferred to Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge derives partially from the way in which violent crime is a dominant focus of media coverage, following the “if it bleeds, it leads” trope, as well as the interest in a case involving a female offender, which is a much less common occurrence statistically (Chan & Chunn, 2014, p. 56). Additionally, the fact that the victim in this case, Tori Stafford, was an eight-year-old white girl also has implications for the way in which this story was discussed. This applies to the discussion by Collins (2014, pp. 87-88) regarding how crimes involving white victims are much less likely to be rationalized by the media, instead highlighting the use of

violence used in the case, as well as relying on fear tactics, both of which were used in discussing Tori Stafford's death. Additionally, as highlighted by Chan and Chunn (2014, p. 60), historically, the media has centrally focused on protecting the perceived risk towards the sexuality of white girls and women by male predators, particularly racialized men. Although Michael Rafferty is a white man, the dynamics of an Indigenous woman and her boyfriend committing crime together generate panic regarding McClintic's role in particular. Thus, the focus on this story, particularly McClintic's transfer to a healing lodge, where she is viewed as a potential escape risk, enhances a fear-mongering narrative and labels McClintic as the folk devil in this moral panic.

Although there were a multitude of articles that I examined within my sample that condemned the decision to send McClintic to a healing lodge, there were some outliers to this pattern, including in one article published by the *National Post*. It states the following:

She was such a damaged creature herself, the product of a stripper mother with a drinking problem who had a series of brief relationships with sometimes violent men. McClintic was in and out of care, and it's difficult to know which would have been worse for her, her mother's terrible embrace, or the state's. (Blatchford, 2018)

Interestingly, within this example, McClintic is being sympathized with due to her difficult childhood. Although this article does offer some support towards the possible value that could be offered by Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, it also constructs McClintic as a "damaged creature" and directly attributes her childhood neglect as reasoning for her later involvement in crimes. This is also reflective of my earlier discussion of the animalistic portrayal of Indigenous offenders in some discourses, as here McClintic is imagined as a wounded animal.



The intersection of Indigeneity and gender was evident here in regard to what stories about healing lodges were given attention out of the sample, which was primarily focused on the McClintic case and how she was portrayed. The racialized narrative of “Is she or isn’t she?” was popular amongst a number of news articles, analyzing whether or not McClintic is Indigenous. For instance, one article portrays the self-identity option at CSC as an opportunity to mislead others and the idea that McClintic’s Indigeneity should not get her any special treatment, which was described as “unequal treatment” (Selley, 2018b). There was a common argument that McClintic was not Indigenous *enough*, such as the aforementioned article that highlighted McClintic’s self-declaration as a non-status Indian on an employment form (Forrest, 2018b). These narratives undermined the potential of McClintic’s perceived deservingness of serving time at a healing lodge. One *National Post* article questioned how CSC could test a person’s Indigeneity, further reinforcing biological myths about racial identity and tracing this to their DNA and genealogy by describing healing lodges as “full of the self-declared” (Selley, 2019).<sup>5</sup> Comparatively, as discussed by Kuokkanen (2015, p. 275), the status rights for Indigenous women have been historically suppressed, which has left many denied of access to their cultures and communities.

APTN also engaged in similar contentious understandings of McClintic’s Indigeneity, stating the following in one article:

The Stafford family has been in the spotlight since it was revealed McClintic had been down-graded to a medium-security risk – despite several violent offences in prison – and moved to the Okimaw Ohci Healing Lodge in Saskatchewan. McClintic’s brother told

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<sup>5</sup> See Leroux (2018, p. 81) for more in-depth examination of how the increasing trend of Indigenous self-identification has been received by some Indigenous scholars, particularly in regards to DNA testing within Quebec.

Global News that they are not indigenous. (“Child killer McClintic removed from healing lodge and is back in prison,” 2018)

Interestingly, within this context, a family member of Terri-Lynne McClintic is cited in order to negate McClintic’s Indigenous identity.

This illustrates that there are some interesting similarities between settler and Indigenous-led media in terms of reinforcing the idea that McClintic may not be Indigenous and thus, implying that if she is not, she should not be considered an eligible candidate for a healing lodge, despite the fact that CSC does consider non-Indigenous offenders as also eligible participants in healing lodge programming (Correctional Service Canada, 2019c). Thus, the way in which healing lodges are portrayed may be a reflection of the overincarceration rate of racialized people in Canada at large. Additionally, it should be noted the way in which this article refers to McClintic’s violence during her prison sentence. I argue that this further reflects the idea that healing lodges are an easy form of punishment, wherein offenders who have committed violent offences are deemed less worthy of more rehabilitative punishment, including healing lodges. Additionally, the article title itself explicitly states “Child killer McClintic,” which further highlights my earlier discussion of the way in which the term “child killer” was oftentimes used across media sources as a means of undermining the use of healing lodges as a punishment option for violent offenders who had harmed children.

Another article describes how McClintic “savagely assaulted” another inmate during her time at Grand Valley Institution for Women. The reference of “savagely” only appeared twice, both of which were in the *National Post* (Selley, 2018a; Selley, 2019). However, this is a key point to draw in, particularly in connecting to the literature on media stereotypes of Indigenous

people and historical depictions of the “savage” and the detrimental impacts of using this terminology to characterize Indigenous people. This is explained further in the following:

Savagism stands for the pattern of relative strength (power relations) between Colonized Native and the Colonizer, and the discourse about the Savage that this power relation enables (the Colonizer never loses the upper hand in this discourse)...Savages were inherently violent, and contemporary militancy constitutes terrorism against the nation-state. (Morley Johnson, 2011, pp. 113-114)

Further, Morley Johnson (2011, p. 121) illustrates that the Savagist frame is oftentimes utilized as a technique to legitimize the treatment of Indigenous people by settler Canadians, particularly when the protests of Indigenous groups result in the violent use of authority in response.

Although the referrals to McClintic in the Savagist frame are minimal, they are still significant, particularly as this validates harsher punishment of McClintic as an offender. Clark’s (2014, pp. 53-54) research found Canadian media oftentimes framed Indigenous people as the problem people, particularly in the case of their protests to the Keystone XL Pipeline. In the case of McClintic’s behaviour explicitly being described as savage-like, this is a direct portrayal of McClintic as violent Indigenous woman and reifies colonial stereotypes of Indigenous people as causing problems for the interests of settler Canadian society. Similarly, this connects to Simpson’s (2016b, p. 440) discussion of how Canada is only accepting of difference until a problem arises, in which case the threat posed must be stopped by all means necessary.

Adjectives used to describe McClintic included “brutal,” which appeared in 9 articles, including CBC (11%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (11%). In addition, the word “evil” was used in 4 articles, including CBC (1), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (1). “Monstrous” was another common descriptor, appearing in 3 articles, including APTN (2)

and CBC (1). It should be noted that the references to McClintic as “heinous” or “monstrous” in the context of APTN were both direct quotes from Rodney Stafford, rather than depictions of McClintic that directly reflected the journalist’s point of view. One example of a CBC article that uses this terminology includes it in the following:

Moving McClintic out of prison and into a healing lodge is institutional failure of another kind. While there is perhaps a case to be made that even the most monstrous offenders — those with the most hopeless-seeming cases — deserve a shot at rehabilitation, surely the pedophiles and child murderers, the worst of the worst, ought to be at the back of the line. (Urback, 2018)

This draws on previously discussed themes by dichotomizing the Western notion of prison and healing lodges in the context of offenders being transferred through institutions, as well as highlighting how offenders who committed crimes against children are the least deserving of this model of punishment.

Similarly, two different *National Post* articles used terminology “ghoul” and “ghastly” (Selley, 2019; Blatchford, 2018). By constructing McClintic as a monster, this serves as a mechanism of further justifying the harshest available punishment for her. This evidently follows the gendered precedent of other highly publicized cases in which female violence is a key focus of a moral panic. Even when women commit crimes with men, they become the central focal point, as male perpetration of violence against women and girls is viewed as being typical, but when women engage in violence, this is a violation of social norms and becomes the centre of the media’s attention (Kilty, 2010, 156-157). As noted by Jewkes (2004, p. 134), the victimization of children by women is viewed as fundamentally violating gendered ideas of womanhood, as even those offenders who do not have children themselves are constructed as

potential mothers that break traditional gender roles. Similarly, McClintic violated these notions of gender in her role within this crime, which led to overwhelmingly critical portrayals of her. Rehabilitation and deterrence were discussed as viable goals for offenders more broadly in Canada, but not for an offender with crimes as serious as McClintic. Further, this promoted the idea that the punishment is not equivalent to the crime committed.

In conclusion, portrayals of healing lodges tended to either construct healing lodges as an easy form of punishment that were not a place of belonging for “dangerous” offenders or use a frame of cultural rehabilitation, in which the potential of healing lodges was supported on the basis that Indigenous cultures could assist in the healing journey of offenders. In the context of the cultural rehabilitation frame, references to financial arguments for supporting healing lodges tended to be common, particularly in settler media sources. Overall, the coverage of Terri-Lynne McClintic illustrated the gendered portrayal of women who kill, particularly the way in which they receive more criticism in a criminal partnership with a man. Additionally, the role of Indigeneity impacted the way McClintic was discussed, as her racial identity was weaponized as a means of deeming her as a more dangerous offender who should be harshly punished for life for her crimes. Further, settler media sources were more likely to sensationalize the McClintic case, whereas APTN did not cover McClintic’s transfer to as great of an extent and was more generally focused on a variety of issues related to healing lodges in their articles that were outside the scope of the McClintic case.

**Table 16: McClintic Coverage**

<b>McClintic Coverage Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Tori Stafford	35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	124
2) Terri-Lynne McClintic	34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>• 12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)</li> </ul>	241
3) Descriptors of McClintic (Ex. Brutal, horrific, evil, deranged)	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	38
4) Michael Rafferty	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	49
5) Woodstock	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	16
6) Comparisons to Other Murderers (Ex. Clifford Olson, Paul Bernardo)	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	18
7) Mount Forest	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
8) Oliver Stephens Public School	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
9) Savagely	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	2

## **Chapter 6: Claims of Indigenous Sovereignty**

Throughout this chapter, I examine the various constructions of Indigenous sovereignty within Canadian media sources. Specifically, I discuss the role of public opinion and how it is utilized as a mechanism of substantiating a power dynamic that attempts to invalidate Indigenous justice models and thus, to some degree, sovereignty at large. My findings illustrate that the utilization of public opinion appeared more prominently within settler media discourses, in comparison to APTN. I also examine the ways in which Indigenous experiences were discussed throughout my sample, finding that APTN was most engaged with this issue and reflected a sense of support for sovereignty in discussions of the challenges faced by Indigenous people in Canada. Finally, I conclude this chapter by analyzing how discourses align themselves towards narratives in support or against Indigenous autonomy, finding that Indigenous-led media and some settler media sources support pathways towards sovereignty, while other discourses within settler media reject it.

### *Public Opinion and Punishment Models*

One of the ways in which Indigenous sovereignty appeared included the Canadian public's conceptualizations of what justice should mean, that often failed to incorporate any recognition of Indigeneity, and asserted a notion of Western superiority over Indigenous justice practices. I chose to separate this subsection from my discussions of portrayals of healing lodges, as although there are similarities to my discussions of easy punishment here, I thought that the mobilization of public opinion was distinct in terms of establishing a sense of superiority over Indigenous justice practices through references to public sentiments. There was a common narrative promoted in terms of battle of the average Canadian, particularly with coverage surrounding Rodney Stafford. Of note, this was more common in settler media, particularly in

the *National Post*, with codes appearing such as “regular people,” “plain,” “respectful” and “salt of the earth kind of man” having their voices heard, in relation to Rodney Stafford’s fight against McClintic’s transfer. The “righteous outrage” of Canadians on this issue was highlighted frequently. Oftentimes, articles would focus on the lack of information that Rodney Stafford had been given by CSC regarding McClintic’s transfer, which highlighted a fundamental disconnect between everyday Canadians and the decisions made within their criminal justice system.

A *National Post* article states, “‘It’s ‘a victory for the little guy,’ said Tori’s father Rodney Stafford, who led the battle for McClintic’s return to prison. ‘I am very happy with the news’” (Richmond, 2018). This illustrates how Stafford is constructed as a leader of the public fight in Canada to have McClintic removed from Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge. Additionally, the reference to “the little guy” implies that this decision achieves justice for the everyday Canadian who does not normally have a significant role within the decision-making made within the criminal justice system. Similarly, a CBC article states, “Rodney said he’s again reaching out, ‘asking everybody once again to please help me join in this fight and let’s get Canada back to where it should be — have some justice in this country.’” (Ghonaim, 2018). The implication within this statement is that Canadians must mobilize a return to a better time, in which justice was truly implemented. Further, this constructs the use of healing lodges as an obstruction to ensuring that justice is served, while asserting a sense of superiority that Western models of imprisonment are the only valid form of justice in Canada. This connects to the theme of sovereignty, as there is a clear assumption here that Indigenous people should not have a role within how justice is served and that these decisions should be made for them in a paternalistic way, rather than recognizing their own approaches towards justice, particularly in looking after the needs of Indigenous offenders specifically.



It was common for a number of articles within the sample to rely on public opinion and mass outrage as a mechanism of opposing healing lodges – for instance, terminology used included “outrage” 16 times across 18 articles, including APTN (1), CBC (4), *The Globe and Mail* (4) and *National Post* (7), which is displayed in Table 17A in Appendix B. References to the “public” generally appeared 26 times across 18 articles, including APTN (13%), CBC (26%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (33%), as highlighted in Table 17 below. Additionally, the words like “controversial” or “controversy” appeared 7 times in 5 articles within the following sources: APTN (1), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (2).

Oftentimes there were appeals to emotion in my sample, including anger-related references, which appeared in 9 articles, including: CBC (4), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (3). Similarly, the terms “shocked” or “shocking” were used in 7 articles, including CBC (1), *The Globe and Mail* (3) and *National Post* (3). In combining terminology related to outrage, anger and shock, these terms were used most notably within settler media sources, including CBC (42%), *The Globe and Mail* (35%) and *National Post* (50%), whereas this had minimal representation within APTN (6%). Similarly, there was also discussion of “public anger,” “public outrage” and “public outcry,” which appeared in APTN (6%), *The Globe and Mail* (15%) and *National Post* (11%). This terminology was often utilized in the McClintic case, as a way of substantiating her seemingly harsher punishment when she was transferred out of a healing lodge. For instance, one article in *The Globe and Mail* states, “After public outcry, and outrage from Tori’s family, Ms. McClintic was moved from the Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge near Maple Creek, Sask., to the maximum-security Edmonton Institution for Women (“Court application to review Terri-Lynn [sic] McClintic’s prison transfer,” 2019). By using language like “public outcry” and “outrage,” this validates the decision to remove McClintic

from Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge, using this as a basis of rationale for her transfer. The strategy of utilizing public opinion may also be particularly related to the nature of McClintic's crimes against a child. This is discussed in the following:

Moreover, like all moral panics paedophilia has acquired a remarkable degree of consensus. There are few issues that have galvanized public reaction more fiercely...and in response to those who act on their desires, procuring children in playgrounds and Internet chat rooms, there is striking unanimity in the condemnation expressed by the media... (Jewkes, 2004, p. 97)

Additionally, this connects to my previous discussion within my literature review regarding the changes to regulations within the Mother-Child Program (MCP).

The case of Lisa Whitford, an Indigenous woman who was permitted to give birth and keep her child with her while incarcerated, had major implications for the future of the MCP in Canadian corrections. As a result of media coverage and substantial criticism of the prospects of an offender who had committed murder living in prison with her child, this caused a review of the program by CSC. Specifically, new restrictions were enacted that prevented offenders who had been convicted of violent crimes, sexual offences, or crimes against children from being eligible participants in the MCP (Miller, 2017, p. 9). Arguably, Whitford's case bears direct similarities to McClintic's, whereby the public backlash and media coverage lead to reversals in correctional decision-making. This sets a problematic precedent whereby the invocation of public outrage and media coverage has resulted in impactful shifts in the correctional plans for Indigenous women offenders, which are not decisions made by Indigenous communities themselves. Thus, this jeopardizes the presumed application of the democratic rule of law,

whereby all offenders are treated fairly, regardless of the emotional and political reactions to criminal cases.

Similarly, in a case where an offender convicted of a DUI killed someone in the crash, *National Post* spoke to the family of the victim when the offender was transferred to a healing lodge. They state the following:

‘We’re hurt, we’re angry, we’re upset,’ said Van De Vorst. ‘To me, the punishment doesn’t fit the crime. Something’s not right there.’ Van De Vorst also worries the quick transition to the healing lodge sends the wrong message at a time when the Saskatchewan government is trying to curb drinking and driving. (“Relative angry DUI convict moved to healing lodge,” 2017)

Again, this demonstrates the way in which references to emotion are used in order to reject the validity of a more rehabilitative approach to the offender’s pathway in the criminal justice system.

In this case, there is a direct reference to the way in which transferring an offender to a healing lodge will not be effective at deterring future DUI incidents. Although there is no empirical support to substantiate this relationship, there are misunderstandings regarding deterrence that continue to be believed by many. This further acts to reify the notion of healing lodges as an easy form of punishment, as they are viewed as being beyond the scope of the traditional goals of punishment, including deterrence and retribution for crimes. In addition, this reflects research on the Canadians public understanding of the criminal justice system, which demonstrates that many people tend to view the court system as too lenient on offenders (Weinrath, et al. 2012, p. 118). By highlighting that this decision “sends the wrong message,”

this implies that this decision was too soft on the offender in this case and will inspire others to commit the same crime if they know they can get away with it relatively unscathed.

The phrase “public safety” was discussed in 8 articles within my sample, including the following sources: CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (5%) and *National Post* (22%). For instance, one article in the *National Post* states:

This wasn’t just about punishing or exacting retribution from McClintic, not that there’s anything wrong with punishing child murderers. It was about public safety. Public confidence in the justice system is essential for a healthy democracy, and you simply cannot expect any society to accept that it’s safe to put someone with McClintic’s record in a facility from which she could literally walk away. (Selley, 2018a)

In this example, it is clear that references to the emotive responses of members of the Canadian public is used as a key factor in how offenders should be punished. It also raises the question of who comprises the public that is continually referenced in a number of articles. As discussed previously, the role that the media has over public opinion is largely within the process of gatekeeping the narratives that are and are not told (Surette, 2007, pp. 35-36). Thus, it is plausible that the public that is being referred to here is not the entire population of Canada, but rather the interests of non-Indigenous Canadians and the settler state more generally. This can be compared to the logic of elimination, whereby Indigenous mechanisms of autonomy are rejected in favour of assimilation of Indigenous people in high security prisons, where they no longer present a risk to Canadian society (Wolfe, 2006, p. 399).

Further, the author in this instance is arguing that Canadian democracy is at stake, which grossly inflates the importance of this particular case to seem to be a precedent that threatens all future criminal cases, implying that this will lead the way for other child killers to be sent to

healing lodges long-term. Additionally, the construction of public safety here is utilized to construct a clear risk to the public, as Selley describes that McClintic “could literally walk away,” as if there are no correctional employees on site or measures in place to prevent an escape. Arguably, due to the nature of McClintic’s crimes, this further feeds into a fear-mongering narrative in which everyone is unsafe unless she is kept under lock and key in the traditional Western conceptualization of a prison. Further, these discussions regarding healing lodges advocating for protecting the needs of the Canadian public repeatedly rely on ethnocentrism by asserting that punitive models are the superior option in comparison to healing lodges. The majority of public opinion discourse was within settler media sources, with minimal representation across APTN articles in my sample.

**Table 17: Public Opinion**

<b>Public Opinion Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Outrage, Anger and Shock	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	38
2) Public	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	26
3) Public Safety	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	8
4) Public Outrage, Anger and Outcry	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	6
5) Controversy	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	7
6) Public Confidence	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
7) Public Attention	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
8) Public Inquest	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

*Indigenous Experiences in Canada*

Within this subsection, I deconstruct the ways in which various discourses within my sample engage with Indigenous experiences in Canada, such as carceral overrepresentation and racism. Discussion of gender was predominant across my sample, as the code of “women” and “female” appeared 133 times across 44 articles, including the following representation: APTN (69%), CBC (53%), *The Globe and Mail* (55%) and *National Post* (67%). These numbers are shown below within Table 18. These codes surrounding gender frequently were used to discuss the distinct needs of the Indigenous women incarcerated in Canada. For instance, one article in APTN says the following:

The situation is even more distressing for federally sentenced Indigenous women. Over the last 10 years, their numbers of incarceration have more than doubled. Approximately 39 per cent of women incarcerated are now Indigenous, making them the fastest growing prison population in the country. (Crozier, 2017)

This quote emphasizes the recognition of the differential experiences of Indigenous women within the criminal justice system, as well as how the problem of incarceration for this demographic has increased substantially over time, demonstrating a sense of urgency towards action.

Coverage of issues related to prisons in Canada and Indigenous people were also common. For example, the term “over-representation” appeared in 13 articles, with representation across APTN (25%), CBC (16%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (6%). This was used to emphasize the trends of overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples within the criminal justice system. For instance, one of *The Globe and Mail* articles uses it within the following:

First nations [sic], Métis and Inuit offenders are less likely to get parole than other inmates, and they are more likely to serve their sentence in more restricted conditions like segregated units, they are overrepresented in maximum security and they are more likely to see their parole revoked. (Galloway, 2013a)

The term “over-incarceration” also appeared within 3 articles, including APTN (13%) and CBC (5%). Similarly, “disproportionate” appeared in 9 articles in APTN (6%), CBC (5%), *The Globe and Mail* (25%) and *National Post* (11%) and emphasized the higher proportion of Indigenous people incarcerated. Issues relevant to “overcrowding” appeared in 3 articles, including *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (1).

In addition, the term “criminalization” appeared in 2 articles, including one in CBC and the other in *The Globe and Mail*. All of these terms highlight the experiences of Indigenous offenders within the carceral system in Canada. Pathways Units were referred to in 5 articles across media sources, including APTN (1), CBC (1), *The Globe and Mail* (1) and *National Post* (2). These represent another form of CSC’s attempt to Indigenize correctional services, by directly incorporating cultural services to primarily Indigenous offenders within prisons. This program is described as follows:

Pathways is first and foremost an Elder-driven intensive healing initiative, that reinforces a traditional Aboriginal way of life through more intensive one-to-one counselling, increased ceremonial access, and an increased ability to follow a more traditional Aboriginal healing path consistent with Aboriginal traditional values and beliefs.

(Correctional Service Canada, 2013)

In one of the articles mentioning Pathways Units, they are used to demonstrate the potential benefits that this program can have for reducing rates of recidivism amongst offenders. For instance, the CBC article applies it in the following context, “Despite challenges, some early results show improvements for Indigenous inmates involved in ‘Aboriginal-specific’ programming. Indigenous offenders who participated in Pathways units had a 17 per cent rate of re-offense compared to 35 per cent in standard units” (Kaljur & Rowland, 2016). Similar to the aforementioned strategy of financial arguments to substantiate the value of cultural rehabilitation in healing lodges, efficacy data is used here to demonstrate the potential of Pathways Units. For instance, some of the research literature on healing lodges also point to the numbers on recidivism levels, such as Nielsen (2003, p. 81), who notes that Stan Daniels Healing Centre has



a lower recidivism rates in comparison to standard Canadian prisons. This reflects larger themes related to policies and practices being substantiated by quantitative data within society.

Unique challenges faced by Indigenous offenders were depicted in many APTN articles. Other specific issues relevant to the experiences of Indigenous people including residential schools, which appeared in 9 articles with the highest representation in APTN (19%) and relatively equal representation within CBC (11%), *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (11%). Relatedly, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission appeared in one article in APTN. APTN was also the only news source in my sample to discuss the 60s Scoop, further illustrating the recognition of Indigenous experiences within Indigenous-led media. The phrase “intergenerational trauma” was relatively sparse, appearing in 1 CBC and 1 APTN article. Further, the term “genocide” only appeared once in a CBC article. “Foster care” appeared within 8 articles, predominantly within CBC (32%), as well as with minimal representation in APTN (6%) and *The Globe and Mail* (5%). The phrase “pipeline to prison,” which refers to the process in which youth transition from schools to incarceration as a result of systemic issues and discriminatory policies, only appeared in one article, which was in APTN (ACLU, 2020; Crozier, 2017). Overall, APTN was more reflective of the academic understandings of carceral problems, rather than reactionary, moral panic journalism oftentimes employed in settler media sources. APTN tended to be focused on how offenders should be focused on their own healing journey and be serious about their participation in order to be eligible for this particular opportunity. Additionally, APTN was more likely to examine how provinces and territories with some of highest Indigenous incarceration rates do not have equal access to healing lodges.

Interestingly, the only source that mentioned the Indian Act was *National Post* in 2 articles. One of these articles was an opinion piece written by a former judge, who discusses his

experiences with Indigenous issues in the criminal justice system. However, the usage of Indian Act within this context was not discussing the structural colonialism embedded within Canadian history, but rather a reification of harmful stereotypes that all Indigenous people are plagued with poverty and violence. This is highlighted within the following excerpt:

I saw people living in poverty and terrible social dysfunction. I knew about the alcoholism and the family violence from the cases I heard, but I knew nothing about the causes. I learned about the history, the residential schools, the Indian Act, and I saw the callous disregard some chiefs had for their people. (Reilly, 2010)

Further, the author, John Reilly, engages with the popular misconception that social spending in Indigenous communities goes to waste, with incompetent and greedy chiefs in charge of finances.

This is a harmful stereotype that has been used in the past a number of times, as Pasternak (2016, p. 317) illustrates that during the Attawapiskat crisis, Chief Theresa Spence was heavily criticized in the media on the basis that she was believed to have misspent government funds for her community. Further, this is unpacked in the context of sovereignty claims in the following:

For the past two centuries, an expectation of ‘self-sufficiency’ has been demanded in tension with state investment in the dispossession of Indigenous lands; this tension continues to define Crown-Indigenous fiscal relations to this day. Perceptions of ‘financial unaccountability’ and ‘welfare dependency’ in First Nation communities have been simultaneously cultivated and maligned by the state, rendering these commonplace pejoratives an important site of study for understanding the ways in which the economic

discourse of mismanagement concerning Attawapiskat finances became ‘fact’ and a tool for fiscal warfare. (Pasternak, 2016, p. 324)

This illustrates that the theme of misconstruing First Nations chiefs as fiscally incompetent and irresponsible is deeply grounded in broader notions of settler colonialism and a means of undermining the validity of Indigenous leadership. These discussions of self-sufficiency unveil a deeply embedded pattern of invoking power relations over Indigenous bodies, wherein the conceptualization of financial dependency on the state further validates continual surveillance and governance over Indigenous people (Pasternak, 2016, p. 326). Additionally, Simpson (2016b, p. 440) highlights the central threat to settler society, whereby the conceptualization of First Nations accounting for their own financial issues is undermined.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples was discussed in two articles, including one in *The Globe and Mail* and the other in *National Post*. The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women was only mentioned in one CBC article (Smee, 2019), which was interestingly minimal, given my temporal frame of analysis across 2009 and 2019, which encompassed the years that the Inquiry took place, as well as the release of the final report on June 3, 2019 (Wright, 2020). However, this may be a reflection of the way in which Indigenous victimization and criminalization are stratified as separate issues, rather than recognizing the intricate connections between these two problems in Canadian society.

“Race” only appeared in two articles in the 73 articles of my sample, both of which came from *The Globe and Mail* publications. There was no explicit mention of racism in any articles I examined. This relates to Jiwani’s (2016, p. 911) findings that in obituaries covering Indigenous women, there was a fundamental ignorance of the racism and sexism these women experienced during their lives. Similarly, Clark (2014, p. 56) noted the invisibility of racism in Canadian

media discourses, highlighting that although some news articles provided context on stories, such as discussion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, they failed to fundamentally engage with recognizing the ways in which racism continually exists in society, instead opting to recognize “old racism” in Canada. This refers to perceiving the apologies regarding the residential school system as the end of a racist era in Canada. By obfuscating the importance of racism within these discourses, particularly when addressing issues related to Indigenous people within the criminal justice system, these narratives become complicit in failing to truly recognize the various ways in which settler colonialism continues to be embedded in the power structures of Canada. However, this is not indicative that Canadian media as a whole fails to acknowledge racism against Indigenous people. The fact that my sample is a selection of media portrayals of healing lodges specifically may have impacted the extent to which media sources engaged with themes related to racism.

Overall, the discussion of Indigenous issues was important in terms of recognizing the distinct experiences of Indigenous people within Canada, particularly over-representation of offenders in the justice system, as well as recognition of colonialism and its long-term historical impacts. The fact that APTN was much more engaged in a number of these Indigenous issues illustrates how Indigenous-led media was more grounded in the lived experiences of Indigenous people when compared to settler media. Arguably, the willingness to actively engage with the effects of colonialism demonstrates a spectrum of support for sovereignty, with APTN most aptly highlighting the areas of improvement within the prison system whereby Indigenous voices should lead how problems of systemic racism are addressed in Canada.

**Table 18: Indigenous Issues**

<b>Coverage Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Women/Female	44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 11 APTN (69%)</li> <li>• 10 CBC (53%)</li> <li>• 11 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (55%)</li> <li>• 12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)</li> </ul>	133
2) Over-representation, over-incarceration and disproportionate	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	36
3) Residential Schools	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	14
4) Foster Care	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	10
5) Pathways Unit(s)	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	6
6) Overcrowding	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	11
7) Criminalization	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
8) Indian Act	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	3
9) Intergenerational Trauma	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Race	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	2
11) Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
12) Truth and 13) Reconciliation Commission	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
14) 60s Scoop	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
15) Genocide	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
16) National Inquiry into Missing and	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

Murdered Indigenous Women			
17) Pipeline to Prison	1	• 1 APTN (6%)	1

### *Debate of Autonomy*

A key area of thematic discourse surrounding Indigenous sovereignty was how media sources in my sample engaged with autonomy that Indigenous people should be able to exercise. Narratives of autonomy in relation to care were common, particularly in *The Globe and Mail* with codes such as, “take over the care” and “custody of their own offenders.” Custody appeared in 11 articles with the following representation amongst sources: APTN (38%), CBC (5%), *The Globe and Mail* (10%) and *National Post* (11%), as shown in Table 19. The term “care” appeared within 8 articles, including APTN (3), CBC (2), *The Globe and Mail* (2) and *National Post* (1). Indigenous people were oftentimes portrayed as victims of their own circumstances through promotion of harmful stereotypes, such as mention of the “squalor of native communities” in a *National Post* article. Further, this article also included the following suggestion:

What would I do if I had the power? I would dissolve INAC and repeal the Indian Act. I would terminate funding to the Assembly of First Nations. In my view, the AFN is a club that looks after chiefs, many of whom just look after themselves and do very little for the poor and the children of their reserves. (Reilly, 2010)

This narrative is problematic, given the implications that Indigenous communities should be cut off from government funding through these systems, particularly as this connotes that the Assembly of First Nations is too irresponsible to disperse funding, further reiterating my earlier discussion of the way in which chiefs are constructed as incapable of managing finances

(Pasternak, 2016, p. 317). Further, it invalidates the governance structures of Indigenous leadership, deeming them as lacking enough competence to truly have any sense of autonomy.

There was some recognition of the fundamental challenges inherent in Sections 81 and 84 of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act and the importance of community-based healing lodges, as well as the lack of application of Gladue principles. Mention of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act appeared in 4 articles, including in APTN (19%) and *National Post* (6%). For instance, one article in APTN quotes Senator Kim Pate with the following:

We've taken systems and Indigenized them instead of decolonized them,' she said.

‘Corrections will say they can’t control who comes to them, which is partially true, but they certainly can control what they do once they get there. They started building healing lodges in the mid-1990s. The first one planned was the one for women it was supposed to be run by the Nekaneet community within 10 years. It’s never been run by the Nekaneet community. It is now a federal penitentiary.’ According to corrections, ‘requests may be submitted both formally and informally at all levels of the organization, CSC is unable to provide the exact amount of communities who have requested assistance for Section 81.’

(Blackburn, 2019)

This excerpt is reflective of how healing lodges are portrayed in relation to colonialism within APTN. By emphasizing the process of Indigenizing of spaces within the criminal justice system and the way in which this has failed to address the larger issue of decolonization, this diverts significantly from portrayals of sovereignty in settler media sources.

Additionally, this illustrates the way in which Section 81 healing lodge opportunities are neglected, leaving communities like Nekaneet First Nation completely out of the decision-making process for what happens at healing lodges. This is reflective of broader trends in terms

of how healing lodges are being funded, as Section 81 lodges receive less funding as well as reduced salaries for their employees from CSC in comparison to Section 84 lodges, but are still held to the same level of accountability in terms of operational expectations (Office of the Correctional Investigator, 2012, p. 3). APTN messaging favoured greater funding for Indigenous-run healing lodges in order to lead to improved correctional outcomes in more autonomous choices over the treatment of Indigenous offenders. There was also discussion regarding the importance of educating correctional staff regarding Indigenous cultures. Addressing systemic barriers was evident in some articles, rather than whether offenders are deserving of healing lodges or not; they recognized the implicit value of rehabilitation. Specifically, Gladue references appeared 21 times within 7 articles, with the majority of references found within APTN (31%) as well as occasional representation in *The Globe and Mail* (5%) and *National Post* (6%) sources. For instance, one article in APTN discusses Gladue as:

It's a vision of Patti Pettigrew. 'In my work as a Gladue writer, I work with a lot of women who are incarcerated and I've written their life stories – and they are horrendous. And so, with the right therapy, the right healing, they'll gain their strength and their identity,' she said. (Francis, 2019)

This illustrates a general sense of support, particularly within APTN, for the consideration of the variety of systemic factors that Indigenous people encounter that impact their likelihood of becoming incarcerated. Therefore, highlighting the value of Gladue is relevant to discourses of autonomy, as this fundamentally recognizes the life stories of Indigenous people in the way that they are treated in the legal system, as it reflects the construction of cultural identities and meanings espoused by cultural resurgence (Simpson & Manitowabi, 2013, p. 289)



There was greater depth of reference within APTN articles, as well as within *The Globe and Mail*. Discussion of treaties or land titles appeared in both APTN (19%) and *The Globe and Mail* (10%), but were absent within CBC and *National Post* discussions. More specifically, some APTN releases involved citing specific land titles when discussing particular reserves, such as Shoal Lake 39, which was discussed in 2 APTN articles. Additionally, references to the term “treaty” appeared in 3 articles, including APTN (1) and *The Globe and Mail* (2). In addition, there were references to “Treaty 3” in two APTN article (Martens, 2019a; Martens, 2019b). It is evident from this that Indigenous-led media, as well as *The Globe and Mail*, was more focused on addressing reserve communities within the context of the land treaties that governed their histories. Relatedly, APTN more largely drew attention towards colonialism in Canada, in comparison to settler media sources. For instance, there was one mention of “colonialism,” as well as the use of the term of “decolonized,” both of which were in APTN articles (Crozier, 2017; Blackburn, 2019).

Additionally, the phrase “colonial-inspired law” appeared in one article in *The Globe and Mail* (Csillag, 2010). Within this context, I argue that by describing laws as “colonial-inspired,” this subsequently distances the present from the past and seemingly portrays colonialism as a historic event, rather than an omni-present and ongoing process that has been in existence since the beginning of European colonization in North America (Wolfe, 2006, p. 390). APTN was also more likely to highlight the fact that many healing lodges in Canada are operating under capacity. There was only one explicit reference to sovereignty, in which “sovereign people” appeared in a *The Globe and Mail* article (Csillag, 2010).

One article in *The Globe and Mail* that covered the obituary of Patricia Monture highlighted that she advocated for the “self-determination” of Indigenous people (Csillag, 2010).

APTN articles also acknowledged the importance of decolonizing the criminal justice system, as language surrounding the historical implications of colonialism was much more dominant within APTN articles. Overall, this further illustrated the way in which Indigenous-led media was more in favour of opportunities towards Indigenous autonomy, whereas settler media sources were less engaged with this theme and in some cases, would reject pathways towards self-sufficiency of Indigenous people in Canada.

The ways in which discourses engaged with the theme of autonomy varied across media sources, with APTN demonstrating a greater level of support for practices of decolonization in the form of empowering Indigenous communities and recognizing their sovereign leadership. Conversely, some settler media sources, including *National Post*, participated in narratives that tended to invalidate the recognition of Indigenous autonomy, such as through the portrayal of chiefs as fiscally irresponsible.

**Table 19: Theme of Autonomy**

<b>Autonomy Coverage Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Responsibility	13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	21
2) Custody	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	17
3) Care	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	9
4) Gladue	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	21
5) Treaties and Land Titles	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	7
6) Corrections and Conditional Release Act	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	4
7) References to Colonialism	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	4
8) Indigenized	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
9) Self-determination	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
10) Sovereign People	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

### *Summary*

In summary, my research examined the media portrayals of healing lodges in Canada, as well as Indigenous offenders more generally. I utilized both intersectionality and settler colonialism as my theoretical approaches for this research as to contextualize media discourses to the longstanding history of colonialism in Canadian society, as well as intersections of identity. I examined research questions relevant to settler versus Indigenous-led media, as well as the constructions of healing lodges as a form of punishment and the ways in which Indigenous offenders were depicted. I also extrapolated how narratives about healing lodges further solidified claims regarding Indigenous sovereignty. The methodology that I applied within my research was critical discourse analysis, as I coded these news articles through an open coding scheme in NVivo, in order to deconstruct the thematic discourses within these sources. I compared settler and Indigenous-led news media in Canada, including CBC, *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and APTN.

### *Findings*

My research found that there was variance in representations in my sample between settler and Indigenous-led media. Specifically, there were similarities in terms of the individuals quoted across articles. However, Indigenous media was more likely to emphasize Indigenous voices as interviewees, in comparison to settler media articles, but these sources were much less represented in comparison to figures of colonial authority. Additionally, *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* were the most common sources within my sample to use political codes, such as a greater number of references to specific politicians and Canadian political parties. Comparatively, discussions of political parties and leaders were relatively absent within APTN.

Settler media, particularly *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*, were more likely to engage with sensationalist portrayals of crimes, which served to negate the usage of healing lodges in Canada.

One way in which healing lodges were portrayed in media outlets was through the frame of an easy form of punishment, which was built on the premise that violent offender escapes were probable as a result of the less restrictive landscape characteristic of healing lodges. Further, cultural rehabilitation was the alternate frame utilized by media sources, whereby healing lodges were applauded for their ability to weave Indigenous cultural practices into programming, which was oftentimes co-dependent on a conceptualization of healing lodges as being a fiscally responsible option, in contrast to a standard Canadian prison. There were a number of portrayals of the Indigenous offender amongst articles in my sample, including a predominant frame of presenting offenders as posing a distinct danger to children, particularly in APTN, CBC and *National Post*. Additionally, the narratives surrounding Terri-Lynne McClintic placed emphasis on her role in her criminal partnership with Michael Rafferty, with particular focus on her deviance as a woman.<sup>6</sup>

I found that some media portrayals in my sample recognized the lived experiences of Indigenous people in Canada, which was predominantly found in APTN articles. In terms of sovereignty, my research indicates that Western and Indigenous justice models are oftentimes dichotomized in publications surrounding healing lodges in order to portray Western punishment as fundamentally better. Discourses surrounding autonomy of Indigenous communities were also dominant within my sample, with APTN articles advocating in favour of giving more control to Indigenous communities.

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<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that this finding is somewhat unsurprising, given that settler media reported extensively on Terri-Lynne McClintic's case.

### *Moving Forward*

By presenting my research findings, this can offer a better understanding of the misconceptions that prevail regarding the treatment of offenders within the Canadian justice system and highlight the ways in which Indigenous perspectives need to be emphasized, both in media publications, as well as in management of healing lodges. Therefore, this research has implications for shifting the media narratives in Canada towards ensuring that the realities of imprisonment are effectively communicated, rather than relying on sensationalist coverage, particularly surrounding the misunderstandings of Indigenous people and their criminalization. I hope that my research will be further expanded upon by others in order to better explore this issue, as there needs to be greater attention given to societal reception towards healing lodges in Canada, as well as the treatment of Indigenous people more broadly.

As indicated by a number of aforementioned Indigenous scholars, cultural resurgence should be the key focal point moving forward in terms of Indigeneity within criminal justice programming, but also towards diverting Indigenous people in Canada away from prison-based punishment as much as possible. Although healing lodges can offer a lower rate of recidivism, cultural programming and meaningful change in the lives of offenders (Nielsen, 2003, pp. 78-80), we must also interrogate issues related to the over-representation of Indigenous offenders within the criminal justice system beyond the scope of the prison itself. For many Indigenous offenders in healing lodges, this is oftentimes a reintroduction to their culture and traditions, as this relationship can oftentimes be impacted by colonialism, including through the Indian Act (Yuen, 2012, p. 106). Arguably, it would be more beneficial if there were ways of reconnecting Indigenous knowledge with those who have lost their relationship with it, or never had one to begin with, that exists outside of the carceral setting. Simpson & Manitowabi (2013, p. 289)

emphasize the ways in which cultural resurgence should invoke the use of storytelling and the development of relationships, both of which should be emphasized moving forward.

Unless there are mechanisms towards intervening early on and diverting Indigenous people from entering prison, then this complex, multifaceted issue can never really be addressed. Further, as research has noted, the role CSC has had in incorporating Indigenous cultures within institutions has been undoubtedly problematic. The process of Indigenizing the correctional system can be interpreted as a redefinition of the carceral space as one that belongs to Indigenous people in Canada (Struthers-Montford & Moore, 2018, p. 642). Similar to processes of exclusion throughout settler-Indigenous history in Canada, the surveillance and punitiveness towards Indigenous people has continued to remove Indigenous people from their land and segregate them into colonial spaces, which bears similarities to the reserve system (Struthers-Montford & Moore, 2018, p. 644).

Additionally, the universalizing notions of Indigenous cultures have represented a reductionist notion of what it means to be Indigenous, despite there being hundreds of First Nations, Métis and Inuit cultures, languages and traditions throughout Canada. With an existing prison system that causes Indigenous offenders to be matched with Elders who are not from the same culture as them, this risks CSC promoting a form of assimilation amongst Indigenous offenders by upholding homogenized and performative ideas of what it means to be Indigenous (Struthers-Montford & Moore, 2018, p. 646; Martel et al., 2011, pp. 245-6). Further, this exemplifies the politics of recognition wherein the settler state cultivates the terms of how Indigenous people are identified (Coulthard, 2014, p. 25-26). This also connects to the discrimination against Indigenous women in the Indian Act, as this piece of legislation determines who can and who cannot qualify for holding status, which directly controls the access

that Indigenous people have to various forms of recognition within Canadian society (Coulthard, 2014, p. 87; Simpson, 2016a, pp. 4-5). Thus, the issue of the state determining the ways forward for Indigenous people is reproduced, rather than recognizing the validity of Indigenous perspectives in leading how problems that directly impact Indigenous people are dealt with.

Further, as noted by Office of the Correctional Investigator (2012, p. 3), healing lodges that are operated through partnerships with Indigenous communities must be given greater priority moving forward, as this presents an opportunity for Indigenous leaders to have a direct impact on the ways in which offenders are treated. As highlighted within the McClintic case, the Nekaneet First Nation residing near Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge expressed discontent that they had not been consulted with in the decision-making process of transferring McClintic (Martens, 2018). The recent trends of CSC spending less on Section 81 healing lodges, as well as simultaneously giving more funding towards Pathways Units, which includes visits from Elders to the prison and enables offender participation in Indigenous ceremonies, have further neglected to invest wholly into opportunities for Indigenous leadership to determine the outcomes for Indigenous offenders. Rather, there has been a reliance on correctional officers to carry out forms of justice that they are unfamiliar with (Nielsen, 2016, pp. 328-329).

The narratives found within my sample are also revealing regarding the portrayals of Indigenous women within the justice system. There is not enough research that fully explores how victimization and criminalization are intertwined, particularly for Indigenous women, who represent more than 4 in 10 women incarcerated in Canada (Malakieh, 2019, p. 21). While literature has tended to focus centrally on either the experiences of victimization or the processes of criminalization of racialized groups in Canada, there has been a fundamental failure to address



the ways in which both of these problems are combined into an ongoing interdependent cycle that is overwhelmingly difficult to escape.

Indigenous women in particular face an enormity of systemic barriers within the criminal justice system, as they navigate a structure that is in many ways, designed for poor outcomes, including longer periods of incarceration and barriers to rehabilitative programming. This can be exemplified within the context of the disproportionate rate of Indigenous women offenders who are classified as high-risk, which impacts the opportunities that they are able to access within the carceral system, as well as their ability to return to society effectively upon their release (Hannah-Moffat, 2010, p. 206; Miller, 2017, pp. 11-12). As research has demonstrated, prisons oftentimes act as a tool of acculturating individuals to become more serious offenders upon their release through what is known as prisons being, “schools of crime” (Public Safety Canada, 1999, p. 4). Arguably, by keeping Indigenous offenders in higher security facilities, this further exacerbates the possibilities that they will rely on crimes more in the future, rather than fundamentally addressing the reasons that resulted in their incarceration and working towards a journey of rehabilitation, which can be better offered in minimum or medium-security institutions, which includes healing lodges.

Additionally, in terms of the portrayals of healing lodges in relation to their role as a punishment model, there must be more exploration into sentiments regarding healing lodges in Canada, as there is currently a major dearth in the literature that explores healing lodges and the ways in which Canadian society has reacted to them. Arguably, in the case of Terri-Lynne McClintic, it is concerning to see the potential role of public opinion, as well as media sensationalism of crime, over the correctional system that ought to operate independently of outside influence in the ways in which it carries out decision-making. My findings in regards to

the construction of healing lodges as a lax form of punishment indicate assumptions within journalism that more rehabilitative models of justice are not valued to the same extent as Western and settler state conceptualizations of punishment and justice, which oftentimes tend to rely on punitiveness, deterrence and retribution for those who commit crimes. Arguably, the living arrangements within healing lodges that are designed towards preparing offenders for their ultimate release back into society more meaningfully foster gradual exercise of independence that they will experience once they return to living outside the confines of incarceration (Hyatt, 2013, p. 47).

Further, more work should be done in terms of unpacking the alternate narrative of cultural rehabilitation that I found within a number of articles in my sample. In particular, the notion that healing lodges are more palatable through the condition of fiscal savings is challenging. I identify the financial argument as being a problematic one to endorse because it inherently connects to historic misconceptions regarding Indigenous people in Canada. For instance, the aforementioned example of Chief Theresa Spence in Attawapiskat is indicative of the larger implications regarding popular beliefs that Indigenous leaders are incapable of maintaining responsible leadership, as they are perceived to be inherently inclined towards mis-managing finances in the perceptions of many (Pasternak, 2016, p. 317). This also connects to further harmful stereotypes that Indigenous people are a financial strain on the Canadian government at large, and thus, present a burden towards taxpayers (Pasternak, 2016, p. 326). Rather than emphasizing the enormous spending that is distributed towards the prison system annually, this narrative specifically relates to the scope of ways that we, as Canadians, can save money on a problem that disproportionately impacts Indigenous people. Instead of addressing the crimes in which people are incarcerated for and mechanisms of diverting offenders from

entering correctional institutions, this narrative instead becomes centrally focused on cutting back funding for Indigenous offenders, as a means of reducing the fiscal accountability for this problem that the settler state is implicated within.

Further, I think that particularly in relation to my findings regarding settler media portrayals of healing lodges in Canada, there must be systemic change towards addressing bias in journalism, particularly when it comes to issues of racism and Indigeneity. More representation of diverse voices, particularly those of Indigenous journalists, must be incorporated within media outlets, including CBC, *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post*. As Chan and Chunn (2014, pp. 56-57) discuss, the perspectives of white men in particular continue to be dominant within the Canadian media, which intrinsically impacts the stories that Canadians engage with, as well as the perspectives included within them. However, anti-racist practices must be also incorporated in order to reduce problematic narratives that actively engage with and reproduce colonial ideologies and portrayals of Indigenous people in Canada.

I also think that there must be demonstrative change within the criminal justice system in Canada. I argue that Section 81 healing lodges, in practice, do offer efficacy and potential towards incorporating Indigenous-led means of rehabilitation for offenders. However, I also think that it is critical for there to be an overhaul of the criminal justice system at large, in which there must be greater levels of preventing the incarceration Indigenous offenders to begin with. Ultimately, cultural resurgence is the key in creating systemic change that is led from the perspectives of Indigenous people, rather than a reproduction of the state-led interests that have enforced decision-making for centuries.

Thus, I think it is difficult to present a unitary approach forward in relation to issues relevant to healing lodges and Indigenous offenders. Arguably, I think that there must be a

multifaceted combination of constructive mechanisms for addressing these complex and pervasive social issues, but that this approach must first and foremost be led through cultural resurgence. The steps towards achieving justice for Indigenous people in Canada must adhere to the ideals and visions of Indigenous activists and scholars. This is discussed in the following excerpt:

This is our journey through resurgence. This is our responsibility. We are each responsible for finding our own meanings, for shifting those meanings through time and space, for coming to our own meaningful way of being in the world. We are each responsible for being present in our own lives and engaged in our own realities. (Simpson & Manitowabi, 2013, p. 289)

This demonstrates that resurgence is defined through the voices of Indigenous people, in which they must be the focal point in mobilizing revolutionary change.

The future of reconciliation in Canada is not a balance of settler state-Indigenous relations, but rather as Coulthard (2014, p. 179) highlights, resurgence is the only viable means forward for Indigenous people. This has never been an equal partnership, stemming from centuries of colonial destruction, distrust and oppression, and it would be naïve to operate on a level-playing field in which the way forward only consists of more of the same politics of recognition, negotiations and legislative appeals (Coulthard, 2014, p. 156; 178). As such, the next steps in terms of truly achieving practices of decolonization are to recognize the leadership of Indigenous people in defining the ways forward on their own terms.

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### Appendix A: News Articles in Sample

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## Appendix B: Full Tables

**Table 1A: Article Sample**

Type of Media	Media Source	Number of Articles
Settler Media	CBC	19
	<i>National Post</i>	18
	<i>The Globe and Mail</i>	20
Indigenous Media	Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN)	16

**Table 2A: Publication Dates of Sample**

Year of Publication	CBC	The Globe and Mail	National Post	APTN	Total Number of Articles
2009	1	1	0	0	2
2010	0	1	1	0	2
2011	0	0	1	0	1
2012	0	1	0	0	1
2013	1	2	0	2	5
2014	0	3	0	0	3
2015	0	0	0	1	1
2016	1	1	2	3	7
2017	2	0	1	2	5
2018	10	9	11	4	34
2019	4	2	2	4	12

**Table 3A: Key Authority Figures**

<b>Key Authority Codes</b>	<b>Subcategories of Specific Individuals</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) CSC	N/A	53	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 APTN (75%)</li> <li>• 12 CBC (63%)</li> <li>• 15 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (75%)</li> <li>• 14 <i>National Post</i> (78%)</li> </ul>	248
2) Minister of Public Safety	Ralph Goodale	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	57
	Minister of Public Safety	13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	24
	Steven Blaney	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	6
	Michael Tibollo	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
	Peter van Loan	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
	Vic Toews	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
	TOTAL	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 11 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (55%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	91
3) Political Leaders	Justin Trudeau	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)</li> </ul>	47

Key Authority Codes	Subcategories of Specific Individuals	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
	Andrew Scheer	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	27
	Stephen Harper	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	17
	Elizabeth May	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
	TOTAL	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	92
4) Stafford Family Members	Rodney Stafford	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	57
	Stafford Family	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	10
	Tara McDonald	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
	TOTAL	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	68
5) Correctional Investigator	Correctional Investigator (i.e. prison watchdog)	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> </ul>	38

Key Authority Codes	Subcategories of Specific Individuals	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> </ul>	
	Howard Sapers	13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	57
	Ivan Zinger	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	14
	TOTAL	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	109
6) Commissioner	Commissioner	13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	32
	Anne Kelly	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	18
	Joe Friday	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	10
	Don Head	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	10
	TOTAL	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> </ul>	70

Key Authority Codes	Subcategories of Specific Individuals	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	
7) Elders	Elder(s)	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	31
	Paula Potter	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	3
	TOTAL	17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	34
8) Chief(s)	Chief	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	15
	Chief Alvin Francis	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
	Chief Phil Fontaine	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	1
	Chief John Snow	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
	TOTAL	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	22
9) Patti Pettigrew	N/A	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	10
10) Assembly of First Nations	N/A	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
11) Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies	TOTAL	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3

Key Authority Codes	Subcategories of Specific Individuals	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
12) Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime	Federal Ombudsman	3	• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)	8
	Heidi Illingworth	3	• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)	3
	TOTAL	3	• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)	11
13) John Howard Society	N/A	3	• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%) • 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)	3

Table 4A: Political References

Political Reference Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Government	42	• 7 APTN (44%) • 7 CBC (37%) • 16 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (80%) • 12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)	108
2) Conservatives	25	• 3 APTN (19%) • 4 CBC (21%) • 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%) • 10 <i>National Post</i> (56%)	86
3) Liberals	18	• 3 APTN (19%) • 3 CBC (16%) • 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%) • 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)	40
4) Parliament	18	• 4 APTN (25%) • 4 CBC (21%) • 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%) • 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)	27
5) References to Politics	14	• 3 CBC (16%) • 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%) • 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)	56
6) House of Commons	14	• 3 CBC (16%) • 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%) • 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)	23
7) Ottawa	14	• 4 APTN (25%) • 4 CBC (21%) • 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)	20



Political Reference Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	
8) Opposition	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	11
9) Ambulance-chasing politicians/politics	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	9
10) NDP	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	5
11) Green Party	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

Table 5A: Crime Depictions

Crime-Related Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Murder	35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 7 CBC (37%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	80
2) Crime(s)	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	69
3) Kill	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 7 CBC (37%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)</li> </ul>	41
4) Rape	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	25
5) Assault	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	23
6) Abduction	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	13
7) Kidnapping	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	10

8) Sexual Assault	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	8
9) Armed Robbery/Robberies	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	3
10) Attempted Murder	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 6A: Offender Labels**

Offender Codes	Specific Subcategories	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Offender(s)	N/A	44	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 APTN (75%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	167
2) Inmate(s)	N/A	43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 12 APTN (75%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 11 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (55%)</li> <li>• 12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)</li> </ul>	184
3) Prisoner(s)	N/A	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	59
4) Killer(s)	N/A	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 7 CBC (37%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	39
5) Criminal(s)	N/A	12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	17
6) Murderer(s)	N/A	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> </ul>	10

Offender Codes	Specific Subcategories	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	
7) Convict(s)	N/A	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	6
8) Comparisons to Animals	Zoo	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	3
	Animals	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
	Gorilla House	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
	Dog	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
	Lion	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
	Monkeys	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
	Pens	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
	TOTAL	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	11
9) Rapist	N/A	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Sex Offender(s)	N/A	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
11) Co-Killer	N/A	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
12) Perpetrator(s)	N/A	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
13) Serial Murderer	N/A	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 7A: Broad Indigenous Identity References**

<b>Broad Reference Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Indigenous	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 11 APTN (69%)</li> <li>• 13 CBC (68%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	247
2) Aboriginal	27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	168
3) Native	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	27
4) Indian	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	10
5) First Peoples	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
6) Non-status Indian	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 8A: Cultural Group**

<b>Cultural Group Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) First Nation(s)	19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	40
2) Métis	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	14
3) Inuit	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	13

**Table 9A: Specified Group**

<b>Specified Group Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Nekaneet First Nation	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	20
2) Cree	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	4
3) Mohawk	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	6
4) Six Nations	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	3
5) Anishinaabe	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> </ul>	2
6) Batchewana First Nation	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
7) Ojibwa	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
8) Tsuut'ina First Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	4
9) Stoney	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
10) Haudenosaunee	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
11) People of the Longhouse	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
12) Stó:lō Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
13) Ahtahkakoop Cree Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
14) Carry the Kettle Nakoda Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
15) Coast Salish	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
16) Crane River First Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
17) Gwich'in First Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
18) Haida	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
19) Iskwewizaagegan	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	1
20) Keeseekoose First Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
21) Nakoda	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

Specified Group Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
22) Piapot First Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 10A: Non-Indigenous Identity**

Non-Indigenous Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Non-Indigenous	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	15
2) Non-Aboriginal	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> </ul>	7
3) Non-Native	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
4) Faux Nation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 11A: Healing Lodges**

Healing Lodge Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Healing Lodge(s)	68	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>16 APTN (100%)</li> <li>18 CBC (95%)</li> <li>19 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (95%)</li> <li>15 <i>National Post</i> (83%)</li> </ul>	214
2) Okimaw Ochi Healing Lodge	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	48
3) Lodge(s)	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	42
4) Stan Daniels Healing Centre	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	10
5) Buffalo Sage Wellness House	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	3
6) Waseskun Healing Centre	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	8
7) Healing Centre(s)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	4

8) Thunder Woman Healing Lodge	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	4
9) Willow Creek Healing Lodge	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Pê Sâkâstêw Centre	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
11) O-Chi-ChakKo-Sipi Healing Lodge	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 12A: Easy Punishment**

Easy Punishment Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Transfer	43	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 14 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (70%)</li> <li>• 15 <i>National Post</i> (83%)</li> </ul>	185
2) Security Level (Ex. maximum, medium and minimum)	41	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 8 APTN (50%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 16 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (80%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>National Post</i> (44%)</li> </ul>	135
3) Security	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	31
4) Behind Bars	21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	28
5) Traditional	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (35%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	20
6) Easy	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	13

Easy Punishment Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	
7) Dangerous/Danger	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	17
8) Escapes, Escapees or Escaped	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	19
9) Locked Up	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	8
10) Fences	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	8
11) Open	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	5
12) Security Classification	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	5
13) Residential-Style Housing	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
14) Secure	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	3
15) Enjoying/Enjoys	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
16) Kitchenette(s)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
17) Lax	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2



Easy Punishment Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
18) Without Secured Perimeters	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
19) Self-declared	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
20) Zero Security	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
21) Chalets	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
22) Country Club for Criminals	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
23) Independent Living	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
24) Privileged Program	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
25) Spacious	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
26) Unsafe	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
27) Wilderness Retreat	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
28) Without a Controlled Perimeter	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

Table 13A: Cultural Rehabilitation Frame

Cultural Rehabilitation Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Culture (Including Culturally Specific and Culturally-Appropriate)	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 APTN (56%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (30%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	48
2) Rehabilitation	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	41
3) Healing	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	28
4) Spiritual	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	27

5) Ceremonies	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	18
6) Sweat Lodge	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	4
7) Restorative Justice	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	5
8) Pipe	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	4
9) Teepee-like	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Drumming	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
11) Forward-thinking	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
12) Medicine Wheel	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
13) Medicines	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
14) Smudges	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
15) Sweats	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
16) Totem Pole	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 14A: Financial References**

Financial Reference Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Funding	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	24
2) Money	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	14
3) Cost	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> </ul>	29

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	
4) Investment	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	11
5) Budget	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	6
6) Underfunded	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	6
7) Spend	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> </ul>	6
8) Save	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	4
9) Financial	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Insecurity	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
11) Spend Now, Save Later	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 15A: Risk to Children**

<b>Risk to Children Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Children	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 7 APTN (44%)</li> <li>• 9 CBC (47%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>National Post</i> (50%)</li> </ul>	60
2) Child Killer(s) or Child Murderer(s)	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	36
3) Kids	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> </ul>	6
4) Pedophile(s)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> </ul>	3
5) Child Abuse	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
6) Child Exploitation	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1

<b>Risk to Children Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
7) Child Murder	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
8) Child Welfare	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
9) Child-Sex Offenders	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
10) Sex with a Child	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 16A: McClintic Coverage**

<b>McClintic Coverage Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Tori Stafford	35	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>13 <i>National Post</i> (72%)</li> </ul>	124
2) Terri-Lynne McClintic	34	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>8 CBC (42%)</li> <li>10 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (50%)</li> <li>12 <i>National Post</i> (67%)</li> </ul>	241
3) Michael Rafferty	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>8 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (40%)</li> <li>5 <i>National Post</i> (28%)</li> </ul>	49
4) Woodstock	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	16
5) Brutal	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	9
6) Horrific, Horrifying, or Horror	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	7
7) Evil	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	4
8) Clifford Olson	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	3
9) Deranged	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	3

McClintic Coverage Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	
10) Heinous	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	3
11) Monstrous	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	3
12) Paul Bernardo	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	3
13) Awful	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	3
14) Mount Forest	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
15) Oliver Stephens Public School	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
16) Reprehensible	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
17) Savagely	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	2
18) Elizabeth Wettlaufer	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	11
19) Appalling	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
20) Ghastly	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
21) Ghoul	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
22) Karla Homolka	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
23) Walking time bomb	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	1

**Table 17A: Public Opinion**

Public Opinion Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Public	18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 6 <i>National Post</i> (33%)</li> </ul>	26
2) Outrage	16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 7 <i>National Post</i> (39%)</li> </ul>	18
3) Angry/anger/angrily	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 CBC (21%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	12

Public Opinion Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
4) Public Safety	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	8
5) Shocked/Shocking	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>National Post</i> (17%)</li> </ul>	8
6) Controversy	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	7
7) Public Outcry	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	3
8) Public Confidence	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
9) Public Outrage	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Public Anger	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
11) Public Attention	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	1
12) Public Inquest	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1

Table 18A: Indigenous Issues

Indigenous Issues Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
1) Woman/Women	38	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 APTN (56%)</li> <li>• 10 CBC (53%)</li> <li>• 9 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (45%)</li> <li>• 10 <i>National Post</i> (56%)</li> </ul>	118
2) Female	14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 3 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (15%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>National Post</i> (22%)</li> </ul>	15
3) Over-representation	13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 4 APTN (25%)</li> <li>• 3 CBC (16%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	20
4) Disproportionate	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 5 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (25%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	9

Indigenous Issues Codes	Number of Sources	News Source Breakdown	Number of References
5) Residential Schools	9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	14
6) Foster Care	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 6 CBC (32%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	10
7) Pathways Unit(s)	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	6
8) Overcrowding	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	11
9) Over-incarceration	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	7
10) Criminalization	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	2
11) Indian Act	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	3
12) Intergenerational Trauma	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	2
13) Race	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	2
14) Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	2
15) 60s Scoop	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
16) Genocide	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
17) National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> </ul>	1
18) Pipeline to Prison	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	1
19) Truth and 20) Reconciliation Commission	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2

**Table 19A: Theme of Autonomy**

<b>Autonomy Coverage Codes</b>	<b>Number of Sources</b>	<b>News Source Breakdown</b>	<b>Number of References</b>
1) Responsibility	13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> <li>• 5 CBC (26%)</li> <li>• 4 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (20%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	21
2) Custody	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 6 APTN (38%)</li> <li>• 1 CBC (5%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>National Post</i> (11%)</li> </ul>	17
3) Care	8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 2 CBC (11%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	9
4) Gladue	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 APTN (31%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	21
5) Corrections and Conditional Release Act	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 APTN (19%)</li> <li>• 1 <i>National Post</i> (6%)</li> </ul>	4
6) Treaty	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> <li>• 2 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (10%)</li> </ul>	3
7) Shoal Lake (39)	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 APTN (13%)</li> </ul>	2
8) Treaty 3	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
9) Decolonized	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
10) Indigenized	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	2
11) Colonial-inspired law	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
12) Colonialism	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 APTN (6%)</li> </ul>	1
13) Self-determination	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1
14) Sovereign People	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 <i>The Globe and Mail</i> (5%)</li> </ul>	1



**Table 20A: Thematic Representation**

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Number of References</b>	<b>Table Number(s)</b>
1) Healing Lodges	73	341	Table 11
2) Key Authority Figures	68	766	Table 3
3) Easy Punishment	66	500	Table 12
4) Offender Labels	63	501	Table 6
5) Indigenous Identity (Including Broad, Cultural, Specific and Non-Indigenous tables)	62	611	Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10
6) Crime Depictions	58	273	Table 5
7) Indigenous Issues	54	231	Table 18
8) Political References	51	386	Table 4
9) Cultural Rehabilitation Frame	46	184	Table 13
10) Public Opinion	40	89	Table 17
11) Risk to Children	38	112	Table 15
12) McClintic Coverage	35	492	Table 16
13) Theme of Autonomy	29	87	Table 19
14) Financial References	28	104	Table 14